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THE OLD TESTAMENT FOR LEARNERS

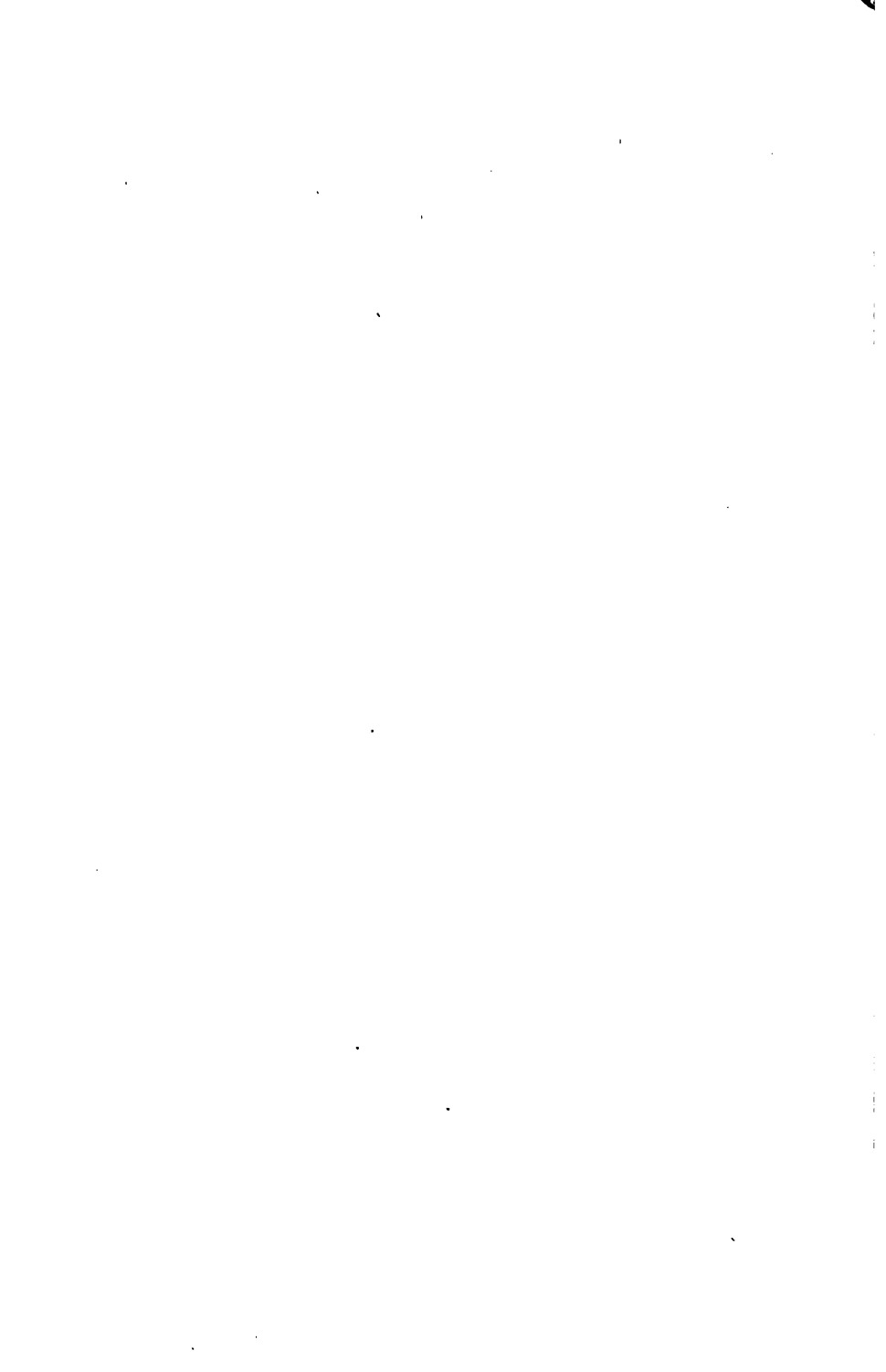


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**THE OLD TESTAMENT
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THE NEW TESTAMENT FOR LEARNERS



LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY

1900



THE OLD TESTAMENT FOR LEARNERS

BY

DR. H. OORT

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES,
ETC., AT AMSTERDAM

DR. I. HOYKAAS

PASTOR AT ROTTERDAM

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

DR. A. KUENEN

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT LEIDEN

SUNDAY SCHOOL EDITION

Authorized Translation



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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

IN preparing the first volume of the "Bible for Young People" for the English reader, it has been my wish never to pass from the functions of the Translator to those of the Editor. In other words, I have endeavored faithfully to give the meaning of the original, without in any case modifying it to suit my own taste or opinions, or thinking it necessary to signify my dissent where I cannot personally adopt its conclusions.

On the other hand, in a few passages where the original contains allusions and explanations the point of which depends entirely upon their being addressed to Dutchmen, it has been necessary either to omit a few words altogether, or to substitute the best English equivalents that could be found. In the same way, where the readings or translations adopted by the authors simply differ from those of the Dutch "States' Translation," no notice has been taken of the fact; but when, in the better-known portions of the Bible, they differ in important points from those of our so-called "Authorized Version" (executed by the command of James I., and completed in 1611), a note has frequently been added to call attention to the fact.

The proofs of this translation have always been submitted to the examination of Dr. Oort, and he has thus had the opportunity of assuring himself and the public of its faithfulness, at least in all essential points, and at the same time of introducing a considerable number of modifications of more

or less importance, suggested by his own continued studies, or by works of other scholars which have appeared since the original publication of this volume.

I have also to express my obligations to Mr. W. Blake Odgers, of the Middle Temple, who has looked through all the proofs, and, while by no means responsible for any blemishes of style yet remaining in this translation, has done much to reduce their number.

I must also offer my warmest thanks to the friends whose liberality has enabled me to publish this volume.

It only remains to give the reader some indication of the share which each of the three scholars, whose names appear on the title-page, has had in the execution of the work. Dr. Oort is responsible for the portion which deals with the Old Testament; but his work has always been submitted, before publication, to the careful examination of Dr. Hooykaas and Dr. Kuenen. By this means the chance of any inaccuracies finding their way into the book has been made as small as possible, and at the same time the author has secured the advantage of suggestions from two independent sources.

In the same way, Dr. Hooykaas, who has undertaken the New Testament, has throughout enjoyed the assistance and advice of Dr. Oort and Dr. Kuenen.

P. H. W.



A WORD OF PREFACE.

DEAR READER,

BE good enough not to skip this *Word of Preface*, for we have one or two things to tell you which it is absolutely necessary for you to know, if you are really to understand what follows; things, too, which may serve to show you the quickest way into the heart of our book.

We are ready to take a long walk with you; and if we did not think ourselves pretty well acquainted with the district through which our path will run, we should not venture to offer ourselves as guides. But our studies, our social calling, and our personal inclination have led us through the country so often that we know where to look for all the lovely little spots, all the magnificent views, all the wonderful panoramas, which it will be our delight to point out to you. And if there are places with which we are not very familiar — the way is so long and we have so many little excursions to make to the right or left — if there are places, then, to which some one else perhaps might be a better guide, we trust that we shall always keep in the right direction at least. Be this as it may, we venture to promise our companions that they will not regret having accompanied us.

You may see from the title-page of our book that the country through which our walk will lead us is the Bible.

Of course you have already gained some knowledge of this book. And yet, properly speaking, it is not *a* book at all, but two collections joined together. The first of these collections, which includes thirty-nine books according to the usual reckoning, is the Sacred Book of the Jews; while this same collection, together with the second, which embraces twenty-seven writings, makes up the Sacred Book of the Christians.

Several of the most important religions have a Sacred Book of this sort. Thus, the Koran is the Sacred Book of the Mohammedan, the Zend-Avesta of the Persian, the Veda

of the Brahmin, the Kings of the Chinese religion. Of course we Christians attach most importance to the Bible; and, indeed, every impartial judge must allow that no other Sacred Book can bear comparison with it, or approaches it in beauty, truth, and value. It does not lie in our way, however, to make any such comparisons; but we hope that what we have to say will convince you that we may safely call our Bible a mine of gold, and that some parts of it are of priceless worth. So we will not speak in praise of it just now, as it will be better for you to end, than for us to begin, by doing so.

Just one remark, however, on the character of the Bible.

From various points of view it deserves to be highly prized. It is of inestimable value, for instance, for our knowledge of antiquity, since it contains almost our only authorities for the history of Israel and the origin of Christianity. Some parts of it, too, have seldom been equalled as works of art, and may therefore serve to ennoble our taste and elevate our sense of beauty. But, above all, the Bible is the book of religion.

Observe, we do not say — the book of *our* religion, but of *religion*. Not that we would treat the other Sacred Books as of no value. Far from it. Hindoos and Persians, Egyptians and Greeks, have thought of God and the invisible as earnestly as the Israelites; and what the men of greatest piety and genius among these peoples have believed, what the founders of religion or the philosophers among them have declared, so far as it has been preserved to us in writing, not only in their sacred books but elsewhere too, furnishes no small amount that might safely be placed by the side of many portions of the Old Testament at least. Nor can we assert that every part of the Bible gives us a pure reflection of God's being and God's will. Time after time we shall be compelled to allow that the writers of the books of the Bible were men — constantly going astray, as such, in their search for the way to God. But we call the Bible the book of religion because the place of honor in the religious life of mankind and of each man in particular belongs to the person of Jesus, and because it is upon Jesus that the whole Bible turns. In this lies the value not only of the New Testament, a great part of which refers to him directly, but of the Old Testament as well. It is true that many of the Israelite writings are important even in themselves, for they give us a glance into the spiritual life of the nations of antiquity, into their social, political, moral and religious condition; but yet the Old

Testament would lose very much of its charm, and the whole course of the Israelite religion would have much less interest for us, had not Jesus been a child of Israel, and were not Christianity in so many respects connected with the religion of this race.

We hope that we shall never lose sight of the fact that the Bible is the book of religion while we are speaking of its stories, and that so we may gradually find a direct or indirect answer to the questions, "Who and what is God for us?" and "What are we to do and what to leave undone?" for it is our heartfelt desire and the highest object of our efforts, to quicken the conscience of our readers, and to make their religious feelings deeper and purer. Nor do we leave this object out of view in contributing to their knowledge, more especially of the history of the Israelite and the Christian religion, for we believe that this history clears our insight into the ways of God with man, and gives us the key to many perplexing facts in the region of religion.

In thus looking at the Bible from a distinctly religious point of view, we are in perfect harmony with its writers; even with such of them as adopt the narrative style, and will therefore engage the greatest share of our attention. For when the books of the Old Testament were set aside and preserved as a Sacred Book by the Jews, and those of the New Testament were added to them by the Christians, it was with no idea of drawing knowledge of nature or history from them, but because they recognized them as the rule of faith and conduct; and in the same way the writers themselves prepared their works and gave publicity to them, not simply or chiefly in order to make their readers accurately acquainted with the past, but to promulgate and recommend what seemed to them to be religious truth. Even the historical writings, both of the Old and the New Testaments, were composed with a religious object, to instruct and to guide, to rouse or to encourage, to exhort or to console contemporaries or posterity.

Up to a certain point it falls in very happily with our purpose, that the writers of the Bible made use of their narratives as the vehicle of religious truths; for it gives us the opportunity, without our having to seek it, of treating them in the same spirit. But, on the other hand, it throws many difficulties in our way. For, in the eyes of the writers, every thing was subordinate to their object, so that they often sacrificed what we consider very important interests to it — histori-

cal truth, for example. As a rule, they concerned themselves very little with the question whether what they narrated really happened so or not; and their readers were just as far from exercising what is now known as "historical criticism." If a narrative was edifying, if its tendency fell in with the tastes of the readers, then they called it true; while those whose point of view or whose sympathies were opposed to theirs called it untrue, and sometimes set up another story, purely invented, which agreed better with their ideas, in opposition to it. Thus a *legend* might serve the purpose of the writers just as well as the true account of something that really happened. This is why the Old and New Testaments are so full of legends.

Now, if our only object were to make religious and moral sketches, then these characteristics of so many of the Biblical narratives would give us but little trouble; but since we wish at the same time to explain the history of Israel and its religion, of Jesus and the apostolic age, the character of many of the narratives from which we draw, in the first place, makes it our duty always to apply a severe criticism to them, to see whether they are reliable or not, and, in the second place, compels us to prefix an introduction to our exposition of the narratives of the Old Testament, and another to those of the New, and now and then to speak of them in a different order from that in which they come before us in the Bible.

II.

We must illustrate this matter more in detail. We have spoken of "legends," and before we go on we must give ourselves some account of their significance and value. Let us take one that is not borrowed from the Bible as an example.

Do you know the legend of the Drachenfels?¹

When the tourist, as he ascends the Rhine, has left Bonn behind him, he comes to the Siebengebirge. Right in front the Drachenfels rears its head to a height of nearly a thousand feet. The aspect of this mountain when looked at from below is very impressive, and there is something about it which works powerfully upon the imagination. If you climb its slope to enjoy from its summit one of those entrancing views far away over the river, on the ridge of the mountain

¹ That is Dragon Cliff.

you find a gloomy chasm. Ages ago, when all were heathens yet, so your guide will tell you, this was the den of a horrible dragon, the terror and the curse of all the country round, for its food was human flesh. That they might not fall victims to its ravenous appetite themselves, the inhabitants of the district were compelled to pacify it at regular seasons. So they made war upon the neighboring tribes and brought their prisoners to the monster. And this went on for many a year. But once upon a time they had taken captive in one of their marauding expeditions a girl of extraordinary beauty. They all agreed to offer her to the monster, in the hope that so choice a prey might satisfy its thirst for blood for a long time to come. The youthful captive, when they told her of her fate, gave no signs of despair or terror, but begged that she might be led to the murderous den just as she stood, with everything she had about her. Her wish was readily granted. Then she stepped, in her white garment, calm and resigned, up to the place of horror. There, roaring and breathing flames, the dragon shot into sight to hurl itself upon its victim. Its claws had already darted forth, and its jaws gaped upon the prey, . . . when she drew from her bosom a wooden cross, and held it up before the monster. At this sight — to the great amazement of the lookers-on, who did not know what the cross was, and saw nothing particular in it — the dragon drew back confounded, shrank together in convulsions, with a frightful howl, and vanished into its den, never to show its face again. It had sunk before the magic power of the cross, and in grateful joy the whole population of the district was converted as a single man to the religion of the crucified.

Here we have a German legend; and its meaning is not hard to find. It is the conquest of Christianity over Heathenism painted in living colors for us. The dragon is the Heathen religion which demanded so many human sacrifices, especially of prisoners of war. These sacrifices were generally made on the mountains, which were looked upon as the dwelling places of the gods. From this curse, which weighed heavily upon the land, the inhabitants were delivered by Christianity, which is represented by the beautiful young maiden, in her spotless garment, who steps boldly forward and puts the hellish power to flight by the sign of the cross. In this legend, then, we seem to catch the joyful shout of those redeemed from the power of heathenism, with all its abominations, and their grateful recognition of the heavenly purity and invincible might of the Gospel.

We shall use the word *legend*—originally the name of the highly embellished traditions about the saints of the Roman Catholic church—for every narrative which is not trustworthy, but is nevertheless given us as history. By this characteristic it is distinguished from the *fable*, the hearers or readers of which are warned beforehand, as it were, that the story is invented. In this sense the legend includes the *myth*—properly a Greek word, which means “story,” and was applied to accounts of the gods, fables of animals, and all kinds of tales. As a rule, the words “legend” and “myth,” as well as “saga,” are used for one another, and in a different way by almost every writer on this subject. We shall call those stories *myths* in which the powers or phenomena of nature, represented as gods or men, are introduced as agents.

An example of this, too!

We borrow it from the Hindoo theology, from the songs of the Veda, which mention it repeatedly; and we choose this specimen because it is one of the oldest myths of mankind, and we find traces of it in the Greek and Latin mythologies, under the form of the labors of Hercules, as well as in the old literature of the Persians and Germans. In brief, it runs as follows:—Indra, the national god, keeps a herd of purple cows. Vritra, a wicked spirit with three heads and the body of a monster serpent, steals the cows and shuts them up in his den. Indra pursues the thief, breaks through into his abode, gives him a sound thrashing, and brings the cows back to heaven, while their milk is poured out over the earth.

The meaning of this myth can be given in a single word. It is the description of a thunderstorm. The purple cows are the clouds which hold the gentle rain. Indra is the god of day, and when the wicked spirit tries to carry away the clouds and so parch the earth with drought, he compels him to release them. But in giving this account of the meaning of the myth, we must bear in mind that what we now regard as poetical personification, was looked upon as a complete expression of the truth by the ancients; we must put ourselves into the position of men who saw the immediate activity of Divine beings in all the phenomena of nature. Imagine, then, the sudden approach of a heavy thunderstorm, as seen in mountainous districts. The earth gasps for rain. Prayers rise on high continually to Indra, the god of blessings. They seem to have been heard, for see! the clear-colored clouds rise above the horizon; they are the cows of Indra, and he is going to milk them to make the earth fruitful. They come.

Soon may they yield their treasures! . . . But, alas! they seem to be drawing off again. A dark shadow falls over them. Vritra, the serpent, whose breath parches the world, shuts up the cows of Indra in his gloomy den. A rumble of the distant thunder! It is the smothered lowing of the kine. Indra, the benefactor of mankind, advances to the battle, now alone, and now surrounded by the bands of howling winds. The thundering blows of the divine battle-axe may be heard, falling upon the cave. It bursts, and flames pour out from it. The trident spear of the serpent flickers through the darkness. At last the battle is over. The heavy shadow of cloud changes its shape, bursts, vanishes. At the same time the waters which it held imprisoned stream pattering on the earth below. Hurrah! Indra is milking the cows of heaven, and then, as the blue sky, he appears himself, in all the triumph of his glory.

You will see from these few hints that legends may be of very various nature and origin. Sometimes historical recollections play a chief part in them, and sometimes myths; here they have sprung up spontaneously, there again they have been expressly elaborated to give a visible shape to the author's impressions or thoughts. In either case they are of great value to us. It is true that they are not always improving; sometimes an unholy spirit speaks through them. That depends on the character of the men in the midst of whom they had their origin. But in every case they reveal something of the inner life of these men — of their thoughts, beliefs, hopes, fears; and now and then they make us acquainted with historical facts.

It stands to reason that we must go to work with the utmost caution when we draw our inferences from a legend, or use it as a contribution to our knowledge of the past. As a rule, indeed, it teaches us nothing about the period in which it places us, but it does teach us something about that in which it was invented, or in which it sprang up. We consult the legend of the Drachenfels in vain for the particulars of the contest of Christianity and its conquest over the German heathenism; but it gives us a picture of the thankful joy of the Christians on the banks of the Rhine, as they looked back upon the wretched condition in which they had lived as heathens. From the myth of Indra we can draw no knowledge of nature or of God, but it introduces us to the religious views of nature held by the Hindoos.

The same holds good of the Israelite and early Christian

legends. The accounts of the fortunes of the patriarchs teach us very little about a hoary pre-historic age; those of the birth and childhood of Jesus hardly anything about the first years of his life. If we took up the legend of Balaam in connection with the Mosaic age, we should form a thoroughly untrue conception of it; if we looked to the Transfiguration on the mount for light on the history of Jesus, we should be bitterly disappointed. The evidence put in by all these narratives concerns times long after those into which they transport us; so that they cannot be understood or consulted to any purpose until we are acquainted to some extent with the character of these later times, with the modes of thought, the diverging tendencies, the social or religious condition of the men in the midst of whom the legend arose. So, for example, if we are to understand the story of Balaam, we must keep the condition of the Israelites under King Jeroboam II. before our eyes; and the legend of the Transfiguration on the mount cannot be explained until we are at home in the disputes of the apostolical community on points of doctrine.

It would be very troublesome to us, however, and not a little wearisome to you, if every time we took up a legend we were compelled by anticipation to transport ourselves to an entirely different condition of things from that described in the narratives which precede and follow; if, to confine ourselves to the same examples, while in the middle of our treatment of the Mosaic age, we had to describe the century of Jeroboam II., or in the midst of the details of the life of Jesus to speak of the factions of the first century which followed him. But yet we must not treat such a legend carelessly; it must be explained in every point as thoroughly as possible. The way in which we have attempted to meet these difficulties is as follows:—

In the first place, we have prefixed a review of the history of Israel to our treatment of the narratives of the Old Testament—a sketch of the history of Jesus and the Apostolic age to those of the New. In this we have been as brief as possible; but in the sequel of our work we suppose you to be acquainted with the principal features of the history. You must look upon these introductions, therefore, as the rapid sketch in outline of the drawings which will be worked up afterwards when we come to treat of the separate narratives.

In the second place, we shall transpose some few of our

narratives, those, namely, which would compel us to make wide digressions if we took them up in the connection in which they are found in the Bible, but which are particularly valuable in throwing light upon the age to which they really belong. Thus, you would look in vain for the blessing of Balaam in the Mosaic age, but the narrative will find its place in the eighth century; and that of the Transfiguration will be considered when we are dealing with the Apostolic age, but not in the life of Jesus.

III.

Without intending it, we have enlarged a good deal on the unhistorical character of many of the Biblical narratives, and the influence which it has had upon the arrangement of our work. It really was a matter which could not be settled in a couple of lines. But it is possible that we may have led one or two of our readers into the mistake of supposing that it is the essential point in our eyes.

This is by no means the case, however. As we said just now, our greatest care has been to make these narratives speak to the heart and conscience, and in explaining them to offer wholesome and pleasant food to the religious and moral sense. It is our heart-felt wish that they may do our readers good, bring God nearer to them, and lead them to the knowledge of the highest truth.

Now, if any one thinks that these narratives can hardly serve such a purpose, because, after all, they are to a great extent, "mere" legends, he is under a mistake. When we ask, What took place? then, of course, a legend has much less value than an accurate account drawn up by an eye-witness, or at least a trustworthy contemporary; and for many a period of the history both of Israel and of Jesus and his apostles, we have to lament the absence of reliable accounts. But it is quite another matter if we use a narrative as a means of nourishing our religious and moral life. In this case its value depends entirely upon the spiritual stand-point of the composers, who lay before us in this symbolic form of expression their aims and opinions, their hope and fear, their love and their hate, their struggle after clearer light, their faith and their doubt. Now, the legends of the Old and New Testaments are the work of the Israelites and Christians, and may therefore serve in an

eminent degree to enlarge our horizon, to purify our feelings, to enrich and strengthen our inner life. For the Israelites stand before all the nations of antiquity in their grasp of religious subjects, so that Israel is rightly called the people of religion. And if even they, who only walked in the twilight, and so had very imperfect, nay, often very perverted ideas of God and their own vocation, deserve a hearing, how much more instructive and refreshing must it be to share the thoughts and feelings of the disciples of Jesus, by whom so much light has been thrown upon the problems of the inner life!

But — what is it that we keep saying about the inner life? Reader! do you quite understand us? As we formed and settled our plan, as we spoke together about the contents of our narratives before beginning to carry it out, the fear crept over us from time to time that we might not be altogether understood by “young people.” Are we running no risk, we asked each other, of rising too high or plunging too deep? The danger threatens us from more sides than one. It is true we do not imagine our readers to be children — to understand the Bible is anything but child’s work! — but young people who have already completed their early education, and from whom we may therefore expect a certain amount of general information. But in dealing with the Biblical narratives so much has to be taken into account! May we not, without intending it, pre-suppose more knowledge on the part of our readers than they possess; greater familiarity with different branches of science, for example, with history and geography, with the disposition of society and the life of nature? We will try to escape this danger, and shall rather insert a remark or explanation which may be superfluous to some, than run the risk of being misunderstood. But, for all that, it is still possible that everything will not be clear to you at first, and that you will only enter by degrees into some parts of our work. In one respect — and it is specially to this that we wish to call your attention now — it will certainly be the case. You will not understand at first what we have to say to you of *the inner life of man*. This inner life is the experience of man, considered as a spiritual being: — all his inward consciousness of God and feeling towards him. Now, though you have a life within already, yet its development cannot be either high or varied till you are older. As our experience of life increases, if we keep in the right way — that is to say, if we not only grow

older, but braver and more earnest, wiser and better too — then our spiritual life is always growing richer. For you it is impossible as yet to sound the depths of the sense of guilt, or to climb to the joyous heights of the feeling of forgiveness and redemption; and yet without more or less experience of all this it is impossible to understand the Bible — even to grasp the true meaning and comprehend the full value of many of its narratives.

But what are we to do? Are we not to catch up and give out again those sounds of gloom and heaviness of heart: "O God, be merciful to me, a sinner!" and "Where is an offering for my transgression?" or to interpret the prophetic word, "The Lord hath spoken to me?" Are we to stifle the expectant cry, "The kingdom of God is coming!" and leave unuttered that glad sound, "Redemption and eternal life!" because all this can only find an imperfect echo in the hearts of young people? To do so would be to renounce the holiest truths! No! Whenever we tread the ground of religion and morality under the guidance of the Biblical writers we shall endeavor (of course under the simplest possible forms) to work out the deep and lofty truths of the spiritual life without reserve, even at the risk of being only half understood at first by many of our readers. Though these impressions and emotions may still be partial mysteries to them at their present time of life, they will surely suffer no harm from a moment's reverent contemplation of them.

Hereafter you will understand all this far better, unless the world engross your souls. God grant it may not, — but the danger is great. For our age makes great demands upon young people. Far more knowledge of the world, and a far more varied scientific education is expected now than formerly: life is more restless than ever, and the necessity of earning a livelihood, together with the natural wish to get on in the world, put an almost irresistible pressure upon us, which is always urging us forward. As the demands of society become more urgent and more numerous, the facilities for acquiring a wide and varied education are constantly multiplied. Who would not rejoice in this? But amidst it all the heart is still cold and poverty-stricken. Some counteracting power must be found, for we men have a pressing need of godliness, and the pulse of our spiritual life must beat strong. The great questions, "What am I in the world for? where am I going to? what does duty lay down for me to do or leave undone? how am I to be made what I can and must be made — truly

good and truly happy?" — these questions must emphatically be asked, and each one must earnestly seek the answers to them for himself; or else we shall sooner or later find ourselves unhappy in spite of wealth or sensual enjoyment, nay, in spite of all knowledge and external culture.

We must make ourselves good and pure, and it is no easy task! Nay, even if we strain all our own powers to the utmost it is not enough, unless we take advantage of all the help that lies within our reach as well. There are, no doubt, some men who would make young people believe that in matters of religion and morality they can manage for themselves and want no guides, that a man can really always do right if only he choose, and more idle talk to the same effect. Any one who says such things betrays his own deep ignorance. It is so terribly hard for us to become men whom the world has cause to value, who can retain their own self-respect, and on whom God can look down with pleasure, that our own strength is insufficient for the task. We must have strong help from without us. Unless our moral and religious sense is surrounded by good influences it becomes more and more weak and impure. Unless our spiritual life is steadily nourished we become famished in the end. If we have no guides in spiritual things we are sure to go astray.

The Bible is one of the most precious means of help in all these things. We hope to teach you to value it. The Bible, as the book of religion, is a treasure-house of truths, and bears witness to a nobler guide than any other you can find — to Jesus.

May the Bible, as it speaks to you of God, quicken your sight and open your heart to see Him in our time and in our life.

And God give you strength for the hard task of life which lies before you!

BOOKS I. AND II.

**INTRODUCTION; THE GENERATIONS BEFORE
MOSES; FROM MOSES TO DAVID**

PREPARED BY DR. H. OORT

INTRODUCTION.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

I.

ABOUT the year 1320 before Christ, certain shepherd tribes threw off the yoke of slavery under which they had long been crushed in Egypt, and spread themselves with their flocks over the peninsula of Sinai. They knew by tradition that their forefathers, together with other tribes, had come from the heart of Asia, from beyond the Euphrates, whence they derived their name of Hebrews, — that is, men from the other side, — and that they had wandered about for some time in the land of Canaan before they had taken up their abode in Egypt.

Besides community of interest, the principal clans amongst them were bound together by common descent and similarity of customs and religion. Some of these families — the heart of the tribes of which we are speaking — called themselves “the sons of Israel.”

The manners of these Hebrews were rude. In religious, as well as in social matters, they stood as yet upon a very low level. Of an intimate national union, of civil government, of legislation, there was not a trace. Their religion was a motley polytheism. They believed in sacred stones and trees, and worshipped the powers of nature. They were disposed to look upon these powers under their forbidding aspects, as hostile to mankind, and under the names of “God Almighty” (El Shaddai), “the Lord” (Baal or Adon), “the Dreaded One” (Elohim), “the Strong One” (El), “the King” (Molech); they worshipped gods whose character is most clearly expressed by the symbol of a consuming fire. Bloody sacrifices, too, were the chief part of their worship, circumcision was practised, and even human sacrifices were not unusual. Besides this, the seventh day of the week, and the day of the

new moon, were observed as sacred. But, of course, no complete similarity of usages and opinions existed among these hordes. On the contrary, the differences among them were very considerable.

At the head of these tribes stood Moses, of the clan of Levi, whose name they had good reason to immortalize. Not only was he the soul of their confederacy in Egypt, but he also laid the foundation of their future national unity, by strengthening the connection between the tribes. This he accomplished, chiefly, by introducing the worship of Yahweh as Israel's god, and by giving out, as a fundamental code of laws, the so-called "Ten Commandments."

The name Yahweh is probably unknown to most of my readers. Jehovah has hitherto been used instead. But for some time past the conviction has become general that the name which Israel used for its god must not be so pronounced. Nor does "Jehovah" appear for the most part in the translations of the Bible. In the Authorized Version we almost always read "the LORD" instead of it.¹ For some time past the incorrect form of the name has been superseded by a better one in more or less technical works. Why should not we, too, follow their lead? It certainly looks rather strange, but we must some time give up the use of an incorrect form, and we soon get accustomed to an unusual orthography. We shall therefore write it—Yahweh. It is not easy for us Europeans to pronounce the name as an Israelite did, for in our language we never pronounce an *h* at the close of a syllable. The last vowel (on which the accent falls) must be pronounced like the *e* in "wet." What this name means, and where Moses got it from, we shall inquire further on.

The "Ten Commandments" probably ran as follows:—
I, Yahweh, am your god. Worship no other gods beside me. Make no image of a god. Commit no perjury. Remember to keep holy the Sabbath day. Honor your father and your mother. Commit no murder. Break not the marriage vow. Steal not. Bear no false witness. Covet not.

The great value of this fundamental code lies, in the first place, in the fact that by forbidding every other religion, it paved the way to the recognition of the unity of God, and, secondly, in the close connection which it established between religion and morality. What else Moses did for his tribes-

¹ "Jehovah" only occurs by itself four times in the Authorized Version. The most important case is that of Exodus vi. 3. It is also found five times in proper names, as in Genesis xxii. 14.

men is unknown. The principal sacred object of his time appears to have been the ark, near which, or in which, it was thought that Yahweh lived.

For half a century, or more, these Hebrew tribes led the life of wandering shepherds in the Arabian desert. This name included not only the wilderness bordering on Egypt, but also the great steppes which lie between the Jordan and Mount Seir on the one side, and the Euphrates on the other. At the end of this period, assisted by the peoples of Moab and Ammon, who were related to them, they made themselves masters of the district east of the Jordan, and gradually pushed into Canaan, supported by Midianite and Edomite tribes, partly from the southern, but chiefly from the eastern side; and there they won themselves a home after a desperate struggle, under the leadership of Joshua, of the tribe of Ephraim.

II.

During the first two centuries of the residence of the Israelites in Canaan, their history presents a scene of great confusion. National union can hardly be spoken of. It is true that the different clans which belonged to the same tribe were conscious of their relationship to each other; true, too, that the various tribes recognized more or less distinctly a mutual tie; but this feeling was not strong enough to make them stand by each other always. Yet there was pressing need of this mutual support, since their independence was anything but secured. For although the Canaanite tribes had been expelled, rooted out, or subjected, some of them gradually recovered strength, and gave the invaders a great deal of trouble, compelling them to treat with them, not always on very honorable terms, and in some places even making them pay tribute. Besides this, the Philistines, a warlike people, not of Canaanite race, who held possession of the southern coast, kept their neighbors, the tribes of Dan and Judah, fully employed, while other surrounding peoples — as the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites — took advantage of the feeble condition of the new inhabitants of Canaan to oppress them; and even marauding shepherd tribes, from time to time, poured over the country. Yet the mutual jealousy of the Israelite clans was such that they not only often left each other to their fate, but sometimes even fought against one another; and there was a special

want of good-will between the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh in the north and Judah in the south.

So it often seemed as if "the sons of Israel" would melt away amongst other peoples, and never gain an independent national existence. But a mighty power was slumbering in these tribes, and whenever their need was sorest this power was awakened by heroes, who called the tribes to battle in the name of Yahweh, succeeded in uniting several connected clans under their banner, and preserved the hard-pressed people from destruction. After their victory they generally continued to rule the people, or at least the tribe, which they had rescued; and since they bore the name of "Judges" as supreme chiefs, the centuries in which their deeds were performed are generally called the Period of the Judges.

It became clear, however, that the independence of the Israelites was not permanently insured by the rise of these judges, and that the tribes could never become a united nation on the strength of religious revivals and the personal authority of the men who offered themselves as leaders. Samuel was the last to make the attempt, and in spite of all his efforts the Philistines on the one side, and the Ammonites on the other, would have entirely subdued the "sons of Israel" had not the latter made up their minds to adopt the regal form of government. No doubt it cost them a great struggle to bend their proud necks beneath the yoke of an absolute ruler, but they were driven to it by necessity.

During the two centuries in which the wandering, loosely connected shepherd tribes had grown into a nation cultivating the soil and governed by a king, they had unavoidably mingled to a great extent, in many districts, with the Canaanites, who were nearly related to them and spoke the same language. They had much to learn from them, for the Canaanites were skilled in various arts and sciences; but contact with them was extremely dangerous to the worship of Yahweh. For the religion of the Canaanites had many points of similarity with the primitive religion of the Israelites. The worship of the Baals occupied an important place in it, and the licentious rites which were often performed in honor of the powers of nature had deeply corrupted the manners of the Canaanites.

In various places the Israelites were sadly polluted by intercourse with the Canaanites; but in general the worship of Yahweh, according to Mosaic principles, triumphed. The chief sanctuary of the country, that of Shiloh, was consecrated to him; and from time to time the offended dignity of

Yahweh was maintained, often after a very bloody fashion, and a rough penal code carried out against apostates. And yet, though Yahweh was always the chief god, all kinds of Baals were worshipped by his side, even by zealous contenders for his honor.

In matters of religion the widest freedom ruled. Temples and altars stood everywhere. There was no definite priesthood to whom sacrificial and expiatory rites and the consultation of the deity were entrusted. The priests who were attached to the great sanctuaries, such as those of Dan, of Shiloh; of Bethel, and of Beersheba, had a great deal of influence, and the members of the tribe of Moses (the Levites) were often preferred to others for the office of priest, if they could be got.

Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin, was the first acknowledged king of all the "sons of Israel." His reign was short, but not inglorious. He waged successful wars; and also appeared as a powerful and zealous defender of Yahweh's honor. But he was unable to keep himself upon the throne, for he had a quarrel with Samuel, and this seems to have impaired his power to such an extent that he was no longer a match for the Philistines, and after his death his son Ishbosheth retained nothing but a shadow of power. Through the influence of the party of Samuel, David the son of Jesse was now proclaimed king by the tribe of Judah (about 1058). After two years of civil war, Ishbosheth fell, and the strong hand of David grasped the reins of government over all the tribes.

III.

Samuel had left his people an institution out of which a formidable political power was afterwards developed, namely, the schools of the prophets. Prophets were men who, fired with enthusiasm, spoke as if inspired by some deity; and Samuel drew young men of this character together in schools, and kindled their enthusiasm by music and other means, and at the same time gave them such a training that they came forward in the name of Yahweh as advisers and as guides of the people, with ever-increasing boldness. The people, full of reverence for the men of God, lent them a willing ear, and their influence, therefore, was very great. David was their friend, and that of the priests as well. He began his reign by the conquest of Jerusalem, which up to this time had been

in the hands of the Canaanites. He then removed the ark to the same city, and took up his own abode there. Thus, he made his capital the central point of the religious life of Israel, and so bound up his own interests and honor with those of Yahweh. His ideas about this god, and the way in which he was to be worshipped, were, however, very imperfect and rude. He, too, invoked the Baals, and sometimes made frightful offerings to avert the wrath of Yahweh. Though music and poetry were cultivated with success in his days, and even by him personally, yet it is a great mistake to suppose him the author of most of the Psalms.

In consequence of a number of successful wars, David, in spite of repeated internal disasters, left Israel as a powerful kingdom to his son Solomon (about 1018), who succeeded, though not without difficulty, in holding it together. His reign was very brilliant. He kept a dazzling court, and his costly palaces, the magnificent temple which he built for Yahweh at Jerusalem, and the commerce in which he engaged, spread his fame far and wide. And as the Israelites from this time forward came into closer contact with a number of foreign nations, their horizon also was enlarged. Solomon himself is called the father of wisdom—that is, of the art of making proverbs and setting riddles—and from his time forward the “wise men” are a recognized power in the development of the national character.

But however brilliant, the reign of Solomon brought no happiness to his people. The cost of all this splendor was heavy, and the taxes were therefore oppressive. This fed the ancient jealousy of the northern tribes against Judah to no small degree. The prophets, too, were very far from content. Indeed, Solomon had not only set up a sanctuary for Yahweh, but had done the same for the gods of other countries too, and he troubled himself very little about the exclusive rights of the god of Israel, while even the temple itself, in the eyes of many, bore, with good reason, a decidedly heathenish character.

Meanwhile, by the erection of the temple at Jerusalem, Solomon had laid the foundation of the power of the priests who did duty there; for though there were hundreds of sanctuaries in the land, though no one thought as yet of limiting their number, much less of contesting the legality of the worship on the “high places,” yet it stands to reason that the magnificent sanctuary, made illustrious by the royal presence, attracted a host of pilgrims, and gradually became the

central point of the worship of Yahweh. It is therefore of importance to remark that there was no image of Yahweh in the temple, and that the most prominent of the priests who were attached to the sanctuary were of the tribe of Levi. At their head stood Zadok.

After Solomon's death, the fire that had so long been smouldering burst out, and most of the tribes revolted from his son Rehoboam. Only Judah, with that part of Benjamin in which Jerusalem lay, remained faithful to the house of David, while Jeroboam of Ephraim became king of the northern realm, which is called the kingdom of the ten tribes, or of Israel (978 B.C.).

IV.

The northern kingdom was much larger than Judah, and when it came to a war between the two, Judah had generally to give way before Israel; but while the Judæans were always very faithful to the family of David, in the northern kingdom one royal house kept following another, and the constantly recurring wars with the Syrians were a great cause of weakness. In the form of their Yahweh-worship the two kingdoms were opposed to each other to a certain extent from the beginning, for Jeroboam I., in opposition to the worship of Yahweh without an image in the temple of Jerusalem, encouraged the adoration of this god under the form of a steer, and, for instance, set up images of this description in the great sanctuaries at Dan and Bethel. This gave great offence to many of his subjects; amongst others, to some of the prophets, by whose influence, to some extent, he had gained his throne; and to various Levites who did duty at different sanctuaries. Some of them even left the country in consequence of it. But the question whether the image-worship was allowable or not soon fell into the background, when, under the reign of Ahab, the worship of the Syrian god Baal gained ground amongst the people to such an extent that Yahweh was in danger of being pushed aside. This roused the utmost efforts of the prophets, whose activity has been recorded by tradition under the representative names of Elijah and Elisha. By their efforts Baal was defeated, and Jehu, who was placed on the throne by them, restored the worship of Yahweh to its former honor (884).

In Judah, too, the same battle raged, though not so fiercely, when King Jehoshaphat had allied his house with that of Ahab; especially when Athaliah, the daughter of the latter, had gained possession of the throne; but here the contest was soon decided in favor of Yahweh. The priests of the temple of Jerusalem played a more important part in this affair than the prophets, and, indeed, these last had by no means formed so active a political-religious party in Judah as they had in Israel.

In consequence of the victory of the Yahweh-worship over that of Baal, the conception of Yahweh's being became more and more exalted. If he had hitherto been a god standing by the side of others, he became henceforth for the guiding spirits among the Israelites the god of gods, who had chosen Israel as his people, and established an eternal covenant with them. At the same time, the moral demands of Yahweh were brought more into the foreground. This exalted conception, however, was the portion of but few. The mass of the people was far from embracing it, and even most of the members of the prophetic schools did not rise much above the common notions of their day, and were more like soothsayers than "spiritual men."

V.

The kings of Jehu's house (from 884 to 770) were in many respects admirable princes. Under Jeroboam II., indeed, Israel realized a prosperity it had never known before, and even after the fall of this dynasty some of Israel's rulers swayed the sceptre not without glory. But like so many greater kingdoms, Israel was unable to resist the formidable power of the Assyrians, who subdued first one province and then another, until at last, in the year 719, under King Shalmaneser, they took Samaria, the capital of Israel, and carried off the cream of the nation into captivity.

Judah, whose king, Ahaz, had called in the help of the Assyrians against Israel, was in consequence reduced to a position of dependence upon them; but Hezekiah again refused to obey them, and though the kingdom was thereby brought into great danger, yet Sennacherib was foiled in his machinations against Jerusalem.

At this period (the eighth century) there lived a number of prophets, whose words have been preserved to us in

writing, so that we are able to make out from them what were the ideas of the most highly developed Israelites of those days. They are: — Amos, Hosea, The writer of Zechariah, ix. — xi., Isaiah, and Micah. According to their conviction, Yahweh is the lord of hosts, the inaccessible and holy, who rewards every man righteously according to his works, and whose spirit rules over all things, both the kingdom of nature and the mind of man. These prophets do not exactly deny the existence of other gods (whom they generally identify with their images), and though their Yahweh is too exalted to allow of other deities by his side, yet they themselves can hardly have been clearly conscious that they really recognized only one god. In spite of Yahweh's greatness, the mount of the temple, Sion, is still called his dwelling place, and Israel is the only people with whom he has made a covenant, so that Canaan is also called "the holy land." These prophets knew or recognized no written law of Yahweh. Their god revealed his will through his servants the prophets. They did not show much reverence for outward adoration, sacrifices, fasts, and the like, and they always insisted on repentance and good deeds.

These prophets often came before the people and the king as advisers in affairs of state. In this respect they occupied a peculiar position of their own, for their belief in the omnipotence of the righteous and exalted god of Israel led them to declare that every alliance with a foreign nation ought to be rejected, that no yoke of a heathen oppressor was to be borne, and that the people must rest upon Yahweh's help alone, so that even preparations for war were a proof of want of faith.

As to the future, their conviction of the nation's sins led them to expect retribution from Yahweh's justice; but their faith in Israel's election and destiny inspired them with the hope of the restoration of the glory of the people of God, while they often looked back upon the time of King David as upon a golden age. For the most part, they expected the salvation of the people at the hands of a righteous prince of the house of David, and comforted themselves and others with the hope of his ascending the throne. This is called "the Messianic expectation." These prospects were all the more absorbing to the Israelites, inasmuch as the belief in man's personal immortality was altogether unknown to them.

But although these prophets, both by their words and their writings, exercised a great influence over the people,

yet they and their followers formed but a small minority. Over against them stood the mass of the people, whose representatives were vigorous upholders of the worship of other gods beside Yahweh, of image-worship, and of many heathen practices. Indeed, under Ahaz, through the influence of the Assyrians, there was actually a religious revival amongst the members of this heathen party, as we may call it, which showed itself in the building of Tophet, near Jerusalem, for the use of those who wanted to sacrifice their children to Molech, and in the spread of star-worship and the astrology connected with it. This movement was so powerful that even the worship in the temple of Jerusalem was modified by it.

The prophets, then, whose names we mentioned above, led the party of progress. Up to a certain point they were supported by the Levitical priests of Jerusalem, as well as by the "wise men," who were indeed distinctly at one with them, though they do not seem to have taken any decided practical action.

Hezekiah was the first prince who was guided in his conduct of the government by the prophets of what may be called the Mosaic school. He attempted not only to root out the worship of strange gods, but also to confine that of Yahweh to Jerusalem. With this view, he destroyed a number of sanctuaries of Yahweh, to the great indignation of many of his subjects. Besides all this he threw off the yoke of Assyria, and was very near bringing his people to destruction by so doing.

After his death the heathen party once more got possession of the helm of state, and raged under Manasseh and Amon against the upholders of the exclusive worship of Yahweh for more than half a century. But under oppression the latter had grown in numbers and in power. The prophets and the Levitical priests now pulled together. They made a clear statement of their demands in the Book of Deuteronomy; and in the eighteenth year of King Josiah's reign (626) the religion of the country was violently reformed, as far as possible in accordance with their views. Henceforth no other worship was to be allowed than that of Yahweh in the temple of Jerusalem, where none but Levitical priests did duty.

As Assyria was now much weakened, Josiah was enabled to bring the northern provinces—at any rate, partially—under his power, and to regulate the exercise of religion there too, in accordance with his own ideas.



VI.

The reformation of Josiah is a turning point in the history of Israel, for the religious tendencies which have ever since distinguished the Jewish people then first gained the ascendant. But at the same time it caused, or at any rate hastened, the fall of the kingdom. For by the triumph of this party, the prophets who declared in the name of Yahweh's righteousness that his faithful people was invincible, acquired great influence, and carried princes and people with them. Josiah himself fell in a war in which he had rashly involved himself against the Egyptian king, Necho; and when Necho in his turn was conquered by the Chaldees, Judah became the prey of this powerful people, and their king, Nebuchadrezzar, finally, laid waste the city and the temple, and carried off the cream of the people into captivity (586).

This blow, and the misery that followed it, gave the greatest weight to the words of a Jeremiah and an Ezekiel, who, one in Judæa and the other in the land of captivity, had ascribed Israel's humiliation to the sins of the people, for which Yahweh, the only true god, was punishing them. Soon after the beginning of the captivity, the whole history of Israel was worked up, from this point of view, by a Judæan, whose history we still possess in the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings. The principles of Deuteronomy, moreover, were strongly impressed upon the people by the captivity, and the belief in Israel's election, together with the hope of a return, still lived in the hearts of many. Hence, when Cyrus, the king of the Persians, gradually subdued the provinces of the kingdom of the Chaldees, he was hailed with the utmost joy, as the instrument in Yahweh's hand for the chastisement of his enemies, and the deliverance of his people. Yahweh's glory accordingly rose higher and higher in their eyes; and when Cyrus gave them leave to return to their fatherland, thousands of them availed themselves of his permission under the guidance of the governor, Zerubbabel, and the high-priest, Joshua, trusting that through the might of Yahweh, who had foretold all that had happened by his prophets, they were now about to establish the Messianic kingdom (588).

To this expectation, however, the event by no means answered, for the Judæans, harassed by their neighbors

(especially by the Samaritans), giving offence on every side by their national pride, sometimes, too, suspected by their Persian rulers, could only just manage to build and to preserve their temple and their city walls. Independence was not to be thought of; and when the Persian empire fell, their country passed over, without a blow or a struggle, into the hands of Alexander the Great (332).

During these two centuries, though no great change took place in the outer lot of the people, their religion in many respects underwent great alterations, and the work was vigorously carried forward on the basis of Josiah's reformation. But while the Judæans who returned with Zerubbabel had to wrestle with a host of difficulties in finding the means of livelihood, in defending themselves against their enemies, and in rebuilding their temple, there still lived in Babylonia many thousands of their brothers in the faith, whose interest in their people, their fatherland, and the temple had not died away, and who were earnestly attached to the service of Yahweh. Amongst them a priestly tendency gained ground, which had already found a powerful exponent in Ezekiel. During the eighty years which followed the permission to return, the disciples of this school had reduced to writing a number of laws relating to the distinction between clean and unclean, the celebration of the Sabbath and other feasts, the different kinds of sacrifices, the dignity of rank among the priests, the arrangement of the sanctuary, and so on; and Ezra, who came to Jerusalem in 458, brought these laws into operation, with the assistance of the governor, Nehemiah, though not without much opposition. The supremacy of the Law among the Jews dates from this moment. Those who were opposed to this legal tendency, and would not consent to the limitations imposed by the Law upon their freedom, found a place of refuge with the Samaritans and elsewhere, and a central point for their worship in the temple on Mount Gerizim.

In a certain sense the longings of the great prophets before the captivity were accomplished by the introduction of this law. Its object was certainly to make Israel a people sanctified to Yahweh. But in many respects what was now realized was something altogether different from what the bold champions of the Mosaic tendency before Josiah had intended. The very law itself, which became supreme among the Jews, under the name of "the Mosaic law," was in some points of heathen origin. Different usages of the

old worshippers on "the high places," elements of the popular religion, were incorporated in the laws, while the priests who drew them up did not stand so high above the religion of the people, as did men like Michah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel. And, moreover, religious liberty was now, once for all, relinquished. Prophetic independence was not to be tolerated. The distance from Yahweh at which each one was placed at his birth was accurately defined by the Law. According to it the children of Israel had indeed a more liberal portion in the holiness of Yahweh than the heathen had. Yet nearer to him stood the tribe of Levi, amongst whom the "sons of Aaron" rose pre-eminent as priests, and at their head again the high priest stood as the holiest of all mankind. This arrangement of the priestly ranks is very characteristic of the sanctity demanded by the Law. Everything it required was precisely defined. Thus as the Law was introduced, prophecy at the same time died out. The Written Word took the place of the immediate revelation of Yahweh to his servants the prophets. The prophets were succeeded by the Scribes.

VII.

From Ezra's reformation onward the scribes exercised a decisive influence over Israel's religion, and also, to a certain extent, over the fate of the people. By their teaching, which they mostly gave in the synagogues, they impressed the Law upon the Jews, and at the same time elaborated what they called "the Tradition," and applied it to varying circumstances of life. The Jews who had stayed behind in Babylonia now came into frequent contact with the Persians, and as some of them had kept up close and continuous communications with their brethren in Palestine, more than one idea insensibly passed into the Jewish religion from that of the Persians, which resembled it in many points.

The people sympathized deeply with the scribes and their work; felt as much respect for them as for the priests, often even more; and vied with each other in glorifying the temple of Jerusalem and the law of the Lord. We still have the most beautiful examples of this in the book of Psalms, which, although older poems have found a place in it, is as a whole the hymn book of the second temple. Religion became more and more the special characteristic of the Jews and the great

mainspring of their policy. The supreme power in the country of the Jews — subject, of course, to the Persian governor — was lodged with the high priest, by whose side we soon find a council established, which is generally called by a Greek name “the Sanhedrim.”

The incorporation of their territory into the empire of Alexander the Great exercised a powerful influence upon the Jews. A new world was opened to them by this event — the world of the genius of Greece. During the century and a half in which Judæa was the bone of contention between the Kings of Egypt, the Lagidæ, and those of Syria, the Seleucidæ — now subject to the former and now to the latter — it remained continually exposed to the influence of Greek science, art, and culture; so that it became a question whether the Greek would overpower the peculiar Jewish spirit, or whether the Jews would preserve the characteristics which distinguished them from other peoples.

While the Greek influence was making itself felt, the scribes and priests still continued their work. The former applied themselves to the development of the Law, the latter to that of the ritual. With reference to the efforts of the priests, the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah are especially noteworthy; for we see from them how they looked at the history of the people from their own point of view, and the means they took to give a priestly tinge to the past. Meanwhile the directions taken by the activity of the scribes, and by that of the priests, departed more and more widely from each other, until the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to root out the Jewish religion (167) roused all those who were attached to the customs of their forefathers to exert their powers to the utmost to prevent the absorption of the people of Yahweh into the nations, and the loss of its special character. The struggle was short but fierce. Mattathias and his sons, generally called the Hasmonæans or the Maccabees, stood at the head of the “devout,” who fought successfully for the freedom of their country (138). In the midst of this mighty effort of the faithful servants of Yahweh, the Messianic expectations, which had for some time been pushed quite into the background, experienced a powerful revival. The book of Daniel gives us a clear insight into the beliefs that inspired the Jews in this contest, and into their desires for the future.

The event, however, did not answer to the high-wrought expectations of this book. The Hasmonæans did indeed

govern the land for some time as kings and high priests at the same time, and one of them, John Hyrcanus, conquered his neighbors, the Galilæans, Samaritans, and others, and even compelled the Idumæans to embrace Judaism; but after his death (106) his house was ruined by internal divisions, and in the year 37 the Idumæan (Edomite) Herod made himself master of the throne by the help of the Romans.

All was now over with the prosperity and internal peace of the people. A Jewish state did indeed exist for another century, but whether a prince of the house of Herod was nominally at its head, or whether the Roman governors exercised their power immediately, the Romans were always masters of the country, and the strength of the most fiery champions of Israel's liberty was wasted in hopeless struggles against their power, until in the year 70 after Christ Jerusalem was taken and destroyed by Titus. This was the end of the Jewish state. The tumultuous risings which afterwards took place were speedily, though not always easily, suppressed. As a Jewish city, Jerusalem was never rebuilt.

But Judaism was not annihilated by this. Since the Babylonian captivity Palestine had indeed been the central point of the Jews, and the temple of Jerusalem their great sanctuary, but even in the midst of foreign nations many thousands of them had preserved their peculiar national character, together with a passionate interest in their religion and their people. In Babylonia and Egypt especially there were flourishing Jewish communities which even exercised some influence on the religious development in Palestine. Now that Jerusalem had fallen, it appeared that Judaism could still exist, even without a political centre. The scribes — sometimes in peace, sometimes under persecution — continued to build upon the foundations laid by the fathers. Numerous schools of these learned men watched faithfully over the preservation of the Holy Scripture, and worked zealously at the more accurate definition of the Law. The results of their labors are registered to a large extent in the Talmud. So the influence of the scribes has preserved Judaism from destruction down to our day; but has too often resolved the religious life of the Jews into the frivolous observance of hundreds of religious usages.

VIII.

In a few pages we have run through a period of fourteen centuries. It has been a gallop through, and nothing more, just to get a general view of the whole. We shall now take different groups from this great field under closer inspection; and then a great deal that has seemed obscure in this sketch will become clearer and will spring into life before us. Just in the same way we have a general but rather hazy recollection of the character of a country through which we have passed in an express train; but only those scenes live in our memory, and make a strong individual impression upon us, in which we have lingered long enough to observe all their details.

The long history, of which we have taken a hurried survey, leaves a mournful impression at its close. It is true that we have watched Israel issuing from the night of superstition and immorality, and have seen how the light arose to some extent upon the people; but we have to close by dwelling upon the fact that this light was in a great measure quenched again, and that the efforts of the noblest of Israel's sons could not prevent the Law from stifling to a great extent the freedom of the spirit.

A sad result in truth!

But about half a century before the fall of Jerusalem, in the former territory of the ten tribes, there rose a man in whom the spirit of the greatest prophets and the devoutest psalmists lived again, in whom all that had been true and beautiful in the religion of Israel was restored and purified. Jesus of Nazareth wakened a new life. But although he sprang from Israel, his creation in the spiritual world belongs no more to the history of the Israelite religion, but forms the material of a new one.

Although in Israel, then, the light goes down, in Jesus of Nazareth it rises with fresh glory.

BOOK I.

THE GENERATIONS BEFORE MOSES.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST ACCOUNT OF THE CREATION.

GEN. I. 1—II. 3.

SOMETIMES it happens that a child, not more than a few years old, perhaps, gazing out of the window at the trees and flowers or over the snow-covered fields, or looking up at the kindly moon and the twinkling stars, asks all at once: Why, mother, wherever does the world come from? The child's question is often asked by grown-up people too. We know that everything we see around us comes into existence in the natural course of things—that animals are born, and plants grow up from seeds; and children at school are taught much more about the laws of life and nature now-a-days than formerly; but this is not enough to satisfy us. We want to understand how things began as well as how they go on; and the questions: Where did the first egg from which a bird was hatched come from? Where did the first grain of seed that grew into a fruit-bearing plant come from? Where did the sun, that inexhaustible fountain of warmth, come from? What was the beginning of everything that exists?—such questions as these are always rising in the minds of men who take any interest in what they see, or reflect at all about it.

Now, the learned men who study geology and astronomy are seeking the answers to these questions to the best of their power; and, thanks to their industry, they are getting on from step to step. That is to say, though the questions which have the greatest interest for us—how was the matter formed

out of which everything is made? and, how did the principle of life in plant, animal, or man itself, come into existence? — still remain unanswered; yet the condition of the earth many centuries before human beings lived on it is revealed; the great changes which its surface and the various races of its inhabitants have undergone in the course of time are brought more and more to light; the laws of nature, by which our solar system is held together and kept in motion, are explained; and the size, the weight, and the distance from each other of many of the heavenly bodies are calculated. But the further a man advances in the knowledge of nature the more frankly does he admit that he knows comparatively little, and that there is much that he would gladly understand — such as the origin of things, for example — to which he cannot penetrate. Science is modest.

There is, however, another faculty which may be used to answer difficult questions, such as how the world was formed and came into existence, and that is the imagination which rests a great mass of supposed knowledge upon quite insufficient grounds of observation. The less knowledge a man has the more freely does he give the rein to his imagination; and, since very little was known in ancient times of the laws of nature and of the construction of the universe, it is not surprising that representations, not only of the history, but of the origin of the world, were produced by the imaginative powers of many different nations. The Greek name “cosmogony” is often given to these representations.

The Israelites, amongst others, did what has just been described; and the Bible begins with a cosmogony. I will tell you the story, a little expanded to make it clearer, and illustrated by other passages from the writings of the Israelites.

First of all, God made the heaven and the earth; that is, everything that exists. But the world was as yet in utter confusion, — a shapeless mass; earth and water were indistinguishable; and though the earth stood fast on its foundations, the water covered everything¹ so that nothing like trees or animals could exist. Nay, darkness covered all things, and as yet there was no light of heaven. But a power was there to create order out of this confusion or chaos. The orenth of God hovered over it.

This state of things was not allowed to last, for God said,

¹ Psalm civ. 5, 6.

Let there be light ! and lo ! the light was there, and he pronounced it good. Then God gave the light the name of day, while he called the darkness night. So the first day went by.

When it was evening again and the second day had begun, God called a spacious dome into existence to divide into two parts the huge mass of water which made up the greater portion of the chaos. So he made the vault that, firm as a metal mirror,¹ rears itself high above the earth, and is supported by the mountains.²

Above this vault, which he called heaven, God collected the greater part of the waters which covered the earth ; and then he enthroned himself above them, and made them the store-house of the rain.³ So the second day went by.

The work of the second day was continued on the third. Like thunder, God's voice re-echoed over the waters, which still covered everything ;⁴ and, lo ! they were gathered together into the ocean, which washes the main land,⁵ and all the other seas and watercourses, while the mountains rose up and a part of the earth was made dry. At once all kinds of plants came out upon its surface, by the divine command ; the grass covered the ground like a green carpet, the herbs sprang up with their means of propagation, the fruit-trees with seed-bearing fruit. God saw that it was good.

When the fourth day had broken, glorious new works were made by God. There was light beneath the firmament already, but the heavenly bodies which regulate its coming and going did not exist as yet. God made them. He fixed the sun upon the firmament, and commanded him to give light to the earth by day ; he appointed the moon as empress of the night, and then he spangled the vault of heaven with stars. The heavenly bodies were to serve as a distinction between night and day, as well as "for signs," that is, to announce God's judgments by their shining or eclipse, by their unexpected appearance, and by their relations to each other,⁶ and for fixing the feast times,⁷ and marking out the months and years. And when the heavens were beautified with these lights, then God pronounced it good.

On the fifth day the waters were peopled with fishes, and the space above the earth with birds. Wondrous sea mon-

¹ Job xxxvii. 18.

² 2 Sam. xxii. 8. Job xxvi. 11.

³ Psalm xxix. 3, 10 ; civ. 3, 13 ; cxlviii. 4.

⁴ Psalm civ. 6-8.

⁶ Proverbs viii. 27.

⁶ Jeremiah x. 2. Joel ii. 30, 31.

⁷ Psalm civ. 19.

sters, serpents, and crocodiles were formed by God, and the waters teemed with fishes and other animals, while the winged creatures hovered in the air and soared up to the canopy above. Divided into many races, they added life to the scene of creation, and God blessed them and made them fruitful, so that they should multiply and fill the earth.

But however good the creations of the fifth day seemed in the eyes of God, the sixth was to crown his work; for on this day he commanded the earth to bring forth the four-footed beasts, both those which were to be man's domestic animals and the creeping things, and those that live in jungles and deserts, and beasts of prey, and wild game. Many kinds of all these appeared at once. Now the earth was ready to receive her master. Let us make man after our image! said God, speaking in the plural, as kings do; let them be rulers over all that has been made — the fishes, the birds, the four-footed and creeping animals. At his command it was so.

He made mankind — men and women — after his image, and gave them the blessing of fruitfulness, as well as dominion over all the animals. In distinction from the beasts, which had to feed on grass, he gave them grains and herbs and fruits for food. Then God looked upon all his work, and pronounced it good. And so the sixth day ended. The work of creation was finished. Heaven and earth, with all their inhabitants, were made, and God could cease from his creative work.

On the seventh day, therefore, God created nothing more, but rested; and to commemorate this fact he blessed the seventh day of every week and declared it a holy day, consecrated to rest.

There you have one of the Israelite representations of the creation of the world. We shall soon see that it was not the only one; but since the Bible opens with it, it has attracted more attention than the rest, and is even thought sometimes, by those who are imperfectly acquainted with the Bible, to be the only one.

We have many grounds for valuing this legend highly; but we cannot regard it as a faithful description of the formation of the world. It is a great question whether the Israelites themselves accepted it as such. At any rate, this opinion was not held by the compiler of the book of Genesis, who placed, as we shall see in the following chapter, a second cosmogony, of quite different purport, immediately

after this first; nor was any such idea in the mind of the poet who made God ask the censurer of his works: ¹

Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?
If thou hast the skill, declare!
Who took the measure thereof, if thou knowest,
Or who stretched the line upon it?
Whereon are the columns of her foundation sunk,
Or who laid her corner stone,
When the morning stars rejoiced together
And all the sons of God shouted for joy?

For a long time, however, this cosmogony was regarded as a true history of the creation. But now the number of those who hold this view is always diminishing. And it is only natural that it should be so; for in times past, when people knew but little of the construction of the universe and of the former condition of the earth, they might suppose, in their ignorance, that the first chapter of Genesis gave an account of the real circumstances of the creation; but when the students of astronomy and geology had given an entirely different history of the earth, it was not so easy to accept this biblical account, and the old opinion could not be retained without doing considerable violence to common sense. People have wearied themselves in vain in the effort to reconcile the story which opens the Bible with what the men of science tell us. All kinds of crooked ways to this end have been tried; and that not only in learned books and in dry technical treatises, but in popular works such as Hugh Miller's "Testimony of the Rocks." The more talent this and other such works display, and the more charmingly they are written, the more must we lament that their authors have made all their powers subservient to the hopeless task of reconciling the account of the creation in the first chapter of Genesis with the results of scientific study; for it is impossible to gain even the appearance of success without doing injustice both to the biblical narrative and to the scientific discoveries.

What is the origin of this story of the creation? The celebrated German, J. G. von Herder, has suggested the idea that it is simply the description of awakening nature at the dawn of day, when the darkness of night yields before the morning twilight, making everything gradually distinguishable, while the animals begin to make themselves heard and seen, until at last man comes forth and goes out to his work. This is an ingenious idea, and, as we shall soon see, there is

¹ Job xxxviii. 4-7.

a certain truth at the bottom of it. But the belief that our account of the creation, in the form in which we have it, is a description of the dawn of day, is not correct; for how could any one, in giving such a description, make the sun, the moon, and the stars come into existence at the same time? The latter vanish out of our sight just when the former rises. The beasts of prey are made after the sun in the narrative; but really they go away and hide themselves as soon as the sun appears; and the Israelites were quite aware of this fact.¹

Our narrative is not a myth, that is to say it is not a figurative description of anything that takes place in nature. Examples of such myths may be found amongst all peoples. Just read, for example, the following account of the creation, which arose among the Chaldees: Once all was darkness and water; wherein all kinds of monsters lived, over which a woman, Homoroka or Thanath, that is the ocean, held dominion. But the highest God, Bel, divided the darkness and cut the woman into two halves, out of which he formed heaven and earth. Upon this the monsters perished, for they could not endure the light. Then Bel cut off his own head, and from the earth, moistened by the drops of blood that fell, he made men, who are therefore endowed with understanding and have a share in the divine reason. This is in all probability a mythical description of the dawn of day. Before the rising of the sun the heavenly ocean rules over the monsters, that is the constellations, but the sun makes these latter vanish of themselves, and forms out of the ruler of the darkness, heaven and earth, since these two can be distinguished from each other as soon as the sunlight chases the night away.

Now, mythical representations such as this were not unknown to the Israelites. They, too, often thought of the heavenly bodies as of living creatures, as will appear from a glance at the passage from Job, quoted above, where the morning stars are placed in the same line with the sons of God, that is the angels. There are also some indications in the first account of the creation that the poet was acquainted with a myth not altogether unlike the Chaldean, though they are so slight as to be altogether lost in a translation. But the account of the creation we are considering is not, as is the case with myths, to a large extent, the product of unbridled imagination. It is indeed highly probable — and that is the truth in Herder's opinion combated above — that the mate-

¹ Psalm civ. 20-22.

rials of this narrative were furnished by a mythical description of the dawn. But these materials have been worked up by the author into an artistic whole. Probably several features of the old account, those for instance which seemed to the writer unworthy of the deity, fell away from it when it was thus worked up, and certainly one addition was made to it to serve to glorify the day of rest. We shall speak further on of the origin of the custom of celebrating the sabbath; but it is clear that the writer of Gen. i. 1-ii. 3 holds it in great reverence as a holy day, and endeavors to explain its institution from the fact that God completed the work of creation in six days, and rested on the seventh day, himself.

As a scientific product the narrative has no value; for the writer had only a very defective knowledge of the construction of the universe to go upon. A moderately good school-boy of our days could easily find him out in mistakes. That the earth is a ball which is always turning upon its axis, and at the same time pursuing its rapid course round the sun; that the whole earth, which seems so great to us, is no more, in comparison to the universe, than a single grain of sand on a sea-beach miles in length, and that the sun alone is a million and a half times as large — all this was unknown to the Israelites. For them the earth was a disk, washed round by the ocean, over which the firmament rose like a giant cupola, while sun, moon, and stars moved on the inner surface of this vault.

An Israelite could easily imagine that, in six days of four and twenty hours each, the earth was changed from a chaos into a dwelling place for beasts and men. But now-a-days it does not take much learning to know that many ages elapsed between the time when the firm land gradually appeared and the day upon which a human being first drew breath upon it.

We shall not easily be convinced that the sun and moon announce God's judgments, or that they were made for the purpose of fixing man's reckoning of time. But we must place ourselves at the stand-point of an Israelite who was unacquainted with the causes of many of the phenomena of the heavens, for example of the eclipses of sun and moon, and who regulated his religious feasts principally by the reappearance of the moon after it had been for a time invisible without his being able to account for its disappearance. We shall then find nothing unnatural in the rise of such beliefs, although they are altogether beside the truth.

If the value of the first account of the creation is very slight, when looked at from a scientific point of view, as a work of art, on the contrary, it is in the highest degree remarkable. If we compare our cosmogony with that of the Chaldees, which we just now glanced at, how far the latter falls short of it in beauty! The first chapter of Genesis has always been considered a masterpiece, and with good reason too! The tone of the narrative is simple and dignified. There are no extravagant conceptions, such as those of the Chaldee story, and this is certainly not the most grotesque which has been handed down from antiquity. There are no strange representations of the way in which God formed everything. God only speaks, and what he wishes to create exists. "He said: Let there be light! and there was light." That thought is nobly expressed!

The purity of taste with which our writer has composed his narrative bears testimony also to his reverence for God. The strange representations, which we meet elsewhere, did not rise, of course, from contempt for the Deity. The Chaldee saw nothing irreverent in the representation of the god Bel cutting his head off to make the dust into slime with his blood, and thence to shape a human form. It was only his way of expressing his belief that man is related to the Deity. We are in danger of being unfair towards those who express their feelings under forms which do not seem fitting to us. But yet there is something in these symbols which goes against our feelings. We can never speak of God in language dignified enough. Every representation, every description, is defective. And if we cannot keep silence on these matters, but must speak as best we can about Him and what He does, a sacred awe compels us to express our thoughts about God and his work in the simplest language possible. From this point of view the first biblical account of the creation has a refreshing tone, which raises it above many of the stories and poems even of the Israelites. It seems to cry in our ears: Let honor be rendered to God!

We must not suppose, however, that the conception which the poet had formed of God was free from narrowness. That God rested from his work on the seventh day is an unworthy representation, for God is always working. Moreover, it sounds very strange to say that man was made after God's image. What, we ask, did the writer mean by this? Did he think of man as like God in soul or in body? It admits of no doubt that he meant in soul and body both. Of course man's spiritual characteristics, his intellect, his capacity for

morality and piety, stood in the foreground of the writer's thoughts when he spoke of his being formed after God's image. But the Israelites of old times thought of God, as we shall often notice in other stories, as having a body like that of a man, and as enthroned above the heavenly sea; nor did they consider it impossible to see God. And so, too, our writer could think of man as being, even in body, God's likeness, just as a child is the likeness of his father.¹

There are several things in the narrative which do not accord with our purer conception of God's being. We must not disguise this fact. If a man of our own time, brought up under Christianity, entertained such opinions, we could feel but small respect for the clearness of his understanding and the purity of his religious perceptions. But we must judge the writer by the times in which he wrote, and, so judged, he stands very high.

All the peoples of antiquity worshipped a number of superior beings, and made the powers of nature into gods. At first the Israelites, like others, stood upon this level. They, too, once recognized the existence of numerous gods, and worshipped the powers of nature and the heavenly bodies, together with a great variety of other objects. It cost them much time and great efforts to shake themselves free from these ideas, and rise to the belief in one God, who is exalted above nature, and can be distinguished from her. Yet in the first account of the creation we find this belief. From the chastened simplicity of this poetical and childlike description of the formation of the universe, a voice falls upon our ear: There is one supreme being, whose plan is fulfilled, who must be adored as the creator, whose work praises its maker. And if upon the earth man has dominion over everything that is created, and all is subject to him, it is because he bears God's image.

O Lord! how great is thy name upon earth,
 Whilst thou hast revealed thy glory in heaven!
 When I look on thy heaven, the work of thy fingers,
 The moon and the stars thou hast placed thereon,
 What is man that thou art mindful of him?
 And the son of man that thou carest for him?
 Thou hast made him but little less than a deity,
 And hast crowned him with honor and majesty.
 Thou makest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands,
 And thou puttest all things under his feet,
 Small and great cattle together,
 And the beasts of the field also,
 The birds of the air, and the fish of the sea
 That go by the paths of the seas.
 Lord! how great is thy name above all the world!²

¹ Genesis v. 3.

² Psalm viii.

CHAPTER II.

PARADISE.

GEN. II. 4-24.

THE first book of the Bible is generally called by a Greek name, Genesis, that is, *Origin*. It is the first of a group of five books called, in Hebrew, the Thorah (that is, the Law), and, in Greek, the Pentateuch (that is, the book in five parts), the writing of which is referred by tradition to Moses, since the laws which make up the greater part of it were ascribed to him. We have already told you how little ground there is for this tradition, in the Introduction, and by-and-by we shall establish the point more fully.

Now, this book of Genesis comprises a great number of legends, all of which take us back to a hoary antiquity, and make up a kind of preliminary history of Israel. In speaking of the earliest generations of mankind, and especially of the tribal fathers of the Israelites, they give us an insight into the modes of thought of the writers, and on that account are very precious contributions to our knowledge of the Israelite religion. Besides this, they give us a certain amount of information, though of a very vague description, as to the origin of the Israelite people and the tribes connected with it.

The book of Genesis was not written by one man, but was put together from works of very different dates; works, too, whose authors by no means all stood upon the same religious level. This very chapter will furnish us with illustrations of the fact, for immediately after the first account of the creation, which we have just examined, a second follows, which by no means agrees with it.

Here, then, is the second account of the creation:—

When Yahweh made earth and heaven, no plants were to be seen growing upon the earth, and no herbs coming up, for as yet he had caused no rain to fall, and there was not a man to till the ground. But then a mist rose from the earth, and there came rain out of it, by which all the earth was watered. Then Yahweh made the body of a man out of the moistened dust of the earth, and blew into his nostrils the breath of life. So man became a living being. Yahweh then made a garden in the eastern portion of the land of Loveliness (Eden), and

there he put the man whom he had formed. Then he made all kinds of beautiful fruit trees come up out of the earth, and planted the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil in the middle of the garden.

Now, from the land of Loveliness a river flows, which waters the garden and then runs off into four branches — namely, the Pison, which washes all Havilah, that is India, the land where fine gold and spices and precious stones are found in such abundance; the Gihon, that is the Nile, which runs round all Ethiopia; the Hiddekel, that is the Tigris, which flows through Assyria; and the Phrat, or Euphrates.

Into this garden Yahweh brought the man, to cultivate and watch it. He gave him leave to eat of all the fruit trees, except of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil, for he was to die at once if he ate any of its fruit.

But Yahweh saw that it was not good for the man to be alone, and determined to make a being for him similar to himself, who might be able to help him. But first he made out of the earth all the beasts of the field, as well as the birds, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them, intending to keep as the name of every living thing the word which he used for it. And the man gave names to all the animals, but he did not find one like himself among them.

Then Yahweh made a deep sleep fall upon the man, and when he was buried in this sleep, he took one of his ribs, and, having filled up the hole that it made with flesh, he formed a woman out of it and brought her to the man. At once he recognized her as like himself; and, since she was bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, she must, he said, have the name of "woman" (the Hebrew word for "woman" is derived from that for "man;" as if we were to speak of "man" and "she-man"), and the bond between man and woman must be closer than any other, even than that which binds the son to his parents.

It is obvious that this account of the creation departs in many points from the previous one. In this account the earth is at first a dry plain, in the other the world was a chaos, covered with water. While in the former account God first creates the plants, then the animals, and finally man, here the succession is quite different, for the plants do not grow up until after the man has been made, and the garden in the land of Eden has received its occupant before the animals are made, while the creation of the woman closes

the series. There are other points of difference which we shall have to notice when we speak of the sequel of the two narratives. Thus, for example, in the first account of the creation, grain and herbs are given to man as food from the moment of his creation, whereas, according to this writer, he only eats fruits at first, and the use of grain for food is treated as a consequence of his sin. This narrative is far more varied in its coloring, and, therefore, more lively than the first, which excels in lofty simplicity. Of Yahweh, who makes a man out of clay, and blows the breath of life into his nostrils, lays out a garden, and forms a woman out of a rib of the man, we gain a very different impression from that of the God of the first account, who, throned above the sky and the clouds, calls everything into being by his creative word. Even the idea of man's being formed out of dust moistened by rain, and being made a living being by Yahweh's breathing into him, may seem rather childish in our eyes, but the idea of the woman being made out of a rib of the man strikes us as almost ludicrous. But, to avoid misunderstanding the people of antiquity, we must always bear in mind their love of clothing their thoughts in tangible forms. This representation, like so many others, is symbolical. The ribs lie in a man's side, and so the story that woman was formed out of a rib of man signifies that she ought to stand by his side. It is, therefore, a part of the same whole as the words which are put into the man's mouth when he sees the woman, in which he expresses the closeness of the marriage tie.

While the writer of the first account places the creation of mankind on the sixth day, without saying how many men were created or where they lived, here we have a detailed statement on these points. It is true that the writer does not say in so many words that all mankind are descended from a single pair, and indeed he soon forgets altogether, as we shall see by-and-by, that, according to his account, there were only two human beings upon the earth; but he only tells us about a single man and a single woman, and gives us detailed information as to the place of their abode. This was the land of Eden, between the four rivers that rise out of a single stream flowing through Eden, all of which he mentions by name. Two of these can be pointed out with certainty, namely the Euphrates and the Tigris; nor is it difficult to recognize the Nile in the Gihon, which washes the land of Cush, that is Ethiopia; and even the first, the Pison, is indicated with sufficient clearness by the further statement that it flows round

the region of gold, that is India, from which it appears that the writer had either the Indus or the Ganges in his mind. It will be useless to look in the maps, however, for any place where these four rivers rise out of a single stream, and we must forgive the ancient Israelites for not being very well up in geography, and for imagining that the sources of one of the Indian rivers and of the Nile were to be found close by those of the Euphrates and the Tigris, for they had no maps in those days, and were almost entirely without the means of forming a correct idea of the position of the various countries of the world. But it is evident whereabouts the writer looks for the cradle of our race, namely in central Asia, on the table-lands of Armenia. There are other ancient legends of the Israelites which allude to these regions, from which they originally came.

It is worth noticing that one of the Persian accounts of the creation has certain points of similarity with this Israelite story; in the description of a pleasure garden, for instance, the position of which is defined by mentioning the rivers near it, and agrees with that of Eden. This has made some people think that the ancestors of the Israelites and the tribes related to them once lived with the ancestors of the Persians, at the foot of Mount Caucasus, and that there one and the same cosmogony was current amongst them all, but that when the tribes had separated from each other it gradually got so much altered that the stories made out of it only just betray their common origin in one or two features. This is quite conceivable; but it is also possible that when the Israelites came into contact with the Syrians and Assyrians they picked up a certain cosmogony from them, and that the writer of this narrative worked it up in accordance with his own ideas, and gave an Israelite tinge to the story. This opinion is supported by a certain trait in the narrative which is altogether un-Israelite, as we shall see when speaking of what follows.

The picture of the condition in which, according to this writer, the first human beings lived, is a matter of greater interest to us than the fixing of the site of their abode. They lived in a garden in the land of Loveliness. In the middle of this garden stood a tree — the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. As yet they had not eaten of its fruit, and they were even forbidden to taste it. So they were not morally and religiously developed human beings, for so far from bearing themselves bravely in the good fight — the fight against sensuality — to say nothing of having gained the victory, they had not as yet so much as entered upon such a contest at all.

So they were happy in their ignorance. The Apostle Paul thoroughly understood the old story of Paradise when he said¹ that in contrast to Jesus, whom he called the second Adam, the first Adam was earthly, sensual. The golden age, therefore, or rather the golden day, with which the history of mankind begins, was a state of ignorance and innocence, soon succeeded by strife, by sin, by misery.

Each one of us has lived in a paradise like this ; for as long as we were children we were ignorant, and, therefore, innocent. There is something so pure and sweet in this condition that it is easy to understand why Jesus loved and blessed the children. But the careless joy of ignorance which falls to the lot of a child soon passes by, for it learns before long what duty means. Its parents strive to teach it what is good and what is bad ; and, as soon as it has eaten of the tree of this knowledge, its paradise is lost.



CHAPTER III.

P A R A D I S E L O S T

GEN. II. 25-III.

THE same writer whose work we have just been considering continues his narrative as follows, and tells us how paradise was lost, chiefly through the guilt of the woman :

Happy in their childlike condition and their ignorance the man and his wife lived in paradise. They went entirely naked, but with no sense of shame, and did not eat of the tree that stood in the middle of the garden for fear of the threat that they would die at once if they did so. But one of the beasts of the field that Yahweh had made was cleverer than any of the others ; it was the serpent. It knew the secret thought of the Creator, and betrayed it to the woman. For one day it said to her : " Has not God forbidden you to eat of some of these trees ? " To which the woman answered : " We may eat of all the trees except the one that stands in the middle of the garden, for if we so much as touch that one — so God told us — we shall die." But the serpent replied : " That is not true. God knows very well that if you eat of

¹ 1 Corinthians xv. 45-47.

it, your eyes will be opened and you will attain to the knowledge of good and evil, and that will make you like God." Shaken in her trust in Yahweh by these words, the woman went to examine the tree more narrowly, and since the fruit had a beautiful and delicious appearance, her heart soon went after her eyes. She gathered, she ate, and gave some of it to her husband as well, and he followed her example.

Now it appeared that the serpent had spoken the truth, for hardly had they eaten of the forbidden fruit, when their eyes were opened, and they began to be ashamed of their nakedness, which they tried at once to cover, as best they could, with fig leaves fastened together.

But when, as the sun went down and the evening breeze began to blow,¹ they heard Yahweh, who was walking in the garden, drawing near to them, they were ashamed of their insufficient clothing, so they hid themselves among the trees to escape being seen by him in such a state. But Yahweh called to the man: "Where are you?" The answer was that he had hidden himself because he was ashamed of his nakedness. Then Yahweh replied: "Who enlightened you so much that you are ashamed of that? Have you eaten of that tree which I forbade you to use for food?" "Yes," answered the man, "the woman that you gave me offered me some of it. That is how it was." On this, Yahweh spoke to the woman; "What is this that you have done?" She answered in her turn that the serpent had tempted her to eat the fruit. Then Yahweh turned his wrath upon the serpent: "A curse upon you," said he. "I will degrade you below all the cattle and all the beasts of the field. Henceforth you shall creep upon your belly, and lick up the dust all your life long. And I will wake up enmity between you and the woman, between your offspring and hers. Men shall try to stamp on your head, and you to bite them in the heel." Nor did the woman escape her punishment; she was to bear children, and bring them into the world with pain; and while she felt herself strongly drawn towards the man, he was to be her master. Then God said to the man: "Because you allowed yourself to be tempted by your wife to disobey my commandment, the earth shall be cursed for your sake. It shall bring forth thorns and thistles for you; and, meanwhile, instead of living, as you have done hitherto, on the fruits of trees, you shall henceforth eat grain and potherbs, which you will have to wring from the earth by the sweat of your brow, until you

¹ After an amended version.

pay the debt of nature, for dust you are, and to dust you shall return again."

Then Yahweh, to enable the man and woman to come into sight again, gave them a covering of the hides of beasts, by which the whole body was clothed, instead of their fig-leaf aprons. But there was still one thing which Yahweh feared. "See!" he said to the divine beings around him, "in knowledge of good and evil man has become as one of us. Now, if he goes a step further and stretches out his hand to the Tree of Life and eats of it, then he will be altogether like us." So Yahweh drove man out of the garden of Eden to cultivate the soil out of which he was made, and stationed the cherubs with a glittering sword at the entrance of the garden to guard the approach to the tree of life.

If there is one Bible story more than another that has suffered from the artificial efforts of commentators, and been dismembered and distorted by them till it is hardly recognizable, it is this story of paradise. Treading in the steps of the Apostle Paul,¹ but going much further than he did, the teachers of the Christian Church have run up a whole block of doctrinal edifices on the basis of this story. They have taken it as history, and have supposed it to state that Adam and his wife were created in absolute holiness, that they were perfect in body, healthy and free from pain and violent passions, and that their souls in like manner were endowed with perfect knowledge of God, with the power of loving him, and with immortality. But they allowed themselves — and it was supposed that this too was written in the ancient document — to be tempted by the Devil, and so all kinds of disasters fell to their lot, amongst others death, and inability to know or to serve God. This corruption passed down to all their descendants, who are therefore guilty before God. This is called original sin.

Not a word of all this is to be found in our story. We have seen already that the first human beings, according to this description, were not perfect, since they did not even know the difference between good and evil. Moreover, a serpent does no doubt appear in it, but not a devil. Nothing is said of a fall, but only of progress. And, so far from death being represented as the consequence of the sin of the first man and woman, Yahweh dreads, even after their trespass, that their presumption may sometime tempt them to lay

¹ Romans v. 12. 1 Corinthians xv. 22, 45.

their hand upon the tree of life. According to the writer, then, they were not immortal before their sin, and did not become so after it.

Let us try to understand the legend of paradise.

The story about the loss of paradise is not altogether original. Certain traits in it appear in similar legends amongst various peoples, so as to make it probable that one and the same story lay at the foundation of all these sagas. Hence, doubtless, our writer borrowed, amongst other things, his representation of the monsters called cherubs, winged creatures in the shape of animals, griffins, which serve as the guardians of a treasure; for, as "cherub" is not a word of Hebrew origin, the whole idea is, in all probability, derived from elsewhere. We do not know how the original story ran. But the comparison of other versions of it, for instance that of the Persians, is instructive. "Mashia and Mashianeh" (that is "man and woman"), so we are told by one of them, "were created in holiness, and had received commandment from the supreme God, Ahura, to cherish good thoughts, to speak good words, to do good deeds, and not to sacrifice to the evil spirits. But after some time their thoughts were polluted by the Evil One, and they began to worship him. After that they wandered about for thirty days without food and in black clothes, and then they caught a white goat and drank some of its milk. This sin was followed by a still greater one, the eating of flesh, and then by another still heavier yet, for when they had discovered iron they felled trees. At last they worshipped the evil spirits."

From this story we can ascertain the moral standpoint of this Persian writer, in whose eyes drinking milk, eating flesh, and felling trees were just as much sins as idolatry. In the same way, from the Israelite story of paradise, we gain an insight into the ideas of its writer. We shall see presently that all the Israelites did not agree with him.

The story is an attempt to explain the conditions under which the writer saw mankind existing. He noticed round about him certain mysterious facts. In the animal creation, his eye fell upon that wonderful creature, the serpent, that goes hissing about on its belly, that animal of which man is the mortal enemy, and against the insidious attacks of which he must always be on his guard, although — for in the land of the Jews there were no poisonous or gigantic serpents — he can easily overcome it. That creature, thought the Israelite writer, is apparently under a curse, and he asked: How

has it brought this curse upon itself? Then he was struck by the sad lot of woman. That she could only taste a mother's joys at the price of so much pain excited his pity. But his sympathy was most strongly roused when he saw how she longed for the marriage bond, although it made her nothing but the slave of her husband. But even he was not happy. It was, in the East especially, a hard task to force her fruits from the earth. Why is this so? asked our writer. Why do so many weeds grow as to make the husbandman's task a burden?

He looked for the answer to these questions, and he thought he had found it in the supposition that the deity, angry with the serpent and mankind, had laid these woes upon them to punish them for their trespasses. The sin which had drawn all these evils upon mankind was the search for knowledge. The state of nature was far more simple and happy than the present condition of man. The infant danced naked in its mother's lap, with no sense of shame. Some peoples knew no clothing, others were content with a scanty covering. This condition of innocence was indeed lower in the writer's opinion than that in which man existed when possessed of moral knowledge and cultivation, but yet it was really happier. God surely had not intended that man should grow out of it. Why had not he been content with his humbler position? Why had he not left the knowledge of good and evil to God, to whom it belongs? Alas! man had striven after things too high for him, and he had actually reached that higher point, but only at the price of his own peace. His higher dignity had brought pain with it. Much sorrow accompanied the gathering of wisdom.¹ So the paradise of the childlike state was lost and gone.

In the description of the confusion of the man and woman as they stand ashamed — he throwing the blame upon her and she upon the serpent — great knowledge of human nature is displayed, and great talent in reproducing what has been observed. There is a fine point in the man's excuse: I was tempted by the woman "that you gave me," — as if he intended to make Yahweh partly responsible for the trespass.

But in other respects, and very important ones too, our writer does not stand high. In the first place, as we have already noticed,² his conception of Yahweh is defective. We must add a few words to what has been said on this subject already. Yahweh's walking in the garden, and clothing man

¹ Ecclesiastes, i. 18.

² See p. 44.

in the garments made from the hides of beasts, are only such actions as we saw him doing in the former story, at the creation of man. We do not expect any one who makes such a representation of his god to think of him as the only god; and, indeed, our writer does not so think of him.

Strictly speaking, this follows from the use of a particular divine name. For, if there is only one god, why should we give him a proper name? As long as there was only one man, he was called "the man," as is the case all through this story, even after the woman has been created; and it is not till afterwards, when other men are spoken of as well, that the name, "man," is used as a proper name, Adam. So every one who recognizes only one god calls him God, and nothing else. It is true that the Israelites who had risen above the standpoint of polytheism, and recognized no other God but Yahweh, long continued to use this name; but this only shows the influence of the old custom of language. Our writer, on the other hand, unmistakably recognizes the existence of many gods; for he makes Yahweh say, "See, the man is become as *one of us*, knowing good and evil;" and so he evidently implies the existence of other similar beings, to whom he attributes immortality and insight into the difference between good and evil. Yahweh, then, was, in his eyes, the god of gods, indeed, but not the only god.

But there are other things to notice in this story besides the fact that the writer thinks of his Yahweh under a human form and only as one of the gods. These are to a great extent mistakes of the intellect; but it shocks us more to find that he ascribes very ignoble dispositions to Yahweh. For we cannot conceal the fact that the serpent, when speaking to the woman, tells nothing but the truth. Yahweh had really deceived the man and woman when he threatened them with death if they ate of the tree of knowledge. Not death, but the gift of distinguishing evil from good, by which they were made like to God, was the result of their tasting this fruit. Yahweh evidently kept them off this tree from jealousy, and he drove them out of the garden because he was afraid that by eating of the Tree of Life as well, they would become altogether like the gods. Now this idea, that the gods are jealous of the men who aspire to a share in their privileges, is found elsewhere, in some of the Greek writers for instance; but it certainly is not worthy of God.

Our writer thought with the prophet Michah,¹ that to be

¹ Micah vi. 8.

righteous and to walk humbly with his God was man's vocation. He could have repeated the words of the poet,¹ —

Lord! I am not proud hearted,
And mine eyes are not lifted in pride;
I have not conversed with things too high and too wonderful for me
Truly, I have brought my soul to rest and quietness:
As a weaned child, without desire, lies on his mother's breast,
So my soul is passionless in me.

And certainly there is something enviable in this rest of the soul. Nay, it may even be the glorious reward of the conquest over the earthly inclinations, and the subjection of our desires to the will of God. But there is also a humility of disposition, a freedom from passion, which is bought at far too dear a price, and springs from an unhallowed source. For if we do not long to go onward, — if we do not strain all our powers in the struggle for knowledge and blessedness, — if we allow needless ignorance and misery to exist in ourselves or in others, — then this contentment is the fruit, not of humility, but of idleness, which brings moral death in its train. The psalm of submission must be no lullaby.

It was not unnatural for an Israelite who saw how many woes, how hard a struggle fell to the lot of man, saw too that they were the result of the pressing claims of society, and that wants were increased by civilization, to look back sometimes with a kind of homesickness towards the state of nature in which men did not feel these wants and life was simpler. Any one who knows something of life can understand this well enough, for sometimes it is very weary work. We agree with the poet of the story of paradise, as he perceives and describes how the raising of man's rank brings with it a greater task to perform, and how he has to pay a heavy price for his noble privilege of being like God, and knowing good from evil. But we can by no means allow with him that this is contrary to the will of God. No, we are more at one with the poets of the first chapter of Genesis and of the eighth Psalm, who glory in the thought that God has made man after his image, has crowned him with glory, and has therefore given him dominion over all creation.

And so, however sweet that murmuring song may sound, "I have brought my soul to rest and quietness," the rousing war-cry of the sons of God rings back upon our ears: "No rest for us! work, search, learn, for that alone is life!"

The state of innocence is lost, the state of simplicity and

¹ Psalm cxxxi.

ignorance. We are no longer children. Are we to mourn over it? No. This condition cannot and must not last. But, whenever, as stained by many a sin and broken by many a sorrow we pursue our way, the state of childhood seems enviable in our eyes, then let us listen to the words of him who urges us indeed to become children once more,¹ but, also, to be perfect even as God is perfect.²

CHAPTER IV.

CAIN AND HIS POSTERITY.

GEN. IV.

BUT though paradise was lost — so we are told by the same writer — the first human pair still dwelt in the land of Eden. It soon appeared that the man had good reason to call his wife Eve, that is the *life-waker*, for she presented him with two sons, the elder of whom she called Cain, that is, the *gained*, “for,” said she, “with Yahweh’s help, I have gained a son, a man.” The second was called Abel, that is, *evanescence*. The younger chose the shepherd’s life, while Cain became a husbandman. Once on a time they both determined to bring some of their possessions as an offering to Yahweh. They gave of the produce of their labor, — Cain of the fruits of the field, Abel of the first-born of his sheep and goats, especially the fat of these animals; and with this last offering Yahweh was pleased, but not with that of Cain. We are not told how this fact was made known to the two sacrificers, but the idea probably is that Yahweh, who was with them in person, told it to them by word of mouth. Now, Cain could not endure being placed below his brother; and his sullen countenance, fixed on the ground, betrayed clearly enough how he was eaten up by anger. So Yahweh came to give him a warning. “Cain,” said he, “why do you hang down your head in anger? Can you not lift up your face boldly if you do well?”³ But be careful! If you enter upon the crooked way, sin lies in wait for you, as a beast of prey crouching at the door of your house; but you must master it.” Cain, however,

¹ Matthew xviii. 1-3.

² Matthew v. 48.

³ After an amended version.

far from attending to this good advice, dogged the footsteps of his brother,¹ and as soon as ever they were in the field together, struck him dead.

Then Yahweh came again to Cain and asked: "Where is Abel, your brother?" And Cain answered: "I don't know. Am I my brother's keeper?" But Yahweh replied: "What have you done? The blood of your brother cries to me from out of the ground. Now, listen: Be thou cursed, and cast out from the land which has opened its mouth to take up the brother's blood which you have spilt. When you work upon it, it shall not put forth its strength to serve you. For you it shall be unfruitful, and so you shall roam and wander up and down the earth."

Then Cain, terrified by this curse, cried out: "The punishment is too hard to bear! See, you have banished me from this land, and will never think of me again; and likely enough as I roam and wander over the earth, any one that happens to meet me will kill me." But Yahweh answered him: "Yes! but to avert that danger, Cain shall be avenged sevenfold." Moreover, to protect him as far as possible, Yahweh fixed upon a sign by which any one who was about to raise his hand against Cain should be warned.

As soon as his sentence was pronounced he left Eden, where Yahweh dwelt, and, after journeying eastwards, settled in the land of wandering (Nod). There his wife presented him with a son, after whom he called the town which he founded Enoch. Enoch had a son Irad, and Irad a son Methusael, who was the father of Methusael and the grandfather of Lamech.

Now Lamech took two wives, called Adah and Zillah, whose children were very celebrated men. Adah's sons were Jabal and Jubal, the first of whom instituted the wandering shepherd life, while the second was the discoverer of various musical instruments, such as the lyre and the pipe. Zillah gave birth to Tubal-cain, the copper and iron smith, and his sister, Naamah.

Then Lamech, proud of his metal weapons, said to his wives:—

Adah and Zillah! hear my voice,
Ye wives of Lamech hearken to my speech!
Truly I slew a man for a wound,
And a lad for a stripe he had given me!
If Cain is avenged sevenfold,
Then Lamech seven and seventy.

¹ After an amended version.

After Abel's death, and Cain's banishment from Eden, Eve had a third son there, and she gave him the name of Seth, that is the *given*, "because," said she, "God has given me a compensation for Abel." Seth's son was called Enos, and in his days the worship of Yahweh began.

This story is not only from the same hand as the previous one, but is so closely connected with it that the same idea plays a chief part in both. As we have seen, the writer of the story of paradise considered the state of nature, that is, the condition of ignorance and of the innocence which goes along with it, as the state of man which God willed, and he explained man's struggle for something higher as a consequence of sin. In the story of Cain and his posterity he worked out this notion further. He pointed out the progress made by men in every direction; how they had invented musical instruments and discovered the art of forging copper and iron; how towns had been built by them, and the wandering shepherd life established too. But *what* men had invented all this? The Cainites, the posterity of the murderer of his brother, the exiles from Eden, where the worship of Yahweh was not introduced till their connection with that land of paradise had been severed. And what advantage had this progress of the Cainites brought with it? What fruit had they gathered from this art of bending the hard metals into the form that pleased them? None. Surely it had taught them how to make a sword, and to tip their arrows and spears? Yes; and the discovery made them all the more savage and overweening. Strong in the possession of copper and iron, Lamech could swear sevenfold vengeance on any one who should kill him, for his sons would avenge him. And woe to the man who wounded him, for even that offence would meet the penalty of death! That is what comes of all this progress and knowledge, thought the writer. Such was the course of man after the loss of his innocence. The history of Adam's eldest son and of his race begins with a murder and ends with a wild song of vengeance.

Thus is the main idea of the story which we are now to examine in detail. It would be an important addition to our knowledge of antiquity if we knew the source from which the writer took the names with which he connected the various inventions of which he speaks, and the original meaning of these names, which are met with in the following

story in quite a different order. The writer treats them as men, but it does not follow that that is what they really were.

If asked: What else can they have been? we might answer: Perhaps they were the names of gods, to whose teaching the origin of these occupations or the knowledge of these arts was ascribed. This is not unlikely. Several of the names are to be found amongst other nations as well as amongst the Israelites. Thus Jabal is a good deal like the name of the Greek and Roman god, Apol(lo), and Tubalcain is the Hebrew pronunciation of the name pronounced Vulcan by the Romans, and used by them for the smith of the gods; while Set was an Egyptian god. Moreover, it quite agrees with the ancient usage, which we find among all kinds of nations, to attribute the earliest discoveries and inventions, and everything that brought about a great change in human life, to the immediate revelation of a deity. No wonder! Who first built a town it was surely impossible to say; for necessity must gradually have forced people to hedge or wall-in their dwelling-places as a defence against their enemies, whether beasts or men. Gradually some of them would begin to wander round about to look for pastures for the beasts which they had tamed and used as domestic animals. The possibility of producing various sounds by striking or blowing upon strings under tension, and upon the horns of animals or lengths of reed, was certainly often noticed before, step by step, man learned to make musical instruments. The case is the same with forging. Since it is natural to men who are at a low stage of development, and have not been accustomed to think much, to deify all the powers and gifts of nature, and even individual objects, it is not unnatural that they should worship a god "Copper-smith," or "Shepherd-life," or "City-building." And it is very natural that they should attribute to the revelation of the Sun, or of some other god, their knowledge of all kinds of useful arts.

We ought, however, to be very cautious in venturing upon guesses such as these; for it is almost like groping about in the dark to speak of such ancient times, and the thoughts of the men who lived in them. There are many other ways in which these names may have become connected with such inventions and social changes. They may have been names of men or tribes which were afterwards deified by certain peoples. We must be all the more cautious, as the meaning of the names is generally unknown to us, nor can we even

say from what language they are derived. The writer certainly gives us translations of several of them, but they rest apparently upon nothing but conjecture, for Seth cannot really mean "the given," nor Cain, "the obtained." On the other hand, the names Abel and Nod, as well as Adam, Eve and Eden, are pure Hebrew words, and were probably invented by the writer himself. The Israelites were certainly no masters of the art of translating foreign names, whether they had come down to them from former days, or had been transplanted from other lands. None of the translations, which appear in great numbers in the book of Genesis and elsewhere, have any value, except in so far as they show us what the writers thought about the names in question. In future we shall not notice the incorrectness of their derivations, except when there is some important reason for doing so.

However much we should like to know the origin and the meaning of these names, and the way in which they came to the knowledge of our writer, we must be content to give the question up; and fortunately our ignorance does not prevent our reading the writer's heart, for whatever may have been the original meaning of these names, it is evident that in his eyes they were simply the names of men. As we are not considering a historical record, we need not stop to ask such questions as, "How did Cain come by a wife?" "How can he have been afraid that people would kill him, when as yet there were none?" "How can he have built a city, when he had only one son?" We must examine the writer's ideas about the god he worshipped, about his will, and the way in which he revealed it.

As a matter of course we find the same narrow conception of Yahweh here that we noticed in the story of paradise. It is not, indeed, expressly stated that the reason why Yahweh preferred Abel's present to Cain's was, that the one brought him a sacrifice of flesh, while the other only consecrated fruits of the field to him. It is possible that the writer had that higher conception of what constitutes the value of a sacrifice, which led one of the Christians of the time of the Apostles to explain that Abel brought a better sacrifice than Cain's by faith.¹ This is possible, for the idea was familiar to some of the Israelites; but it is not likely. At least the account of Yahweh's acceptance of the one sacrifice and rejeo-

¹ Hebrews xi. 4.

tion of the other follows so close upon the mention of the nature of the gifts that the difference between them really seems to have been taken into account in the sentence; nor did the Israelites ever offer a sacrifice of grain or anything of that kind, except when they had not an animal to give.¹ But, however this may be, we see that his conception of his god was not very exalted, from Yahweh's giving immediate expression to his approval or disapproval of the sacrifices offered him, and holding a conversation with Cain, and still more from the fact that he lives in Eden only, so that an exile from that land can no longer share his protection.

Equally childlike is the writer's idea of nature. She feels for man, and is angry with his sin. No doubt, as we read in the story that the voice of the blood spilt by a brother's hand cries out for vengeance, and that the ground which has drunk it up refuses to bear fruit for the murderer, we are inclined to consider these expressions as metaphorical, and to regard them as poetical forms of speech. So, in exalted style, we too speak of a sin "which cries to heaven," and say that things are "enough to make the angels weep." Such expressions are figurative; but, when they were first used, they were figurative only in a very different sense from that in which they are so now. To us they are metaphorical, but to the men of primeval times they were a full expression of the truth. In those days full grown people thought, as children do still, that everything was alive. Their idea was that blood literally cried out for vengeance, and that the earth itself punished the murderer. How could Yahweh have known that Cain had slain his brother, if his blood had not revealed it? Hence the popular belief, not uncommon among the Israelites and others, that when innocent blood was spilt, it cried for vengeance louder if it remained uncovered, than if it had sunk into the ground and was hidden by earth.²

But, however childlike we may consider the writer's ideas of nature and of Yahweh's character, they did not prevent his feeling the deepest reverence for his god, and ascribing great power to him. Why was such a barbarous law of vengeance observed among the Cainites? Why must a murder be avenged amongst them sevenfold? The answer he gives to this question is very clear. In the land of the Cainites, the land of Wandering, Yahweh did not dwell. Cain was withdrawn from his eye. In consequence, there was less security there, and human life was in greater danger

¹ Leviticus v. 11.

² Job xvi. 18. Ezekiel xxiv. 7, 8.

than in the place where Yahweh dwelt, and could protect his favorites. It is true that although Yahweh did not follow Cain into the land of exile, yet he exercised some power even there. For there, too, he appointed signs; there, too, the leaves rustled ominously, or the light of the sun was reddened, or a night-bird gave a threatening screech, when any one would raise his hand against the life of a fellow man. But, as Yahweh could not prevent the murder there, the law of vengeance must be made all the fiercer.

A lively gratitude for his privileges as an Israelite evidently filled the soul of this writer. For in mentioning the cruel customs of those outside Eden, within which land alone were prayers to Yahweh offered, he was doubtless quite aware that this bloody law of vengeance did actually exist among the peoples who lived outside Canaan. In his estimation, Canaan was an Eden; it is true that Paradise was lost, and even there the earth bore thorns and thistles, but yet it was well with those in the holy land. There the just and gentle law of compensation was acknowledged. There the rule, "Eye for eye, stripe for stripe," was observed, and no further punishment was inflicted on the evil doer. Outside Canaan, on the other hand, among hordes of barbarians, this limitation of vengeance did not exist; there, if the injured one were strong enough, a sevenfold payment of the debt was sometimes exacted. For this milder law of punishment, Israel was indebted to his god, who was honored in Canaan alone. Where Yahweh did not rule, a savage code of laws was necessary for the protection of human life.

In his views of social life, our writer cannot be acquitted of one-sidedness. We may, perhaps, consider him a man of old-fashioned views, looking with suspicion on all progress in arts and sciences, and turning with a kind of home-sickness towards a simpler mode of life. He seems to have thought that this style of life existed chiefly among the inhabitants of villages, as he finds a place both for the wandering life of the shepherd tribes and the building of cities among the practices introduced by the exiles from Eden, the descendants of the murderer of his brother. He was certainly a townsman therefore, for any one who is acquainted with the country knows very well that there is just as much immorality there as there is in the towns. Moreover, our writer believed that a greater purity and simplicity than characterized life in his days had been the portion of the earliest generations of man-

kind, but had been lost by the development of arts and sciences. Was he right in this opinion? Was the old state of society really the best? Surely not. It is not easy for us, who have known from infancy so many means of sustaining life and giving it a grace, altogether to transport ourselves to the position of men of the earliest ages, when it was considered a new idea, quite a valuable discovery, to throw a wall round a few houses that stood near together; when the use of copper and iron was as yet unknown, and there were no musical instruments, not even a shepherd's pipe or an ox-horn. But ancient and modern travellers have certainly told us enough of the life of the races who are still at this low stage of development, and the diligence of antiquaries has certainly made out enough from the remains of the dwellings, weapons, food, furniture and tombs of the men of prehistoric times, to prevent our wishing their days to come back again to us.

The earliest period from which sufficient remains have as yet been discovered to enable us to form any idea of human life at the time, is called the Age of Stone, because wood and stone were the only substances then known, out of which implements could be made. Next came the Age of Bronze, in which this mixture of tin and copper was used to make implements, weapons, musical instruments and ornaments. Finally, the Age of Iron succeeded. It is easy to imagine how much toil it must have cost the men of this Age of Stone, or even of Bronze, to make their houses and boats. Even in the Age of Stone, it is true, many arts were practised, both in our quarter of the globe and elsewhere. Enough was known to enable people to construct regular villages upon stakes in the middle of lakes; they cultivated the soil, and kept great flocks and herds; nay, even at that early age, the art of weaving and plaiting was understood, and a bartering trade was carried on with distant tribes. But, for all that, they must often have felt a pinching want of the necessaries of daily life. No doubt the population of the different countries was thin, the mortality very high, and life utterly comfortless.

With the discovery of the art of forging iron, a new path of progress was opened up. As man's resources increased, he was better and better able to work out his destiny, and become the lord of nature. Life grew richer and fuller, less monotonous and more interesting. As better means were discovered for forcing nature to yield her treasures, people were enabled to live together in ever greater numbers. It is

true that the instruments of destruction, so often turned by men against each other, became more terrible, and their mutual conflicts therefore bloodier ; but, on the other hand, this very fact drove them to come to some mutual understanding, to found states and to make laws.

It cannot be denied that music, for instance, often causes mischief, that it is often used to rouse impure ideas, that the multiplication of the means of enjoyment, of which this is but one, has often been a snare to mankind. But are we, therefore, to wish that time back again when men were so incapable and uncultivated as still to be unable to practise any of the arts? Just as if these arts could not raise holy as well as evil thoughts !

Everything can be abused ; nay, everything is abused. But the fact that God's gifts are often applied to a bad purpose must not tempt us to declare that they are the fruits of sin.

So the writer of the story of the Cainites is altogether wrong, when he brands social progress as the source of moral degradation. Those who ranked the first discoverers among the gods were nearer the mark than he ; for it is in truth God's will that mankind should raise themselves out of the state of ignorance, that is of barbarism. Progress in science and art is not indeed the highest of which man is capable, and it may be coupled with growing immorality ; but, for all that, it is a good gift, and he that works earnestly for its sake does something towards increasing human happiness, and, in so far, is doing the will of God. Culture, indeed, is not devoutness, but still less is the absence of culture. Science and art alone do not make a man all that he ought to be, but ignorance and insensibility to what is beautiful are surely no quickeners of piety, but are great blemishes on the character of any man, and are often ruinous in their effects.

But, however one-sided may be the view of life which our writer takes, there is something in his one-sidedness which makes us respect him. For his reason for looking so unfavorably upon social progress is, that he sees a danger to morality in it. He objects both to life in cities and to life in tents ; to the first, no doubt, because of the greater luxury which generally accompanies it ; to the last, because of the rudeness and fierceness of the wandering tribes. He curses the invention of iron-founding, for the warrior, emboldened by the possession of a sword, has small respect for human life. Music is an unholy thing to him, for are not drinking bouts graced by it? Although these views are mistaken, yet

they show that a deep moral feeling filled the writer. Horror of sin, of luxury, and of cruelty dictate his words, and he is drawn towards simplicity and purity of life.

He has a quick eye, too, in tracing the first movements of sin in the heart of man. His Cain is drawn by the hand of a master. Jealousy makes him cast down his sullen countenance; for the man whose heart is not right cannot look the world in the face. This evil disposition is not checked. Sin leaps upon him. He becomes a murderer. He gives a surly answer when he is questioned by God about what he had done; just as we always notice, both with children and grown-up people, that when they have anything on their conscience which disturbs their peace of mind, but for which they are not penitent, they try to carry it off with a bullying air, as if they intended to shout down God and man, just as they try to silence their own conscience. "I don't know where my brother is. Am I my brother's keeper?" So speaks the murderer, but as soon as he hears his sentence, his audacity breaks down and is succeeded by the utmost terror. No wonder! His sin cries to heaven. The earth accuses him. Abel's blood still speaks, even after he has been murdered, and cries out, "Vengeance!"¹ Vengeance on the murderer of his brother! And he goes forth upon his wanderings, bereft of God's guidance, and becomes the father of a godless offspring, whose posterity is ever more and more godless yet. So misery treads upon the heel of sin. In Eden, meanwhile, the places of the murderer and his victim are filled again, and before long Yahweh is worshipped there, though the murderer's race has forfeited his blessings.



CHAPTER V.

THE PATRIARCHS BEFORE THE FLOOD.

GEN. V.

THE story of the Cainites is followed in the book of Genesis by a family tree, drawn up by the same writer who gave us the first account of the creation, a reference to which occurs at its commencement. It runs as follows: These are

¹ Hebrews xi. 4, xii. 24.

the family archives of Adam. When God made men, he made them after his own image. Male and female created he them, and he blessed them, and gave them the name of "man" (Adam). Now, when Adam had lived a hundred and thirty years he begat a son after his likeness, as it were a copy of himself, and called him Seth. After his birth he lived eight hundred years, and had sons and daughters. So altogether Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old. Then he died.

In this style the narrative goes on. The same particulars are given us concerning Adam's eldest son; viz., his age when his first son was born, how long he lived after that event, and how old he was when he died. The same information is given us of his descendants, one after another, of Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, and Noah; but the death of Noah is not mentioned here. The monotonous series is only broken by the story that Enoch walked with God three hundred years after the birth of his son, and "was not, for God took him," and the statement that Noah's father gave him his name "because he must comfort us concerning our work and the painful labor of our hands, because of the ground which is cursed by Yahweh." This addition, from which we learn that the word Noah was understood by the writer to mean "comforter," is not from the same hand as the family register, and was inserted afterwards.

The men of the age before the flood are usually called forefathers, or patriarchs (that is, *chief fathers*), but this last word is more specially used for the ancestors of the Israelites, Abram and his sons. All these patriarchs before the flood are represented as reaching a great age; for Enoch, who died youngest of them all, was three hundred and sixty-five years old, and Methuselah, who reached the greatest age, was nine hundred and sixty-nine.

The last-mentioned patriarch is usually called Methusalem, but the cause of this has never been explained. It is easy to understand why we always speak of Eve and Abel, instead of Chavvah and Habel, as the names stand in the Hebrew, for in these cases and many others we follow the usage of our own translation of the Bible, which, in its turn, often follows the Greek and Latin versions; but in this case the old translations write Mathusala clearly enough, and the same spelling is adopted in our Bibles in the only place where the name occurs in the New Testament,¹ while in the Old Testament it is always

¹ Luke iii. 37.

spelt as above, — Methuselah. The spelling Methusalem is very old, and is found as early as the beginning of the Christian era, but it is curious that it should have had so much influence over the language of the people as to supersede the pronunciation supported by the written tradition. This, however, in passing.

These names suggest more interesting subjects for our consideration. No one who has read them carefully and remembers the particulars of the preceding story can fail to notice that almost the same names occur in both narratives. Not only do both writers mention Adam, Seth, and Enos, but Enoch and Lamech too appear both among the Cainites and among the descendants of Seth, while Cain and Cainan, Irad and Jared, Mehujael and Mahalaleel, Methusael and Methuselah, bear so close a resemblance to each other (still closer in the original than in our Authorized Version), that it is as good as certain that they are the same names grouped together somewhat differently, and in some cases more or less corrupted in the process of handing down. This idea is very much strengthened by the fact that the compiler of this family tree knows nothing of Adam's sons Cain and Abel, and speaks of Seth as of Adam's eldest son. Here, then, we have an example of two Israelites treating the same material in different ways. Both of them had got hold of certain names, either from traditions which may have been extremely old, or from foreign legends; but their original meaning seems to have been entirely forgotten, and accordingly one of the writers worked them into a story about the murder of a brother, and the ever-growing corruption of the murderer's race, while the other set them in the list of Noah's ancestors.

As we read the statements made with such an appearance of accuracy about the age of each of the forefathers, when his son was born, and when he died himself, we cannot help feeling as if the story were a very faithful historical record. However unwilling we may be to allow the possibility of a man's living to nearly a thousand years of age, this accuracy of statement makes us ask, "May it not be true after all? If not, how did the writer get hold of all these numbers?" For a long time no answer could be given to this question; nor is it fully answered even now; but so much is certain, that many of these numbers were not taken from any old tradition at all, but were invented by the writer himself, and are parts of a chronological system. This fact becomes clear when we compare the family tree we have just been considering with the other sections of the book of which it is a part.

For this story is only a piece of a larger work, generally called "The Book of Origins," which was written soon after the end of the Babylonian captivity, by a priest. Both the names and the events which he brings into his narrative are taken from several different sources, but the grouping and the coloring are his own. It is clear from every part of his work that he thought the course of history could be mapped out according to a regular system of chronology, such as is often found among the Egyptians and Babylonians. He believed that the world would last four thousand years, and that the Israelites came out of Egypt when exactly two-thirds of this period had elapsed; that is to say, two thousand six hundred and sixty-six years after the creation. He makes the Israelites dwell in Egypt just twice as long as their fathers wandered about in Canaan, that is, four hundred and thirty years. More calculations of this kind are to be found in the work; and when once we have discovered the writer's passion for reducing everything to a calculation, and bringing it under a system of numbers, of course we can no longer accept his statements as true.

But though most of the figures which occur in this family tree are parts of the writer's chronological system, there is one which is probably taken from ancient tradition, and that is the age of Enoch. We shall return to this presently.

Now, from this list of the forefathers and their ages it has been calculated how many years after the creation Noah was born; and, as his family tree is afterwards continued¹ in the same style, it has been thought possible to calculate the age of the world, or at least of the human race. In certain old books the dates of events from the creation of the world are given, and we can see in our almanacs that according to the Jewish reckoning this year, 1873, is the year 5633 from the creation. In the margin of many large Bibles, however, as well as in many books of dates, we find it stated that the creation was four thousand years before the birth of Christ (four thousand and four years from the commencement of our era), which would make the year 1873 of our era the year 5877 after the creation. This difference is caused by the obscurity of the data and the contradictions between the various accounts to be found in the Bible. But the difference between these two calculations sinks into insignificance when we consider how far they are both wide of the truth. The Bible cannot really teach us the age of the world or of mankind;

¹ Genesis xi. 10-26.

and people who are determined to make it do so only get laughed at by those who understand the subject, for being so prejudiced as to rely upon such erroneous statements. For geology and astronomy teach us that the universe must at any rate be hundreds of millions of years old, and that even our earth counts its centuries by the thousand already; and though the historical researches which have brought to light the remains of the lake dwellings, the tombs of the age of stone, and the inscriptions of the Egyptian monuments, give us no certain information as to the antiquity of the human race, yet they make us smile at the figure 6000; for before this date a flourishing kingdom certainly existed in Egypt. Even the statue of the Egyptian king Chephren, that was to be seen at the last international exhibition at Paris, was hewn about forty centuries before the beginning of our era.

While leaving it to the students of geology and history to fix the antiquity of the human race to the best of their power, we must answer another question before we leave this story from "the book of religion," — the question, namely, why the author ascribed such long lives to the forefathers, and what he intended to show by it.

But first one word about Enoch. The account of him is perplexingly short: "He walked with God, and he was not [that is, he suddenly disappeared]; for God took him away." Nothing has ever been made of this except that he did not die, but was removed to heaven as a reward for his piety.¹ Perhaps this is really what the writer meant, but the curious brevity of his account, and the strange expression, "God took him away," which we should certainly have expected to find explained or worked out to some extent, make it probable that he took his story from some old tradition. Indeed, we can still make out with great likelihood what this tradition meant; for Enoch, whose age is lower than that of any of the other forefathers, is just as many years old as there are days in a solar year, that is, three hundred and sixty-five; and the name Enoch may be translated "Renewal." We can hardly help thinking, therefore, that the story is a short version of some ancient myth, and that Enoch is a personification of "the year, that after three hundred and sixty-five days, is not."

The shortness of the account of Enoch gave the imagination abundant occasion to work out the story in the Bible

¹ Hebrews xi. 5.

more fully; and the Jews of the last centuries before Jesus certainly did not let the opportunity slip. They represented Enoch as a preacher of righteousness and a proclaimer of God's judgments; and this gave one of them occasion to write a book in the name of Enoch that became very famous, and is even quoted in the New Testament¹ as sacred (canonical) scripture. It has lately been rediscovered in an Ethiopic translation.

We will now return to the statements made as to the great age reached by the forefathers. Properly to understand what the compiler of the family tree meant by them, we must compare this story with others by the same writer. When we do so, we see that he believed the life of man to have grown shorter step by step. For after Noah such high numbers as appear in the time before him are no longer mentioned, although in another family tree, similar to the one we are now speaking of, ages between two and six hundred years still occur;² whereas, in the time after Abraham, usually called the patriarchal age, no one lives to two hundred, though many still live to more than a hundred; but after Moses such high ages are no longer met with. Mankind — such is the lesson this Israelite wishes to teach us — have been growing gradually shorter lived. The idea that this was the consequence of sin is, indeed, supported by another writer, who makes Yahweh decide even before the flood that his life-giving spirit shall not exercise its power in man for ever, and that his life shall not exceed one hundred and twenty years;³ but the writer of the "Book of Origins" does not teach this doctrine. To have a long life, to drop into the grave "full of days," as they called it, was one of the most glorious gifts of God which an Israelite could imagine. When he painted a joyous future for his people, one of the features of the picture was that no sucking child should die nor any one who had not reached the full measure of his years; that if any one died at a hundred he would be said to have perished in his youth; nay, that even a sinner, who was snatched away for his wickedness, would not die before his hundredth year.⁴ So thought the writer of this family register. Like the poet of the story of paradise, he imagined that there had been a happier time in the past; and the principal feature of these golden days, he thought, was a long life. The same idea is found among many ancient

¹ Jude vv. 14, 15.

² Genesis vi. 3, after an amended version.

³ Genesis xi. 10-32.

⁴ Isaiah lxxv. 20.

peoples. Indeed, nothing is more natural, for it is a melancholy thought to all of us that we must die. In general we trouble ourselves very little about it, but from time to time we are reminded of the fact that we must die, in such a way that we cannot help thinking about it, and then the thought invariably gives rise to the most painful feelings. Though careless flippancy may try to put it off, and set aside all thoughts of the future with a laugh, yet whenever the certainty that we must sometime die does come before our eyes, it moves us deeply, and every one who feels and thinks requires some comfort against the mournful thought that he is mortal.

We are made to live. But it does not follow that the wish to spend hundreds of years upon the earth would be a wise one. Such a lengthened life would be full of sadness even if it were not impossible. We must acquiesce in our lot, therefore, and the more quietly and contentedly we do so, the better it will be for us. But, after all, we are created to live, and we may make our life long, even upon this earth, if we will.

It is true that we sometimes say, with a sigh, that life passes by like a dream; but it is a bad sign to make such complaints as this, for if a man sleeps away through a do-nothing life, it seems short when he looks back upon it; but if we work hard and think hard, then our life becomes full and rich, nay it even seems long as we look back upon it, because so much has happened in it. Whole years of a dawdling or selfish or licentious life are worth less than a single day lived by an earnest, thoughtful, God-fearing man. So thought and felt a poet of Israel when he sang:¹

A day in thy courts is better than a thousand.

I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than dwell
in the tents of wickedness;

For a sun and shield is God;

Grace and glory are given by Yahweh;

No good will he withhold from them that walk uprightly.

O Yahweh of hosts! blessed is the man who trusteth in Thee!

What this psalmist said of abiding in the temple we repeat after him of walking with God. Blessed is the man who looks up to God, and abides with him. Let us not wish for a long life so much as for a holy and an active one; for this alone is truly *life*, and thus alone does the hope of life eternal spring up within our hearts.

¹ Psalm lxxxiv. 10-12.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FLOOD.

GEN. VI.-VIII.

AMONGST almost all ancient peoples we find a tradition that, when the world was buried in sins, a great flood destroyed it, with the exception of some few persons who escaped. The Chaldees, for example, told of a certain Xisuthros, the tenth and last ruler before the flood, to whom the highest god foretold that the beginning of the judgment would fall upon the fifteenth day of the month Daesius. On this he buried the written archives of ancient times in Sepharvaim,¹ the city of the sun, embarked with his relations and friends in a great ship, into which he took every kind of quadruped and of flying and creeping thing, together with the necessary food, and then sailed to Armenia. By letting birds fly out of the vessel he frequently tested the state of the earth. When these birds came back the second time they had mud on their feet, and when they flew out the third time they did not come back at all. Upon this Xisuthros, with his wife and the steersman, left the ship; but, in reward for their piety, they were suddenly carried up to the dwelling of the gods, and Xisuthros was only able to cry out from the air, to those who were left behind, that they must go back to Babylon and restore the books, which he had buried, to mankind; which accordingly they did.

A similar story is found among the Phrygians, who even mention Enoch's preaching and ascension in connection with it. The Syrians, Phœnicians, Persians, and Hindoos, all had stories of a flood, which agreed in some points with those of the Israelites, and differed from them in others. In the same way we find them among the European nations, too. In the Greek story it is Deucalion and Pyrrha who are spared on account of their piety; with the Celts and Germans the persons saved have other names; but everywhere we find some story of the sort. This fact, with others like it, points with the greatest likelihood, to a common fatherland, the cradle of these nations, from which they all came, taking these traditions with them. Perhaps this country was

¹ See map 1.

Armenia, in which the Israelite stories, as well as others, place us.

In the legends of which we have so far spoken, we have discovered the work of two writers, the first of whom speaks of the Supreme Being under the name of "God," and gave us the first account of the creation, and the family register of Adam down to Noah, while the second uses the name Yahweh, and gave us the story of paradise and the account of the Cainites. It is natural to ask, therefore, from which of these writers the story of the flood is derived; but it is not easy to answer the question. In the three chapters which contain this story there are two documents mixed up together, and though we can sometimes distinguish the style and the peculiar ideas of the former writers, it is at other times very hard to say whether we have either of the two before us, rather than some third writer. For the most part they quite agree with each other, and consequently the story is not free from repetitions, but here and there the accounts are unmistakably contradictory.

It is not necessary for our purpose to go into the question of the composition of the story any further. As far as it forms a single whole, I will retell it straight through, and then point out a few contradictions.

Here, then, is the story of the deluge or flood: —

When men began to multiply upon the earth, their wickedness grew greater and greater. Among the other inhabitants of earth, there rose up giants, who had earthly mothers, but whose fathers were divine beings called sons of God; and these giants in their turn became the fathers of others. These were the heroes of the olden time. All the earth became godless. Violence was universal. All flesh — that is, man and beast — grew more and more rude and wild.

Then Yahweh, seeing that there was nothing but evil in mankind, repented that he had made them, and determined to destroy them, and all the beasts as well. Noah alone found favor with him, and he therefore commanded him to make an ark or chest. This vessel, built of resinous timber, and covered outside and in with pitch, was to be three hundred cubits long, fifty broad, and thirty high. It was to be divided into three stories, and subdivided into chambers, with an opening to let in light and air, and a door. God told him that he must prepare this vessel, because all living things upon the earth were to be destroyed; while he himself, his wife, his three sons — Shem, Ham, and Japhet — and their

wives, were to seek refuge in this ark. Moreover, he was to take with him a pair of every kind of animal, a male and a female, besides the necessary food for man and beast.

This warning and the directions that accompanied it were given to Noah seven days before the flood began. He obeyed and on the seventh day the flood of waters came. It was the six hundredth year of Noah's life, the seventeenth day of the second month. On this day all the flood-gates of the great ocean burst open, and it poured its streams over the earth. At the same time the windows of heaven were opened, and the waters collected above the firmament fell down upon the earth in torrents. Forty days long this deluge of rain went on. Everything that had life perished in the water. In vain did man and beast flee to the mountains. The water rose fifteen cubits above the topmost peak. But Noah and his family were safe in the ark, and with them all the creatures, quadrupeds, reptiles, and birds, which had come in to them.

A hundred and fifty days had the water covered everything, when God bethought himself once more of Noah and his family. So he caused a strong wind to rise, and the waters began to abate. The fountains of the ocean and the windows of heaven were already closed. Little by little the water flowed away again, and upon the seventeenth day of the seventh month the ark settled upon one of the mountain peaks in the land of Ararat, and the peaks themselves became visible once more upon the eleventh day of the tenth month. Forty days later Noah opened the window and let out a raven, that went on flying backwards and forwards until the earth became dry again. After the raven he sent out a dove, to see whether the water had gone away yet; but she could not find a resting place anywhere, for everything was covered with water still, so she came back to the ark and was taken in again. After waiting seven days, Noah let out a dove the second time, and towards evening she came back again with a leaf fresh broken from an olive-tree in her beak. So Noah knew that the earth was delivered from the excess of water. After waiting another seven days, he once more let out a dove, but she did not return.

So in the six hundred and first year of his life, on the first day of the first month, when the earth was delivered from the water, Noah took off the covering that was over the ark. On the twenty-seventh day of the second month, the earth was quite dry. Then God said to Noah, "Come out of the ark, with your wife and children and all the animals. Let them

spread themselves over the earth and people it once more." Noah obeyed, and when he had come out of the ark, he made a thank-offering to Yahweh.

~ Now when Yahweh smelt the odor of the sacrifice, he thought: "I will never curse the earth again for the sake of men; for they are evil from their youth up. So, why should I ever destroy all living things again? No. Henceforth shall seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, follow each other undisturbed."

Many a brow has been bent over this story before now! Indeed, if we are to suppose that all the stories in the Bible are historically true, we shall find difficulties enough in the representation of this ark, in which all the animals — quadrupeds, reptiles, and birds — were kept alive for about a year; and it is not easy even to imagine a flood rising to fifteen cubits above the highest mountain-tops, even if we suppose (what the writer certainly did not intend) that it only covered that part of the earth which was inhabited at the time. Some people have given themselves an incredible amount of trouble about this story. One scholar has calculated how much space there was in the ark, and how many kinds of animals could be accommodated in it, allowing for a pair of each and the necessary food. An inhabitant of Hoorn, in Holland, actually built a ship in the year 1609, on the model of the ark, and found that a vessel so constructed was capable of bearing a specially heavy freight! No doubt it is a very creditable thing to spend labor and money in convincing ourselves of the truth of our opinions; but those who have tried to support the historical reliability of the story of the flood by these means have lost their labor; for they leave the principal difficulties where they were. How can we believe that Noah collected all these animals and the food they would require, in seven days? We must suppose that he did so, however, if we follow the account given us, for he was only warned one week beforehand.¹ Besides this, there is at least one contradiction to explain between the two accounts that are worked together. For one writer says that Noah was to take *one* pair of every kind of animal into the ark;² while the other writer makes a distinction between the clean and unclean animals, and makes Yahweh tell Noah to take one pair only of the unclean animals, but seven pair of the clean ones with him.³ And so it is only this writer who can say that, after

¹ Gen. vii. 4, 10.

² Gen. vi. 20.

³ Gen. vii. 2, 3, 8, 9.

his deliverance, Noah made a sacrifice of all kinds of clean animals to Yahweh;¹ if the other writer had done so he would have made him destroy his whole stock of cattle and all the edible birds.

We will not trouble ourselves to speak of all the difficulties of the story, taken as a true account of a fact. We will not even answer the question, what historical foundation there is for the story. There may have been many great floods, the memory of which was preserved, though we can hardly believe any of them ever rose above the peaks of Ararat. It is not unlikely that the foundation of all these legends of the flood is to be found in some myth, in which nature has become degenerate, as it were, in the winter, and is buried and for a time destroyed by the overflowing of a river in the spring, but wakes up afterwards to fresh life. At least it is remarkable that from the beginning of the flood to the day on which Noah leaves the ark, just about a year passes by; and also that most of the legends of the flood, amongst others that of the Israelites, take us to countries in which the rivers rise above their banks every year.

But whatever the source may have been from which our writers drew the old story, they clothed it according to their own ideas, and we can therefore learn from it what they thought of God and of his relation to mankind. From this point of view the story inspires us with no great respect. On the contrary, its leading ideas are perverted and superstitious. Nay, the writer who uses the name Yahweh, to whom we owe the stories about paradise and the Cainites, actually repels us. For how does he make his god think and act with regard to man? Yahweh repents that he has made mankind. He is deeply grieved because there is nothing but evil in man.² Noah alone is an exception to the rule. So all created things, to which life has been given, are destroyed, except the men and beasts secured within the ark. But after the flood, when Yahweh smelt Noah's sacrifice, half pleased by the offering, half vexed to think of the futility of what he had just done, he said: "I will never destroy the earth again for the guilt of men, for they are bad from their very birth; so what is the use of my destroying them?"³ Of whom is this Israelite writer speaking? As for his representing his Yahweh in the form of a man, we knew that he did that before, and all through the writings of the Israelites we come upon this anthropomorphism (representations of the Supreme Being under human

¹ Gen. viii. 20.² Gen. vi. 1-8.³ Gen. viii. 21, 22.

forms) again and again. Even this we do not always find edifying; but, mindful of the fact that man can never form a true conception of deity or find adequate expressions in which to speak of it, we need not be distressed when any one speaks of God's hand or foot, God's heart or eye, God's anger or love. We ourselves sometimes use expressions of this kind without the smallest hesitation; and therefore, even when we read that God smelt a sacrifice or that he repented of having made mankind, 'the necessity of using forms of speech concerning God, which are borrowed from the life of man, may be admitted as an excuse; although we know that "God is not a man, that he should repent."¹ But in this story the whole conduct of Yahweh is unworthy. We should be offended by such behavior in a man. To destroy his work because it had not turned out particularly well, and then to say dryly that he really need not have done so, for after all the result will never be any better, — such conduct would not speak very well for the character of a man, and yet it is ascribed by this writer to his god! Surely, a writer who can make such representations can have no very exalted conception of his god.

The other narrator, the writer of the "Book of Origins," gives us no such unworthy representations of God's work either in this story or in the first account of the creation, or in Adam's family register. In those parts of the story which come from his hand, however, we find what appears to us a very extraordinary idea, though there was nothing strange about it to the Israelites. The readers of the story, as given above, will probably have noticed with surprise that the moral corruption spoken of was not confined to mankind, but was to be seen in the animal world as well. This is the real meaning of the expression that "all flesh," that is man and beast, shall be destroyed, "because they have filled the earth with violence, and have corrupted their ways before God."² What, then! Does our writer believe that the animals too have a share in the knowledge of good and evil? Can *they* be spoken of as guilty? We shall see by a subsequent story that this idea was not altogether foreign to the Israelites, and we need not say any more about it at present, therefore; but it is pretty clear what the writer meant by the change which had come over the animal world, calling for punishment, together with the sins of man, by the great deluge. In his account of the creation, he told us that God had given all the beasts of the field, all the birds,

¹ Num. xxiii. 19.

² Gen. vi. 11-13.

all the creeping things, everything in fact that has life, the grass for food.¹ When he complains, therefore, of the violence of which all flesh had become guilty, what else can he mean but that some animals had become carnivorous (flesh-eating)? This lamentation agrees most remarkably with the expectation of the prophet Isaiah, that, when the golden age of the future dawned, the beasts of prey would forget their savage nature, the wolf would dwell with the lamb, and the lion would eat hay like the ox.²

But, however great the difference may be in the special views of the two authors, whose work is combined in the story of the flood, the leading thought of both is the same; namely, that God punished the sins of the world by a flood. We must dwell upon this matter at some length, for in every part of the Old Testament we shall find the idea that God punishes men for their unrighteousness by disasters which are not the natural consequences of their sins, but are only attached to them as penalties by God's good pleasure. Once for all, we must stamp this idea as superstitious; and how injurious to true piety and pure morality this superstition is, we shall have many opportunities of remarking in the course of our work.

The belief that every disaster was a declaration of God's displeasure might very easily arise in ancient times, when the mutual connection and the causes of the phenomena of nature were unknown, and the immediate activity of some deity and the revelation of his will was seen in everything. Then, as we saw in the story of Cain, it might be imagined that the earth refused to yield her fruit to one who had murdered his brother, so that he would plough and sow in vain. Then, as the same story teaches us, the phenomena of nature might be regarded as warnings and as omens. Then, a revelation of the wrath of the deity might be found in every failure of the crops through drought or any other misfortune, in every storm that stranded vessels and overturned dwellings, in every fever, in every disaster, and in everything which was not understood but had a threatening aspect, such as an eclipse of the sun or the appearance of a comet; while pleasant sunshine, balmy showers, recovery from sickness, in a word all that was favorable and pleasant to man, was taken as a proof that the Supreme Being was well disposed towards him. No one can seriously hold this opinion now. We have learned the causes of many of the phenomena of nature, and therefore see no signs of God's pleasure or displeasure in them; for now that

¹ Gen. i. 29.

² Isaiah xi. 6-9.



we can imitate the lightning on a small scale by the electrical machine, and can guide it by conductors where we will; now that we can draw up storm-charts and can predict successfully the direction and the strength of the wind a day beforehand, by the aeroclinoscope; now that we have discovered means of preventing or curing so many diseases, and arm ourselves against small-pox by vaccination, or extinguish pain by chloroform; now that the science of agriculture has placed so many means in our hands of making the earth more fruitful; now that the invention of the locomotive and the steamboat is making famine ever more rare, by making it easier to bring the necessaries of life from one place to another; in such times as these, it will not do to look for a sign of God's displeasure in the misfortunes of which we know the causes, and which we have therefore found the means of resisting; and it is mere folly for a man to consider himself particularly virtuous and a darling child of providence, because he enjoys exceptional prosperity.

The belief that God's anger and his pleasure are revealed in events which are propitious or the reverse to us, was the result of the primitive nature-worship, in which the deity was identified with visible objects or with powers of nature, a form of worship from which the Israelite began to shake himself free when he uttered his belief that God made heaven and earth, but from the influence of which he was never able altogether to withdraw himself, any more than many of those who live in our own times can do so now.

The leading idea of the story of the flood is therefore wrong, and so we cannot give any high position to the legend itself.

And yet the story is a very striking picture of what God, the almighty ruler, is ever doing. Whole worlds are brought to destruction by him. Egypt was once the seat of a mighty kingdom, in which art and science flourished. What is there left of it? Pyramids and obelisks, sphinxes and ruins, call up the past before the mind of the inquirer; but where is Egyptian society? Gone! Babylon and Nineveh were once the centres of the whole world, where men thought and worked and strove. And now their remains, which the sands of the desert have kept buried ages long, are being laboriously dug out, and are telling us of a past that has gone by so utterly, that it was long supposed to have vanished and left no trace behind. Where is the ancient world of Rome and Greece? The relics it has left behind are many, but it has passed away

itself. And so we may see even now that the very centres of human life are sometimes swept away as by a flood.

Why is this? Why have the ancient worlds, with all their culture and development, passed away? Is it because they had fallen out of the march of progress and had sunk into corruption? Is it because they had forgotten God? We cannot boldly answer these questions in the affirmative, or ascribe the destruction of these worlds to their sins alone; for so many things work together to bring about the fall of a nation, and among these causes there are many which have no connection with its moral condition. But, whatever it may be to which we ascribe these great events, it seems as if God were always doing his work over again. He builds up and then casts down again, to raise a new world upon the ruins of the old.

And this is certain, that where men have forgotten God; where culture and the sense of artistic beauty are not accompanied by moral elevation, but only serve to give empire to refined forms of sin; there sooner or later the varnish is rubbed off, and the mouldering structure is revealed; there thrones are overturned and peoples humbled; there the old order of things is swept away to make room for something better; and so a stern sentence, a judgment of God, goes out over the world.

Most men think but little of all this. They trifle away the hours, "eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage,"¹ till the day of reckoning comes. They say, in deeds if not in words, "It will last our time! We shall be gone when the deluge comes!" Until the deluge really comes.

There are but few who believe in the judgment of God, and while the world around them takes no notice of it and disguises every danger, they see it drawing nigh. They are, like Enoch and Noah, the preachers of righteousness,² and when they are disbelieved, they build, for themselves and for those of kindred spirit, the ark of the inner life with God, and there they are delivered from the judgment.

¹ Luke xvii. 27.

² 2 Peter ii. 5. Jude vv. 14, 15.

CHAPTER VII.

GOD'S COVENANT WITH NOAH.

GEN. IX. 1-17.

THE subject of this chapter is connected immediately with that of the last, for it is itself a part of the story of the flood. We have seen how the writer who uses Yahweh as the name of his god, and distinguishes between clean and unclean animals, makes Noah offer a sacrifice to Yahweh as soon as he has come out of the ark, upon which Yahweh determines never again to destroy the world. Now the other narrator, the author of the "Book of Origins," knows nothing of this sacrifice, but makes God bless Noah and his family, as soon as they have left the ark, on which occasion he gives them certain commandments to observe, together with a promise of his favor accompanied by a certain sign. Both the commandments and the sign are of sufficient importance to deserve special attention.

When God blessed Noah and his sons, he said, as he had done when first he created man,¹ "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth. All beasts of the field and all birds shall be in fear and dread of you, and all creeping things and all fishes shall be in your power." All this had been so from the beginning, for even then man had received dominion over the animal world; but violence having become so common both amongst men and beasts, this lordship was no longer to be peacefully acknowledged, but was to rest upon the fear of man entertained by the animals; and since some of them had become carnivorous, they were henceforth to stand in a different relation to man as well as to each other; for whereas grains and herbs merely had been given him as food at the creation, he was henceforth to be allowed to eat flesh as well. God gave him permission to do so in these words: "Everything in which there is a living soul shall be food for you. I have given it you as I have given you the grains." One limitation only man must be content to accept. He must not eat flesh in which there was still life, that is blood.

Two points in this story call for our attention. In the first place the writer does not make the smallest distinction between

¹ Genesis i. 28.

clean and unclean animals ; but we cannot be sure from this that the distinction was not known to him. All we can say is that he did not suppose the custom of abstaining from the flesh of certain animals to be so ancient as the other writer thought it, when he made Noah save seven pair of the clean animals, and only one pair of the unclean.

The distinction between clean and unclean animals appears to us a very curious one, in many respects. No doubt we too are accustomed to avoid using the flesh of some animals for food, though it is very suitable for the purpose — horse-flesh for instance. But we should never think of making it a religious duty to refrain from it. To do so, however, was quite in the spirit of antiquity, for then all kinds of things, that seem to us to have no sort of connection with religion, were commanded in God's name. The origin of the distinction between clean and unclean animals in Israel is not known with certainty. The rule¹ given out by the priests was that no quadrupeds might be eaten except those that had a properly cloven hoof and chewed the cud ; and only those fishes that had fins and scales, which would exclude the lamprey and the eel, for example, as well as oysters and all shell-fish ; while certain kinds of birds mentioned by name and all creeping things (among which the weasel, the mouse, the tortoise, the hedgehog, the crocodile, the toad, and the mole, were reckoned) were unclean. There are certain differences in the law in the two versions in which it appears. For instance, the locust is said in Leviticus to be clean, but in Deuteronomy unclean. The law of Deuteronomy is the earliest, and dates, as has been said,² from the last century before the captivity. All attempts to find definite reasons for which the Israelites pronounced some kinds of animals clean and others unclean, have been unsuccessful. It seems that some of the unclean animals inspired them with a feeling of disgust, that they considered others, rightly or wrongly, to be unwholesome, and that others again accidentally gave them the impression of being unclean. Thus habit gradually established the distinction, until the priests confirmed it by attaching a religious meaning to it, and commanding its observance as a religious duty. Though some of the Israelites believed this law to be as ancient as the human race, our writer knew quite well that it was of comparatively recent date, and so he made God give Noah all kinds of animals for food.

¹ Deuteronomy, xiv. 4-20. Leviticus xi. 1-31.

² See p. 26.

We must next consider the prohibition: "You must not eat the flesh with its soul, that is its blood." This commandment is often repeated in the religious laws of the Israelites,¹ and on one occasion the blood of all four-footed beasts and all birds² is expressly mentioned, while that of fishes is not spoken of. During the six centuries that passed between the time when this prohibition was made a part of the Law, and the founding of Christianity, it had taken such deep root in the Jewish mind, that the question as to eating blood, and meat with the blood in it, was one of the most important differences which stood in the way of the union of Christians who had been Jews with those who had been heathens.³ It is well known, too, how strictly the Jews of our own time still observe this rule, as well as the other laws about what may be eaten. In order that the blood may flow off properly when animals are killed for food, the slaughtering is not left to any one who happens to consider himself fit for the occupation, but the Jew butchers have to call in the "master" to kill their meat. This master must have passed an examination in his art, and is called to a community as butcher (*shochet*). The knife that he uses for his work must always be examined, and passed by a rabbi. Not only must it be sharp and two-edged, but there must not be the smallest notch on it, both to avoid giving the animal any unnecessary pain, and to allow the blood to flow off without the smallest obstacle. Want of skill in sharpening the knife makes a Jewish master worthless, and a few slips in this particular soon cause him to be deposed.

We do not find the same horror of the use of blood among all ancient peoples, for in making treaties it was by no means uncommon to drink the blood of the sacrifice, and in our own times even, travellers tell us of uncivilized nations, such as the Abyssinians, who, when hungry, sometimes cut pieces of flesh out of living cattle and eat them, all hot and bleeding, as a dainty. Even the ancient Israelites did not always refrain from this practice, but they allowed themselves to be dissuaded from it, and did not really approve of it.⁴ Now in our story an explanation is given of the commandment not to eat blood, which helps us to understand the ancient modes of thought; for not only men, but animals also, were thought of as having souls. Killing an animal therefore is called

¹ Deuteronomy xii. 16, 23, 24; xv. 23. Leviticus iii. 17; vii. 26, 27; xii. 10-14; xix. 26.

² Leviticus vii. 26.

Acts xv. 20, 29.

⁴ 1 Samuel xiv. 32 ff. After an amended version.

“ smiting the soul of an animal ; ”¹ and since they believed that every animal had a soul, they felt a kind of reverence towards it. This belief explains many of the customs of uncivilized peoples of ancient and modern times, for instance their dislike of pronouncing the name of any beast of which they are afraid ; the practice, when they have hunted and killed an animal, of asking it to forgive them, and even pacifying it with sacrifices ; and the worship addressed to all sorts of animals. It was very natural for people to think that the soul was connected with the blood ; for when the blood of man or beast was shed the breathing ceased, and the life departed, and the obvious inference was that the blood was the seat of the principle of life, that is the soul. It was this idea, too, that led the Israelites to refrain from using the blood of animals for food, until at last the Law commanded this abstinence in the name of God. After that it passed into a commandment that every one observed mechanically, without troubling himself about the grounds on which it rested.

These remarks have interrupted us in the middle of our account of what God said to Noah and his family ; but that which follows stands in close connection with the subjects of which we have just spoken. As far as it concerns the commandments, the whole speech runs as follows : “ Be fruitful and fill the earth. Fear of you shall come upon all the animals. You have power over them. You are even free henceforth to eat the flesh of all that has life, as well as grains and herbs, as long as you do not eat the blood, for the soul of the animal is in it. On the other hand, to protect your soul (or your life) I shall demand your blood from any one who sheds it. Whether it be a beast or one of your fellow-men, he must pay back the soul of a man which he has taken away. Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed, for God made man after his likeness. And as for you, increase and fill the earth.”

In opposition, then, to the blood of animals, which might be shed without fear, the blood of man was holy and inviolable. Murder, therefore, was punished in the Israelite laws by death,² not because of the extreme wickedness of the man who robbed his neighbor of life, but simply because compensation must be paid for the soul that had been destroyed. And this is why it made no difference whether a man had

¹ Leviticus xxiv. 18. After an amended version.

² Exodus xxi. 12. Leviticus xxiv. 17, 21, 22.

killed another on purpose or by accident. In either case he had forfeited his life. Even an animal, that had killed a man, must be stoned.¹

This last practice appears very absurd to us; but it was not confined to a high antiquity. In Christian countries, and even in Western Europe, many an animal has been brought to justice at the hands of the hangman, for killing a man. As late as in 1486, the hangman of Yprès, in Flanders, was ordered to execute a boar upon the scaffold, because it had killed a child.

So, if a man had killed any one, on purpose or by accident, he had forfeited his own life. The blood that had been shed cried out for a recompense, and it was the duty of the nearest relative to demand the debt by slaying the murderer. For this reason he was called the *blood-redeemer*, for the Hebrew word must be so translated, not *blood-avenger*. The redeemer was not only allowed but obliged to destroy the murderer. He was not allowed to follow the practice of other nations, sometimes adopted doubtless in Israel too, and accept a ransom in money. To do so was a sin; for when blood was shed it defiled the land, and the stain could only be washed out by the blood of the murderer;² for man was made after the image of God, and was therefore inviolable. The god of Israel was a stern god, and no one who marred his likeness could escape his punishment.

The difference, however, between a man who had killed his neighbor intentionally and one who had accidentally caused the death of some one — possibly his dearest friend — was so obvious that a natural feeling of fairness required some softening of this stern law. There were certain places of refuge, therefore. In the earliest times this privilege belonged to the temples, and the altar especially protected the murderer. Afterwards, when the number of sanctuaries was limited, there were certain cities of refuge in which any one who had killed a man, without any guilt on his own part, might sojourn. But if any one had committed a murder out of hatred, it was no use his escaping to one of these cities, for he was given up to the blood-redeemer, and was killed by him. His life was protected only if he was guiltless, and in that case he might go back in safety to his own home, on the death of the high-priest.³

The expression: "Whoever sheds the blood of man, by

¹ Exodus xxi. 28-32.

² Numbers xxxv. 31-34.

³ Deuteronomy xix. 1-13. Numbers xxxv. 9-34.

man shall his blood be shed, because he is made after the image of God," is frequently quoted in defence of capital punishment as the legal penalty for murder. Of course, if we are to frame our penal code after the model of that of Israel, this is all fair; but in that case we are bound to execute any animal that has killed a man: for if we recognize a certain commandment as divine, and therefore binding upon us as well as those to whom it was given, we have no right to observe one half of it and throw the other half to the winds. But this is the way in which the words of the Bible are abused. However useful the law that the murderer must be punished by death may have been in ancient times, it must not be accepted and observed as a divine law by us.

The later Rabbis increased the commandments about abstaining from blood and the inviolability of human life to the number of seven. To these they added: obedience to the authorities, and prohibition of blasphemy, idolatry, incest, and theft. They called these the Noachic commandments, and considered that every one, whether Jew or heathen, was bound to observe them, inasmuch as they had been issued before the promulgation of the Mosaic law. For this reason they were imposed upon the so-called "proselytes of the gate," that is, the heathens who had half gone over to Judaism. All this, however, only dates from a period centuries later than the Babylonian captivity.

Such was man's side of the covenant, and God, on his part, promised that he would never send a flood of waters upon the earth again. As a token of this covenant he made the rainbow that, whenever he gathered the clouds together over the earth, it might appear to remind him of his promise, which was to hold good for ever.

It is not surprising that so splendid a phenomenon as the rainbow made a deep impression upon the peoples of antiquity. The cause of its appearance was not in the least degree understood, but it was observed that it was connected in some way with the rain. This gave rise to all sorts of speculations, and the rainbow, consequently, plays a part in the mythologies of many nations. It is often called the bridge by which the gods come down from heaven to earth, or by which the souls of the departed reach the abode of bliss. This idea is not found among the Israelites. In our story the "bow of God," is the sign of the covenant; but that does not mean that it was intended to reassure mankind.

According to the Israelites, the rainbow no more served this purpose than did the sign of which Yahweh spoke to Cain; but just as the latter was meant to warn any one who was about to raise his hand against Cain or the Cainites,¹ so the former was meant to remind God of his promise. What childlike ideas of God people had in ancient times! As if the memory of the deity needed to be refreshed in this way.

In their expectations as to the future, then, the two authors who tell us about the flood are quite agreed. They do not expect that such an all-destroying flood will ever come upon the earth again; but they cherish this belief upon very different grounds: or rather, they ascribe very different motives to their god in giving this promise. According to the one, God's motive is humiliating enough to man: viz., that he is really incorrigible; while the other rises to a higher point of view, and ascribes to God good-will towards all that lives, both man and beast; while the life of man, who is made after his image, is inviolable. In this he approaches to some extent the position of Jesus, who dared to call God, Father, and revered in man, in spite of all his shortcomings and all his want of holiness, the child of God.

After the story of the flood comes that of Noah's drunkenness and his cursing Canaan. It is from the same hand as the account of the flood in which the name of Yahweh is used, the distinction between clean and unclean animals made, and the sacrifice of Noah mentioned. We shall speak of it afterwards in another connection.

CHAPTER VIII.

NIMROD.

GEN. X. 8-12.

IN the mountains of Armenia, there rise, not far from each other, two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris. The Euphrates, which rises north of the other, takes a wide sweep to the west, round the mountains of Armenia, while the Tigris flows south-east from the first. Then they both

¹ See pp. 54, 59.

flow through a plain, a considerable height above the level of the sea, some parts of which, especially near the banks of the rivers, are moderately fertile, though the rest of the territory between the two streams is dry and barren. This region was called by the Greeks Mesopotamia, that is, the country between the rivers. This district, together with that to the east of the Tigris, was formerly inhabited by the Assyrians, whose capital, Nineveh, was situated on the left bank of this river. On issuing from this region the two rivers approach pretty close together and then part again; and so, sometimes nearer and sometimes further from each other, flow on in the same direction until they pour themselves into the Persian Gulf. A fruitful plain stretches down from the place where the two streams approach each other most closely. It is called the plain of Shinear, that is, again "of the two rivers," and was inhabited by the Babylonians.¹

From the eighth century before Christ onwards the Israelites came into very close contact with both Assyrians and Babylonians; and it is not surprising, therefore, that they felt an interest in the earliest history of their countries.

The following account is given us by one of them :—

Nimrod, the Ethiopian, was the first tyrant upon earth. He was a mighty hunter before the face of Yahweh; and that is the origin of the proverbial expression: "a hunter like Nimrod before Yahweh." He ruled at first over Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinear. Then he went to Assyria, and built Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah, and Resen, which is situated between Nineveh and Calah,—this is the great city.

What is told us of Nimrod in this passage does not give us a very favorable impression of him, and we cannot be surprised that the later Jewish writers draw a portrait which is anything but flattering of this first tyrant and mighty hunter. One of them (Flavius Josephus²) combines the story of the tower of Babel with this notice of Nimrod, and represents him as having tried to carry heaven by storm, and as having been slain by the wrath of God in punishment for his audacity. All this, however, is quite contrary to the intention of the old story, in which nothing is told to the discredit but everything to the honor of Nimrod, and he is represented as one of the benefactors of mankind. There is certainly nothing noble in hunting or shooting defenceless game, either for pleasure or profit, in our day; but to under-

¹ See map 1.

² On Josephus, see vol. iii., Introduction viii.

stand the story of Nimrod we must imagine a country thinly inhabited and swarming with beasts of prey, with wolves lions, tigers, eagles, and serpents. In such a country a powerful and valiant hunter who risks his life in protecting men and cattle, is beloved by every one. It is but natural too, that such a man, renowned for his strength and skill, honored for his courage, and the benefits he confers, proud of the power his arms have won for him, and accustomed to brave every danger, should be the leader of his tribesmen in war and the umpire of their disputes in times of peace, and so gradually become their acknowledged ruler. And though a power which rests on the sword is not our ideal, yet even this was a blessing in ancient times; for the political institutions of our day were unknown; and unless there were some one to preserve order by force and by the fear which his person inspired, a whole district might easily fall a prey to strife and disorder. Hence establishing a personal rule was a step in the path of progress and increased civilization. All the influential princes of antiquity were tyrants, mighty hunters in time of peace, and warriors when threatened by the enemy; and the sagas of the most different nations attribute the slaughtering of monsters and giants to their gods and demigods. Such were the deeds of the god Thor in the belief of our forefathers; and of Orion and Herakles (Hercules) according to the Greeks. I do not mean to assert that there really were men who bore these names, and that after their death they were worshipped as gods; but by ascribing such exploits to their gods, the ancients showed how much they thought of them, and how highly mighty hunters and tyrants were honored.

Now we understand how Nimrod could be called a mighty hunter "before the face of Yahweh;" for this expression does not mean, as is sometimes said, a hunter who was rebellious against Yahweh, but a hunter upon whom Yahweh looked, that is, whom he appointed to struggle mightily, and to prepare the way for civilization and progress in the countries over which he ruled.

The name of Nimrod has not as yet been discovered upon the ancient monuments of Babylon and Assyria; nor can we even explain its meaning with any certainty. We are, therefore, quite unable to tell whether it was originally the name of a god, a tribe, or a man; but in any case Nimrod is one of those mythical beings in whose fortunes and exploits the history of a country is recorded.

Now let us read the account once more: Cush, that is

Ethiopia, gave Nimrod being. He was the first tyrant on earth. A mighty hunter before Yahweh, he ruled at first over the four cities or districts of the plain of Shinear, and then extended his dominion over the four great Assyrian cities which make up all together what is called "the great city," for this seems to be the true meaning of the last words of the passage. The meaning of the story is this: The first settled state ever founded upon earth must be looked for in Babylonia. This kingdom was of Ethiopian origin, inasmuch as it was founded by a tribe that had migrated from Ethiopia. Babel and the three other places mentioned were its principal cities. In the course of time the Babylonian civilization spread over Assyria, and thither the seat of empire over Asia was afterwards removed.

This story agrees with what the Greek traditions tell us of migrations of the Ethiopians to the plain of Shinear, in primeval times, and their expeditions from this country northward; and the spread of the Babylonian civilization over Assyria is painted in rich and varied colors in all the legends of Semiramis which we find in the writings of the Greeks. This warlike and yet voluptuous princess was said to have been married first to Oannes and then to Ninus. After this second marriage, and especially after the death of her husband, she conquered half the world, but was defeated at last by the Indians, and then carried up to heaven, or, according to others, murdered by her son. To her the legends ascribed not only all the conquests of the Assyrians, but also all the magnificent buildings both in Assyria and in Babylonia. Now the word Semiramis means "the high-exalted name," and is the appellation of a goddess. Oannes is the name of the god who civilized the Babylonians, according to old Chaldean myths; Ninus is a personification of the Assyrian people. The meaning of the legend, therefore, is as follows: After the rude and warlike people of Assyria had come into contact with the culture and religion of Babylon, and the seat of empire had passed from Babel to Nineveh, the Assyrians came forward as the conquerors of the world, and not only made conquests on every side, but also left traces of their influence in countless monuments.

The researches of later times have confirmed what these legends teach us. An incredible amount of labor has been expended upon the examination of a number of Babylonian and Assyrian ruins; and many scholars, of whom Botta, Place,

Layard, Rawlinson, Oppert, and recently Schrader, are the best known, have devoted their powers to the difficult task of deciphering the inscriptions which have been found in great numbers. Much obscurity still hangs round this ancient history, but some facts at least have been disclosed; and so far they agree with what the legends tell us.

The scholars who are engaged in these studies think it probable that the population of Babylonia and Assyria was made up of two different races, and that the original inhabitants were subjugated by an Ethiopian immigration, whose language gained the supremacy over theirs. Perhaps the Chaldees, a tribe of priests in Babylonia, after whom the whole nation is commonly called that of the Chaldees, were the remains of these ancient inhabitants. About the year 2300, the kingdom of Nimrod, as we might call the old Chaldean monarchy, according to the story in Genesis x., was already established in the plain of Shinar. The chief god was the same Oannes with whom we met in the legends of Semiramis. Amongst the other gods, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter, were Bel, Mylitta, and Dagan, and their worship was often of a very immoral character. In the eighteenth century before Christ, the old Chaldean monarchy had fallen into decay, and in the seventeenth it was conquered by the Egyptians, under whose supremacy Assyria gradually arose, until its monarchs, during the same period as that in which the Israelites came out of Egypt, made themselves masters of Babel, and ruled the whole "land of the two rivers" from Nineveh. Thus "Nimrod went to Assyria." We shall come upon this Assyrian empire again in the course of the history of the Israelites, and shall see how great an influence it exercised upon them, both by its religion and its arms.

Once more let the figure of Nimrod rise before us, as it is here described. He is not an attractive figure — this mighty hunter, this despotic ruler! Conscious strength and courage are seated on his brow. He rescues the flock from the claws of the dreaded lion. He enables the industrious to cultivate their land, and equip their fishing boats in peace. He promulgates laws and preserves order. Woe to the man who seizes his neighbor's wife or who slays his brother! The ruler's grasp is upon him, he has hurled him to the ground, he has struck him dead! Woe to the man who attacks him himself! He leaves no injury unavenged. It needs but little provocation to make him slay the offender. So a heavy price is paid for

safety, since freedom is thrown into fetters. The rule of the wild beasts is changed for that of a man, and a man may be more terrible than a wild beast, in his rage.

But the maintenance of order and justice, even after a rude fashion, paves the way to development in every direction. It is the first step towards the formation of a healthy society; and the second step is soon made by the people, and this is followed by others yet. Let no one despise the day of small things! Nimrod a tyrant and a mighty hunter! Yes, but before Yahweh's face. God, who created all that is good, makes use even of tyrants to realize his ends. They may be the forerunners of better and gentler times.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TOWER OF BABEL.

GEN. XI. 1-9.

ON the western bank of the Euphrates, a little to the south of Babylon proper, on the spot marked Borsippa on our map, the traveller may still see a mighty ruin which rears itself above the naked plain around, and serves as a land-mark to the wandering shepherds. It is the basis, two hundred and eighty feet in height, of a colossal building, a small part of the first story of which still crowns it. This ruin is known amongst the people of the country as "the mountain of Nimrod." It is all that remains of the Temple of Bel, formerly one of the most enormous buildings of the magnificent Babylon. Ancient writers vie with each other in describing its glories. It was a four-cornered building of baked clay bricks cemented with asphalt, in which the surrounding plain is very rich. This gigantic basis measured a hundred and fifty yards each way; and a tower rose from it in eight stories, each smaller than the one below it, to a height that far exceeded that of the great Egyptian pyramids. The building was for the most part solid right through, and a sloping passage that swept in wide circles round it conducted those who desired to ascend the tower, to its upper portions. In the top story, however there was a chamber where stood a golden altar, and a be-

prepared for the god Bel. In the bottom story, too, there was a chamber, in which was a golden image of the same or another god in a sitting posture, with a throne and footstool also made of gold. Before this image stood an altar upon which, when the yearly feast of Bel came round, thousands of pounds of incense were consumed. The idea of the architects in raising the temple of their god to such an enormous height, and preparing a residence for him at its summit, appears to have been that Bel only visited the high places of the earth, and could therefore stay upon the cool heights of this artificial mountain, but not in the warmer air at its foot.

As soon as the Israelites had any communications with Babel, as they certainly had in the time of Hezekiah, and probably still earlier, they would of course become acquainted, amongst other things, with this colossal building. As usual, they gave free play to their imagination in connection with it, and clothed their ideas on the subject in the form of a narrative. One of them borrowed the material for his story, to some extent, from the name Babel, which seems really to mean "god's gate," but which he translated "confusion." The following legend, accordingly, came into existence:—

In primeval times people all spoke the same language; and were therefore able to live together. Accordingly, they all went from the land of Ararat towards the east, and so came to the plain of Shinar. When they had settled there they discovered the art of baking clay into bricks, and using asphalt for cement. Delighted with their discovery, they said to one another, "Come! Let us build a city, and a tower, the top of which shall reach to heaven! So will our fame be known, and we shall not be scattered all over the earth." Then they set to work at once. But Yahweh came down from heaven to see what this city and tower really were, that mankind was so busy building, and when he had seen what they were doing, he said, "See now! All mankind are but one nation, and they all speak the same language. This is only the beginning of what they will undertake; and unless a stop is put to it, it will be impossible to keep them back, in future, from anything they take it into their heads to do. Come, then, let us go down and throw their language into confusion, that they may no longer understand each other!" So Yahweh scattered them thence over all the earth, and they stopped building the city; and it received the name of Babel (confusion), because it was there that Yahweh had confused the languages of men, and scattered them over the earth.

The chief point in this story is the writer's explanation of the difference between the languages of the various peoples. The subject is certainly well worth thinking about, and endeavoring to understand. "How is it," we ask, "that we speak English, and our neighbors German, French, or Dutch? How is it that such an enormous number of languages are spoken in different parts of the world? How are we to explain the fact that the natives of every part of the same country even, and we might almost say of every town or village, speak different dialects, so that their pronunciation or way of speaking often shows us where they come from?" The students of the science of philology are attempting to answer these questions, and many others on the same subject, and they have already bestowed a vast amount of labor upon them. This science, like so many others, has made rapid progress during the last half century, and such scholars as Grimm, Bopp, Rénan, and Max Müller, only to mention a few of the greatest, have already done much towards bringing this mysterious question somewhat nearer a solution. It is an excessively complicated subject, and scholars are not yet agreed even upon some of the fundamental points. For instance, while some believe that one original language lies at the root of all the languages of the world, or at all events that several hundred roots of words are common to them all, there are others who declare that languages having nothing in common with each other have risen among the various races of men.

The most interesting question of all, that, namely, of the origin of language in general, is as yet entirely unanswered, just as the origin of religion, the history of which has many points of similarity with that of language, still escapes our observation.

The want on the part of men of some means of communicating their feelings and thoughts to each other compelled them to express what was going on within them by sounds; and the more highly they became developed, the more knowledge of all kinds they gained, the more they thought about everything they saw, and the more they had to say to each other in consequence the better they succeeded in indicating special objects, by clearly articulated sounds and then in reproducing ideas, while they declined words and formed sentences, until gradually a language had come into existence.

But all the human race did not live together, as they parted from each other for all kinds of reasons, — to find food for instance — and so lived and settled in different districts.

There they became acquainted with various products and phenomena of nature, and had their own special experiences and sensations to express. Their way of life, the degree and nature of their civilization, and a hundred other circumstances, exercised an influence upon the form and the inflections of their words, and the construction of their sentences. The climate and the nature of the soil especially produced great alterations; until at last their language grew into something quite different from what it had been at first; just as is always happening even now.

For every language keeps gradually altering, until at last it can hardly be recognized as the same, and seems to have been succeeded by an entirely new one, and people begin to call the old way of speaking a "dead language." Among civilized nations, this change only goes on very slowly, because they preserve their words in writing; but the languages of uncivilized peoples are subject to very rapid change. There are regions in which an almost entirely new language grows up within the period of one generation, and where every village and hamlet has one of its own, quite different from the rest, made to meet the requirements of the moment, and destined after a time to be forgotten again.

The difference between the languages and dialects of nations, then, is the result of difference in their origin, abode, history, character, and modes of thought and life; so that we can often make out more or less of their past history from their language. In particular it shows us in what relations they stood to each other in former times. Those nations whose forefathers lived together for a long time after they had reached a certain stage of development, and had therefore a more or less considerable number of words, express themselves by similar sounds, modified however by the circumstances in which they have since lived. Those, on the other hand, whose forefathers parted at an earlier period do not show any such resemblance.

The science that deals with the origin, the history, and the mutual connection of the various languages is called comparative philology. The Israelite who wrote the legend of the tower of Babel had no idea of such a science. He tried to explain what seemed to him a strange phenomenon, not by finding out its natural causes, but by ascribing it to an immediate dispensation of Yahweh, who intended it to prevent men from living together any more. In doing so, however, he represents what really was one of the causes of the difference between the languages as its effect.

We may be sure that this impression of the tower of Babel was not shared by all the Israelites. Most of them, no doubt, like the Babylonians themselves, were dazzled by the magnificence of the building and its gigantic size; for in every age people have admired great works and all else that is dazzling. If, as appears from the story, the tower of Bel was not finished in the time of our writer, many of his contemporaries no doubt found this circumstance tantalizing and vexatious enough, and longed to be able to see the work completed. Quite another spirit, however, inspires the composer of our story. He takes no delight in thinking of the skill of the men who discovered the materials for such a building, or their perseverance in going on with such a work, or the sacrifices they made to prepare what they thought a suitable abode for their god. All he sees in it is a work of vainglory, the first step on the fatal road, the beginning of an attempt to storm the very heaven, the result of a mad audacity, which Yahweh did well to put under due restraint, or there was no saying what would have been attempted next!

In this story we recognize the hand of the same writer who made Yahweh express a fear, in the story of paradise, that man might become immortal, who declares the desire of knowledge to be a sin, and is afraid of nothing so much as of presumption.¹

There is a Greek myth that breathes the same spirit, according to which the gods decreed that men should speak different languages, because they desired immortality and perpetual youth. "Divide and rule" was thus the motto of the gods, that they might hold the reins of power in their hands; while man's duty above all things was to submit to them, and not to aim at too high a position. There are other stories of Greek as well as Eastern origin, that speak of the fear entertained by the gods of the presumption of man. So the Greeks tell how when mankind, after having lived a life of purity at first, had gradually become corrupt, and impiety had gained the upper hand on earth, heaven itself was no longer safe against the passions of mankind; for there rose a race of giants who attempted to storm the dwelling of the gods, and piled the mountains one upon another to enable them to climb up to the vault of heaven. But Zeus (Jupiter), the highest of the gods, smote the heap of mountains with his thunder-bolt, and buried those who were besieging the seat of the gods under the fragments of the mass.

¹ See pp. 50 ff.

However one-sided this view of life may be, yet the warning it conveys is well worth laying to heart, and the "mountain of Nimrod" has still a precious lesson for us. For the proudest schemes are often framed by men, and even partly carried out. Love of glory has always played a great part in them, as our Israelite writer clearly saw. Mighty empires are founded. To unite the whole human race as far as possible under one sceptre, and range it round one central point, has been the constant effort, age after age, of princes and of peoples. And it is so still. The United States of North America, Russia, and Germany are the giant states of our day. A thoughtful observer is often alarmed by the projects of the most powerful princes and peoples; for sometimes it seems as if nothing were impossible to them, as if the fate of the whole world lay in their hands. But the temple of Bel cries aloud: Believe not in the omnipotence of man. The proudest schemes may be baffled. Among the architects of the great states, some unlooked-for confusion of tongues may rise, and then their work will go on no more. The union that is the work of ambition alone is shattered; for it is not the will of princes or of peoples that governs the world, but God.

CHAPTER X.

THE MIGRATION OF THE TERACHITES.

GEN. X., XI. 10-32.

IN the course of time the Israelites obtained some knowledge of a number of different nations, partly by coming into contact with them themselves, and partly by hearing of them from their neighbors. The more thoughtful, therefore, felt an interest in foreign countries, and were anxious to define as closely as possible their relations to each other and to Israel. This desire led some one to draw up a register of the nations of the earth, which we still have in the tenth chapter of Genesis. This table embraces seventy greater or smaller nations, and arranges them in three groups as descendants of Noah's sons, Shem, Japhet, and Ham. The form of this composition is curious, for it is that of a family

tree. "Japhet's sons" — so the account begins — "were Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, &c. ; Gomer's sons, Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah ;" and so the enumeration goes on, broken only by the story of Nimrod,¹ the mention of the boundaries of the land of the Canaanites,² and of the Joktanites,³ and the statement that Heber's son was called Peleg (division), because in his time the world was divided,⁴ which means that the human race parted into two groups. At the close of the list we are assured that in this way all the nations are descended from the three sons of Noah. Then follows the story of the building of the tower.

It is quite certain that the names contained in this register are not to be taken as signifying men. Thus the name Canaan appears amongst others ; and since this word means Netherlands or Lowlands, it must be the name of a country and not of a man.

The register, however, does not give us a correct scientific division of the nations ; as would be shown, even were there no other proof, by the fact that the compiler mentions a couple of tribes twice over, and even places them in quite different branches of his family tree on these two occasions.⁵ But since the list was long thought to be historical, the terms, "Shemitic,"⁶ "Hamitic," and "Japhetic" peoples have come into use.

The rule which the writer followed in assigning their places to the nations and tribes that were known to him, cannot be made out with certainty from his work. All sorts of conjectures have been made on this subject. Some think he made his division according to the color of the skin of the various peoples ; others that it was the position of their countries that decided him, the Hamites being the inhabitants of the hot countries, the Japhetites the nations dwelling to the north, and the Shemites those that lived between the two other sets. But the fact of the Canaanites being placed among the children of Ham is fatal to all these conjectures ; for these former inhabitants of the land of the Israelites, whose descendants went on living in the midst of their conquerors, were very nearly related to them, and their being put among the children of Ham rather than those of Shem, shows that love and hate were not without a voice in the composition of this list. The question, however, is too complicated to be entered into any further at present. We need

¹ Genesis x. 8-12.

² v. 19.

³ v. 20.

⁴ v. 25.

⁵ Genesis x. 7 and 28, 29.

⁶ Generally written *Semitic*.

only notice that Shem is called the first born of Noah, because the eldest son was always considered the chief. Among the sons of Shem the first rank is given to Heber,¹ the representative of the group of nations to which Israel belonged; but we are not told in this register how Israel was descended from Heber.

This information is given us in a second family tree, which we find in Genesis xi. 10 ff. Its form reminds us at once of the register of Adam's descendants down to Noah,² of which it seems to be the continuation. It begins as follows: "These are the family archives of Shem: Shem was an hundred years old when he begot Arphaxad, two years after the flood. After that he lived five hundred years more, and had sons and daughters." In this style it continues, giving us similar information about Selah, Heber, Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nahor, and Terah. We are told something more of Terah, however, for three of his sons are mentioned by name, Abram, Nahor, and Haran, the father of Lot. Haran died before his father in Ur of the Chaldees, and Abram's wife was called Sarai, but he had no children. His brother Nahor, on the other hand, who had married Haran's daughter Milcah, had children. "Now Terah," so we read, "with Abram, Lot, and Sarai, left his dwelling-place, Ur of the Chaldees, to go to Canaan, but, during their stay at Haran, he died."

We need not stay to inquire into the original connection between this and the former register. The one we are now considering seems to have been artificially compiled; for just as there are ten generations from Adam to Noah, so there are ten more from the latter to Abram. In speaking of the names in the former register, we noticed³ that, in all probability, they did not, in the first instance, indicate men; and it is quite evident that the names we are now considering did not; for we know the real meaning of some of them. Arphaxad—however strange the assertion may seem to those who have not seen the word in the original—is nothing but another pronunciation of "Ur of the Chaldees;" Selah signifies "sending away;" Heber, "crossing;" Peleg, "separation." The names that follow are unfortunately of unknown, or at least of doubtful, meaning, except that Haran is the name of a district. But from those of which we do understand the meaning, in connection with what the former register teaches us,⁴ we can make out the chief lines of the

¹ Genesis x. 21.

² See pp. 56, 57, 66 f.

³ Genesis v.

⁴ Genesis x. 25.

probable history of the tribes to which Israel, among others, belonged. It comes pretty much to this: "Once the forefathers of Israel and other related tribes lived in Arphaxad, or Ur of the Chaldees. Then they left this country, and crossed the Euphrates, and for this reason they were called Hebrews, that is *men from the other side*. After this they separated into two tribes, and while the Joktanites took a south-easterly course and settled in South Arabia and along the Persian Gulf, the others passed, through the territory of Reu and Serug, south-west. Among these were the ancestors of the Israelites and their nearest neighbors, who may be called the Terachites. Some of them stayed behind and settled in Haran; the rest went on to Canaan." This is all the historical information we can gather from the register; and even this is far from certain.

These accounts of the origin of the Israelites are but scanty, and it is only natural that they should be so, for it is the same with nations as with men:—they enter the world unconsciously, and have no recollection of the beginning of their lives. It is not until they begin to think, to work, to feel that they have a calling to fulfil, in a word, to lead a life above that of the animals, that they can retain the past to any extent in their memory, or that it deserves any interest when preserved. A people must have reached a certain stage of development before it can have a history at all, and many must have floated down the stream of time without its being worth while to record their fortunes. The origin of them all, however, was alike insignificant. What recollection could be preserved of such a life as that led by these rude shepherd tribes? They ate, drank, slept, married, had children, fed their cattle, protected themselves against beasts of prey, went hunting, looked for wells, pitched their tents, broke them up again, fought for a stream or piece of pasture land,—that was the life of these wandering shepherds! In a life such as this nothing of any consequence ever occurred. It is true that even they had their joys, their sorrows, and their religious emotions, that one was superior to another and, doubtless, that some of them were above their surroundings in disposition and cultivation; but the animal nature was still supreme among them, the wants of the body kept all their powers busy, and there were none to raise themselves above the great masses by profound reflection, freshness of thought, and higher views of life. And so

generation after generation might pass away, until their posterity could not even fix the time in which their ancestors had inhabited this or that country, or lived under such and such circumstances; and their memory had altogether perished, except perhaps that some few facts in the history of their tribe—a general migration, a separation into two tribes, or the securing of a new abode—might be preserved.

This absence of anything like proper history is closely connected with the constant changes made by these wandering shepherd tribes in the places of their abode. The earliest recollection of most nations is that of a migration. Of course it was necessary for the most part that compelled these tribes to change their place of abode, and to brave the dangers involved in travelling to unknown regions, but yet they really became attached to their nomad (wandering) life, and unless they came to countries whose inhabitants had settled dwellings already, they went on wandering backwards and forwards, and showed but small affection for the soil on which they lived, until their increasing numbers gradually compelled them to choose settled homes, and bid farewell to their wandering life.

This was a turning-point in the life of these tribes. As long as they were wandering about the land, they only thought of the wants of the next few days, or at most of the half-year during which they remained on the same spot,—just sowing a single crop in order to take its produce with them on their further wanderings. Whenever they dug a well or discovered one, they filled it up so as to keep it for their own use when they visited the same pastures again. These were the highest objects of their lives. But when a settled habitation has been secured, men work for different objects. They think of their posterity: they cultivate the land, and develop the art of permanently increasing its fruitfulness. They plant fruit-trees and rear them carefully, for if they never gather their fruits themselves, yet their children will do so. Houses are built of more lasting materials, and the desire to make them suitable to their purpose, and then beautiful and luxurious, gradually calls a number of arts into existence. Dykes are built to protect the country from floods. Increased wants call commerce into life, and enlarge people's views of the world. Navigation begins to be practised, and the difficulties connected with it quicken the intellect of those who engage in it. Gradually all those who do not earn their bread by cultivating the soil, go and live together, so that villages and towns spring up. Living together makes it necessary to reg-

ulate all mutual intercourse by certain fixed rules, and so laws are made, and a regular society springs up. The relations of the villages, districts, and countries to each other are regulated in proportion to a growing feeling of the necessity of some such steps; and the undisturbed life in settled abodes makes the exercise of all kinds of arts and sciences possible, until gradually a higher life grows up.

It is not true, then, as some people declare, that the love of our country is the fruit of narrowness of mind. Our country is that portion of the earth upon which our ancestors have worked, and we are bound in our turn to consecrate our powers to the task of making its inhabitants as richly blessed as possible. The saying "My comfort is my country" is the expression of mere selfishness, and is the rule that is followed by the brutes. But for us men there are hallowed recollections bound to the soil on which our cradles were rocked, where we have gathered the fruits of the toils and the battles of our fathers, and where we ourselves first woke to the thought that God has work for us to do as well!

No such fatherland belonged to those Hebrews fifteen, sixteen or more centuries before Christ, as they journeyed southward from Armenia, and, whether driven on by enemies or seeking better pasture for their herds, migrated to Canaan. Indeed, they did not want a country of their own, and were well content with their wandering life, so they were half savages still, and their history was not worth remembering. Children of nature as they were, they lived and died with their cattle.

But in the midst of these hordes were the germs of something greater. Many nations were to spring from them: the Arabs, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Edomites, and finally that people which has rescued most of the tribes connected with it from forgetfulness, the people of Israel.

CHAPTER XI.

A WORD ABOUT THE PATRIARCHS IN GENERAL.

GEN. XII.-L.

THE rest of the book of Genesis is taken up by accounts of Abram, Isaac, and Jacob and his family, or, as they are usually called, "the patriarchs," though this word, as we have seen, is also used for various personages belonging to a still higher antiquity. Before we begin examining the stories about them, we must stop a moment to consider the question, whether we have now the firm ground of reality beneath our feet, or are still wandering in the realm of legend.

The nature of the scenes we are going to look upon will at once prove to us that many of their features are invented; for it needs no proof that stories in which a deity goes about with men, holds conversations with them, and even eats in their tents, do not give us accurate accounts of real events. But although we cannot accept the accounts of the patriarchs as completely trustworthy, we might easily suppose that they had a historical foundation, that such men as Abram, Isaac, Jacob, and the rest did really live, and that the stories give us, on the whole, a correct account of their fortunes, though in an embellished and exaggerated form. But when we come to examine these stories closely, and to compare them with each other, we find that this is not the case, and that the names of the patriarchs must be explained in the same way as those of Arphaxad, Heber, Peleg, and others, of which we spoke in the preceding chapter. That is to say, they do not signify men, so much as groups of nations or single tribes. Abram, for instance, represents a great part of the Terachites; Lot, the Moabites and Ammonites, whose ancestor he is called; Ishmael, certain tribes of Arabia; Isaac, Israel and Edom together; Jacob, Israel alone; while his twelve sons stand for the twelve tribes of Israel.

Some of my readers, no doubt, consider this a most extraordinary assertion; and they will not be sorry, therefore, to hear some of the grounds upon which it rests. We must be very brief, however, for fear of falling into repetitions; as in dealing with the separate stories we shall be obliged from time to time to keep this meaning of the names of the patri-

archs well in view, in order fully to understand what is told us about them. We must therefore be content at present with a few arguments which will show at any rate that this view of the names, Abram, Isaac, Jacob, &c., is not a mere groundless fancy.

We must begin by forming a clear idea of the main object of these stories about the patriarchs. They are intended, in the first instance, to give us information as to the descent of Israel and certain related peoples, and to tell us which nations are descended from Abraham. These are, first, the descendants of Ishmael, Hagar's son, the inhabitants of Arabia Deserta; and, secondly, to follow the order of age through Abraham's family, the Edomites and Israelites, who are descended from Isaac; lastly, we read that Abraham took a wife of the second rank, or concubine, called Keturah, who presented him with six sons, from whom most of the tribes of Arabia Felix and Arabia Petræa sprang.¹ We will not at present dwell on the fact that the story of Abraham's marriage with Keturah, contracted long after he was a hundred years old, is quite incredible, but will only ask how we are to believe that all these nations, including the numerous Arab tribes, are descendants of Abraham. Even if we confine our attention to the Israelites, it is impossible to accept this representation; for according to the old narrators, all the Israelites are children of Jacob, whose descendants numbered seventy-two when he went to Egypt.² It is true that, according to Genesis, the patriarchs, as princes of their tribes, had slaves as well as children. Thus Abraham had three hundred and eighteen slaves, capable of bearing arms, that had been born in his household, and Jacob returned from Haran with a numerous band to Canaan; but these serfs were not among the "sons of Israel," and the question is still unsolved how the descendants of seventy-two individuals could become a mighty nation within a few centuries. Since the name of Keturah means "frankincense," and all the Arab tribes that are called the descendants of her sons lived in the land of frankincense, the meaning of the story of Abraham's marriage with her is obvious. It means that the Arabs and the Israelites were related to each other; and in making Keturah only a secondary wife of Abraham, the story represents her children as of less honorable descent than the offspring of Abraham by his principal wife Sarah.

Here and there the writers of the old legends themselves

¹ Genesis xxv. 1-4.

² Deuteronomy x. 22.

point out, as it were, that the patriarchs whom they bring upon the scene as men are personifications of tribes. This is the case for instance in one of the stories about Esau, in which it is said in so many words, "Esau, that is Edom," and "Esau is the father of the Edomites."¹

This is still clearer in the account of the close of Jacob's life. A poem is put into his mouth on this occasion, in which he pronounces a blessing or a curse upon each of his sons.² But the twelve tribes are evidently in the writer's mind, and he altogether forgets that the form under which he is singing of the character and the condition of these tribes, is that of the patriarch's farewell to his sons. Thus he makes Jacob use his own name as that of a people, when he puts this prediction into his mouth: "I will spread them (the Simeonites and the Levites) abroad in Jacob and scatter them in Israel,"³ and "Dan shall judge his people like one of the tribes of Israel,"⁴ and the whole poem is closed by the explanatory words, "All these are the twelve tribes of Israel, and this is what their father said concerning them."⁵

How striking is the story of Jacob's love of Benjamin, his youngest son, and after Joseph's disappearance the only child of his beloved Rachel that was left to him! How touching his unwillingness to let his darling go to Egypt with his brethren! And how it surprises us therefore to discover that this Benjamin was already the father of ten sons.⁶ This shows us that the writer is telling us the fortunes of tribes under the form of a family history.

The idea of representing a nation or a tribe as a man in whose history the fortunes of the tribe were reflected, so to speak, however strange to us, was very common in ancient times. Thus the Greeks or Hellenes traced their origin to a certain Hellen, who was called the son of Deucalion and Pyrrha,⁷ and whose sons Dorus and Eolus, and grandsons Achæus and Ion were said to be the fathers of the four Greek tribes, the Dorians, Eolians, Achæans, and Ionians. In something the same way Englishmen are sometimes called "Sons of Albion," and a still nearer parallel is furnished by the Dutch poets, who sometimes speak of their countrymen as the offspring of Bato, and by the Frisians, who call themselves Frizo's sons, without, of course, intending to assert that such men as Bato or Frizo ever really lived. Just in

¹ Genesis xxxvi. 1, 8, 9, 19, 43.

² v. 7.

³ Genesis xlii. 21.

⁴ v. 16.

⁵ Genesis xlix. 1-27.

⁶ v. 28.

⁷ See p. 69.

the same way, then, Abraham and his sons are not literally the ancestors of all the peoples that are called their descendants in Genesis, but are only their representatives.

If this is so, the question rises: Have we really the primeval history of the Israelite and other related tribes before us in these stories? Do they really transport us to the pre-Mosaic period? The more we try to go into the question of the origin of the legends, the more doubtful do we find the ground upon which we stand; and, therefore, while we have not the least hesitation in explaining the names of the patriarchs on the principles already stated, yet we cannot give an equally confident answer to this question as to the historical value of the traditions about them. It is possible that in some of the stories, historical traditions from the pre-Mosaic period have been preserved. The account, for instance, of Joseph's being sold as a slave by his brothers, and of his elevation to the rank of a prince in Egypt having given them the opportunity of migrating thither, may possibly embody a recollection of the fact that the tribe Joseph paved the way to Egypt for the other tribes. But this is not certain, nay it is not even likely. It is undeniable that some of the stories at least give us information, under the form of the history of these patriarchs, about the fortunes and exploits of the tribes long after the time of Moses. We shall meet with some examples of this presently.

Lastly, it may be asked: If the contents of these narratives, even when understood as tribal history, bring us down to a later period, what is the real origin of the names Abram, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, &c.? As to this, we are almost entirely in the dark. Some scholars suppose that at any rate some of these names were originally those of gods, and point out that "Abram" may mean "exalted father." But satisfactory grounds have never been made out for this view. No doubt the names of the sons of Jacob were simply those of the Israelite tribes, which might easily be used as the names of tribal fathers, since the tribes were in the habit of calling themselves "the sons of Judah, Reuben, Napthali, &c." We have already had examples in the names of Canaan and Heber,¹ of the way in which the names of countries and peoples might be treated as those of men.

It is not easy for us to form a true idea of the way in which these legends of primeval times came into existence; but

¹ Pp. 95, 96, 97.

some of the motives of the compilers can still be detected, understood, and estimated by us. Let us try to sketch, in broad lines, a history of the rise of these legends.

In the time of Moses, and even long after his death, when the Israelite tribes stood to a great extent alone, and were not yet united into one people, their religious customs were very varied and capricious. No doubt all the Israelites worshipped Yahweh as Israel's god, but every tribe and every clan, nay, many separate families or individuals, had their own special god or gods besides. In some parts of the land of Canaan ancient forms of worship were already established, and the invading tribes took part in them, either retaining the ancient gods of the place, or superseding them by others. These "Holy Places" were the centres of the national life in the districts to which they belonged. Such, for example, was the sanctuary of Beersheba. There, on the southern boundary of Canaan, where the Israelites were in constant communication with the Edomites, was a much-frequented sanctuary to which the "sons of Isaac" brought their offerings. The centre of Judah's religious life, on the other hand, was Hebron, and there the ancestor of the people was known by the name of Abram. So, again, there were sanctuaries in Shechem and in Bethel which were sought by pilgrims from the surrounding district of the tribes of Benjamin, Ephraim, and Manasseh, who called themselves the "sons of Jacob." In the northern portion of the country Baal-Gad, *i.e.*, "the Baal of Good Fortune," or "of the Gadites," was worshipped, and in the north-west of Judah, at Bethshemesh, *i.e.*, "house of the Sun," some form of the worship of the Sun-god was established. Among the objects worshipped and held to be sacred were stones and trees, especially oak and terebinth trees.

In David's time, however, the unity of the people was established, and though it was broken again after Solomon's death, the recognition of the close relationship of all the tribes was never afterwards lost. The Israelites of the north and those of the south felt that they were brothers, and at certain periods were very closely united. The two portions of the nation were called collectively, "the people of Yahweh," and in both the influence of the Mosaic party continually increased. This party was, of course, very hostile to the ancient local forms of worship, inasmuch as they were injurious to that of Yahweh. They would gladly have removed these sacred trees and stones, therefore, and wiped

out the names of the idols. But it was not easy to do so, as the people were much attached to their local customs. The zealous upholders of the exclusive worship of Yahweh saw no chance, therefore, of getting rid of the religious usages of centuries all at once. The course they adopted, accordingly, was to try to attach a different meaning to them, to give them an orthodox coloring, if I may so express myself. The names of the various tribes and districts were made into those of men, and were then brought into connection with each other. Abram, the patriarch of Hebron, Isaac that of Beersheba, and Jacob of Bethel, became grandfather, father, and son. The anointed stone at Bethel, the consecrated oaks of Mamre (near Hebron), the sacred tree at Shechem, and the well of Beersheba, were all of them gradually made into monuments of the lives of these patriarchs. These were the spots on which they had pitched their tents, these the trees that they had planted, these the wells they had dug, and these the memorial stones or the altars they had erected. In this manner the ancient names and venerated objects were made not only harmless but actually favorable to the purer form of worship, for the patriarchs were represented as favorites of Yahweh, and as his faithful worshippers, and the holy places as the scenes of the revelations of this god of Israel.

In this sketch, I have purposely expressed myself ambiguously here and there, and have left it quite an open question what the names of the patriarchs originally meant; for this, as well as many other points, is very doubtful. But the main idea of this account of the origin of the legends of the patriarchs rests on a firm basis; the upholders of the exclusive worship of Yahweh gave them the form which they assume in these stories, so as to find a place in the worship of Yahweh for certain elements of the old-Israelite or heathen religions, such as sacred names, places, usages and objects.

In acting thus the zealous worshippers of Yahweh do not stand alone, for we can trace a similar effort amongst very various peoples, and at very different periods. Thus, in certain Asiatic states, the god Baal was made into a king, to whom the founding of a number of cities was attributed, and whose grave was pointed out in different places. The case was the same with other gods and goddesses in Egypt, Asia-Minor, Babylonia, and Greece.¹ The cause was partly a misunderstanding; but partly the desire to supersede ancient forms of

¹ See pp. 87, 88, 89.

worship. This method is often called Euhemerism, after a certain Greek philosopher, named Euhēmērus, who lived in the times of Alexander the Great, and systematically made all the Greek gods into kings and generals. But we need not go so far or climb to such a height of antiquity, to find examples of this procedure. In our own country it was practised by the preachers of Christianity, for when they brought the Gospel to our land they found its inhabitants just as much attached to their gods and feasts, their sacred usages and consecrated trees, as were those ancient Israelites whose conversion to the exclusive worship of Yahweh was the object of the writers of the legends about the patriarchs. They were ready to accept Christianity, but if only it could be managed they were very anxious to retain the names and usages to which they were accustomed. So the preachers of Christianity allowed them to keep a great many of them, but gave them a Christian interpretation. Sacred stones were marked with the cross and became memorial stones, sacred wells were made into baptismal fonts, images of gods transformed into images of saints. The consequence is that remains of the old heathen forms of worship have survived to this very day in Easter eggs, yule logs, and, on the Continent, Whitsun fires, the customs of Santa Claus, and many others. The very name, for instance, of Easter (in German Ostern) reminds us immediately of the worship of the heathen goddess Ostara, whose feast was celebrated in spring.

It is quite common, then, for religious reformers — seeing that they cannot have everything as they would wish, and that they cannot attain their object unless they make some concessions — to try to gain people over by taking a middle course, and so toning down their requirements as to allow their converts to retain some portion of their ancient beliefs or beloved usages.

But however often this path has been and is yet trodden, we have still to ask, Is it right? Does it bring us to the goal? If the goal is the triumph of some form of worship, some doctrine, or some ecclesiastical system, then doubtless it is much easier to reach the desired end by this means than by concealing nothing that we think, calling everything by its right name, forbidding what we feel is not right, and yielding nothing. But by “mixing wine with water” we degrade the view of truth for which we desire to find access, and allow many elements of the old view to creep into the new. In consequence of these proceedings on the part of their champions, both the

Yahweh-worship of Israel and the Christian church have taken up into themselves much that has been disfiguring and injurious to them.

Those who are determined to see a great and immediate result of their preaching, and are content if they can count up a large number of converts, without examining very closely how much alloy has mingled with the purity of their faith, must adopt this method. But those who are truly zealous for God and for the truth go right forward, are content with nothing short of the full demands of God, and prefer weighing their converts to counting them. What the result to themselves often is we are taught by the cross upon which Jesus died, because he would make no treaty with the world, and because his followers were therefore few in number. But just for that reason he became more than the founder of a church, he became the Saviour of the world.

One more general remark must be made about the stories of the patriarchs. Here, again, as was the case with the first eleven chapters of Genesis, we have the work of more than one writer before us. We have no difficulty in recognizing here and there the style and the thoughts of the writers who told us of Adam and Noah, of Cain and Enoch, though we cannot always make out with certainty how the accounts of the two have been woven together, and then united with those of yet others.

Sometimes the writers do not agree together. An instance occurs quite at the beginning; for while the "Book of Origins" makes Terah and his clan leave Ur of the Chaldees and go to Haran, where Terah himself dies, without assigning any religious motive to him, the older writer, without mentioning Terah at all, begins: "And Yahweh said to Abram."¹ Whence he supposes the patriarch to depart is anything but clear. Since the departure from Ur of the Chaldees immediately precedes this narrative, it is natural to suppose that that is the place referred to here as well, as is stated indeed elsewhere;² but in another passage³ Haran, that is Mesopotamia, is indicated as Abram's country. When we come to the stories themselves, we shall find other instances of mutual disagreement between the narratives.

The two writers, as might have been expected, show the same peculiarities in the stories of Abram and his sons that we have already noticed. The accounts of the later writer

¹ Genesis xii. 1.

² Genesis xv. 7.

³ Genesis xxiv. 4, 7, 10.

are rather colorless, but the older stories are full of life and variety, for in them the most ancient times are painted with all the traits and colors of a comparatively recent period ; with the worship of Yahweh for instance, and most of the religious usages of the Israelites.

This is, to a great extent, what gives these narratives their charm. The deeper we penetrate into their meaning, the clearer is the insight they give us into the life of the people in whose midst they arose. But if this had been their only value they would certainly never have become so universally known and loved as they are, for this meaning is sometimes far enough below the surface, and escapes the ordinary reader. But they are precious even as sketches of character ; for in the patriarchs, especially in Abraham and Jacob, we have before us the images of pious men after the heart of the writers, and since they are drawn by the hand of a warm affection, they often speak to our conscience as well as our imagination.

We shall therefore treat these stories chiefly as sketches of character. We shall indeed point out, whenever we are able, the interest that animated the compilers, and the objects they had in view in telling their stories ; but for the rest, we shall speak of Abram, Hagar, Esau, Joseph, and all the others, as if they were men who really lived, and shall try to strengthen our moral life by marking their faith, and to take warning from the description of their sins.



CHAPTER XII.

ABRAM THE BELIEVER.

GEN. XII.

SURROUNDED by his relatives and friends, in the plain of Haran, in the northern part of Mesopotamia, dwelt Abram ; and hard by his tents his friend and nephew Lot would often feed his flocks.

The two shepherd princes were rich in cattle, and a host of dependents obeyed them, while they were bound to each other by the closest ties of friendship. A striking proof of this friendship was given by Lot, when he lent an ear to his uncle,

who urged him to accompany him on a distant journey he was about to undertake. He was going away south-west, across the Euphrates, and then . . . as yet he did not know where next himself.

Why was he going to change his abode? Was he driven to it by necessity? Was there no more pasture for his cattle? Had enmity risen between him and his relatives? Or did love of change and hope of booty urge him on? Had he forgotten that all kinds of unknown dangers threatened him on his way through the lands of strangers? Not at all. However poorly his country had been blessed by the beauties of nature; nay, however parched and dry it was during many seasons of the year, still it was dear to him, and he was on the best possible terms with his relatives, the men of Nahor, and even in religion was at one with them.¹ He must go because Yahweh, his god, told him to go. Why he did so, and where he would take him, he did not know; his duty was but to obey.

So they started on their journey, these men of faith, sure that Yahweh would bring them to a good land. He had distinctly promised Abram that he would bless him and make him a great people. His friends should be blessed and his enemies cursed, and the fame of his prosperity should spread so far amongst all nations, that when any one wanted to pronounce the greatest possible blessing, he would only be able to say, "God make you blessed as Abram!"² They relied on the power of this god, who had given them such glorious promises.

They passed over the Euphrates and through the Syrian desert; through those wide steppes where only here and there a fruitful spot, such as those upon which Palmyra and Damascus were afterwards to rise, invited them to stay, still south-west, till they crossed the Jordan and came to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, which they found thinly populated by certain Canaanite tribes. They passed through this land too, trusting in their good swords and the might of Yahweh. They felt that they had a right to be there, and no one asked toll of them.

The first spot at which they stayed for any length of time had a strange appearance. Two mountains, of moderate height, rear themselves over against each other there. Ebal, the more northern peak, is parched and barren, but Gerizim, the more southern, rather loftier than the other, has a some-

¹ Genesis xxiv. 31.

² Genesis xii. 3, after an amended version.

what more pleasing aspect. In the valley between these mountains, where Shechem was afterwards built, an oak of more than ordinary beauty raised its head; it was the oak of Moreh, that is, "the teacher's oak." There the wanderers pitched their tents, and Abram soon discovered that it was a holy spot, where Yahweh revealed himself and loved to receive the offerings of his servants; for here his god appeared to him and told him that he had now reached the goal of his journey, for this was the land that his posterity should receive as an inheritance. So Abram built an altar to Yahweh there, and the spot became a sacred place in Israel. The oak of Moreh, under the name of "the soothsayer's oak (Meonenim)," was destined to become famous in all the country round, and to be regarded as the sanctuary of Shechem; and there the worshippers bowed down before the deity who had chosen this tree for his dwelling-place, as they approached him with supplications and with offerings, or listened to the whispering of the sacred leaves, and, full of awe, received from the lips of the soothsayers the interpretation of the sounds they had heard.

From Shechem the patriarch pursued his journey to the height of Bethel. Between this city and Ai he pitched his tents, and found again that Yahweh was with him there, and so built an altar in honor of him. This place accordingly, the name of which means "house-of-god," was no less sacred to the Israelites than Shechem.

Still pursuing their way in the same direction, the Hebrews reached the most southern regions of Canaan.

So Abram had passed through the whole of his promised land, from north to south, when he discovered that it had indeed been promised to his posterity, but not to himself; for a famine compelled him to leave the barren region of southern Canaan for the fertile Egypt, and to sojourn in a strange land, instead of in the country, which his hopes had already taught him to regard as his home.

But even there he was to receive a wonderful proof of the faithfulness and power of his god; for when he drew near to Egypt his faith grew weak, and he was afraid. He came there as a stranger; and his wife Sarai, who was very beautiful, was with him. Suppose—thought he—the inhabitants of the land cast their eyes upon her, they are sure to kill me, and then make her marry one of them. So he told his wife to say she was his sister, so that if they seized her they might give him rich presents as her brother, instead of killing him as her

¹ Judges ix. 37.

husband. It all fell out just as he had expected. The king himself, hearing of Sarai's beauty, had her brought to him to become one of his wives, and presented Abram, supposing him to be her brother, with a great number of sheep, cattle, asses, and male and female slaves, so that he became very rich. But this was not the greatest blessing that Yahweh intended to confer upon him. He was about to make his servant utterly ashamed of his previous fear, and to show that he could defend him even in a foreign country. At his command, one disaster after another fell upon the king and his household, and he soon perceived that all this happened to him because he had taken a married woman into his harem. So he sent for Abram, and reproached him with the deceit by which he had brought him into danger of committing so great a sin. Then he ordered his people to protect and to help Abram, and all that he had.

This adventure of Sarai's is told not so much to Abram's disgrace as to Yahweh's honor. The writer does not appear to have seen anything wrong in Abram's conduct. This shows that he had no very exalted idea of integrity, as we shall see indeed from other passages as well as this. It is very instructive to compare our story with the account of the same event given by another writer,¹ for it shows us how low a position the Israelites took in matters such as these. This other writer removes the scene of the adventure to Gerar, in the land of the Philistines, and says that Abimelech, the king, who had taken Sarai away from Abram, was warned by God in a dream that she was a married woman, and reproached the patriarch for his deceit. But he defended himself by saying that Sarai really was his half-sister, and that ever since they had left their fatherland and begun their wanderings, he had begged her to call herself his sister for fear he should be injured for her sake. Abimelech was perfectly satisfied by this excuse, loaded the patriarch with gifts, and made a present to Sarai also, with the words, "May this make you close your eyes to all the wrong that has been done you. May justice thus be done you."² It looks very much as if this writer wished to acquit the patriarch of the lie by which he was disgraced in the older narrative; but if so he did not see that he failed to make the affair any more creditable to his hero after all. For such shuffling is just as bad as a lie; nay, a premeditated, persevering, systematic

¹ Genesis xx.

² After an amended version.

deceit really tells more against a man's character than a lie which is the result of a momentary fright.

And, again, neither writer seems to have felt how unutterably base it was in Abram to tell this lie, not for the sake of rescuing his wife, but for the sake of turning it to account in his own private interest if she were taken away from him.

But enough of this. The whole story represents Abram as the believer, who, "in obedience to Yahweh's commandment, goes out indeed to a land which he shall receive for an inheritance, but without knowing whither he goes."¹ In this character we shall meet him again and again, and in this lies the deep and lasting significance of Abram, as he is represented in Genesis. He is the hero of faith.

There are people in the world who shrug their shoulders when they hear any one speak of faith, and take a special pride in not having any themselves. Very often they are better than their word, and have more faith in their hearts than they are at all aware of; while their contempt for faith is the result of their not understanding what it means. If it were not so we could have but small respect for any man who thinks that faith is worthless, for it is just in having faith that the noblest of mankind differ from the common herd.

Properly to understand what faith is and what it is worth, we must first understand what is meant by God speaking to a man. In this story, and in many others, God is represented as holding conversations with men, and telling them various things in actual words. It needs no proof that this is not what really takes place, for no man can hear God's voice with his outward ears. He speaks in our conscience. Whenever our duty becomes clear to us, then we hear the voice of God giving us commands; and whenever we feel that our true happiness lies in obedience to this voice, we receive promises from God. Now, if we are firmly convinced that these commands and these promises are not merely imaginary but are true, then we may be said to have faith.

Faith shows itself in various ways. It is often mingled with products of the imagination, that is with superstition. If, for instance, Abram felt, as the later Israelite writers say he did,² that he must flee from the land of his fathers, because he was in danger of falling into idolatry there; if he saw that Yahweh would bless him elsewhere too, and

¹ Hebrews xi. 8.

² Joshua xxiv. 2, 14, 15. Flavius Josephus. Judith v. 6 ff.

that it is better for a man to be a wanderer on the earth and to worship his god in uprightness than to remain in his fatherland and live a life of sin, then that was faith. But if he thought that the land of Canaan was the precise reward assigned to his obedience, then that was all imagination, and therefore superstition. For though in the legend this promise is both made and kept, yet in reality earthly possessions are not the reward of piety. We shall often see from our Bible-stories that, as a rule, the faith of the Israelites was clothed in imperfect forms, that it was mingled with superstition. Even with Christians this is very often the case. But in whatever form it shows itself, however far it is from perfect purity, faith is a treasure always. A man with faith is in every case something more than a man without it, for faith is a power that rescues him from the tyranny of his sensual nature and gives him strength to make sacrifices.

All reformers and all the noblest benefactors of mankind have had faith, and one of the followers of Jesus said in honor of him that he was "perfect in faith."¹



CHAPTER XIII.

ABRAM'S GENEROSITY.

GEN. XIII., XIV.

WHEN Abram — so the narrator goes on — had escaped this danger in Egypt, he returned with his wife and all his possessions to the south of Judah. Lot still accompanied him, and they returned along the road they had come by, always halting in the same places as before, till they pitched their tents once more between Bethel and Ai. There Abram offered a second sacrifice to Yahweh on the altar he had already erected to him.

But gradually it became clear that the two shepherd princes could not live together much longer; for they were both of them rich in flocks. Not that this would have made it impossible for them to remain in the same neighborhood if only they had had free play; but the Canaanites and Perizzites had possession of a great deal of the land, and the

¹ Hebrews xii. 2.

Hebrews had to be content with the portions that these tribes did not require for themselves. So the land became too small for them, and though Abram and Lot still continued to be good friends, their dependants were always quarrelling about pastures and wells. Now, as each of them kept hearing his own shepherds complain of the other's, and was naturally inclined to side with his own servants, there really seemed to be some danger of their falling out with each other in the end.

Abram was the first to see this, and however much he would have liked to go on living with his dearly-loved kinsman, he thought it better for them to part in peace before it was too late, than to remain together and endanger the bond of brotherly love which united them. So he proposed to Lot that they should separate, and, with open-hearted generosity, left him the choice as to which way he would go. He had no wish to dictate to his nephew; if he went to the right, he would go to the left himself, or if Lot took the left, he would take the right.

Lot was far inferior to Abram in generosity. He had followed him from the distant land, and so had had faith in the glorious promises made by Yahweh to Abram. But now self-interest overpowered him. Instead of asking what was the wish of his uncle, the chief of his tribe, he took advantage of his open liberality, and chose as his portion the valley of the Jordan. From a worldly point of view he had made a very wise selection, for the valley of the Jordan was a splendid country, and the southern portion especially, where the Dead Sea now is, but where Sodom and Gomorrah formerly lay, was a true "garden of Yahweh," a paradise, like Egypt in fruitfulness. But there was a dark side to the settlement in this region, for Lot's heart was drawn towards the cities. And though he did not desert the simple shepherd life at once, yet he pitched his tents hard by Sodom, and before long settled in the city itself. This was a source of misery to him against which no fruitfulness of the soil could weigh, for the inhabitants of these cities were great sinners before Yahweh, and his wrath would sooner or later blaze forth against them.

So Lot's covetousness led him on to misfortune, and, moreover, by choosing to go to the extreme limit, and as it were to quit the land, he forfeited all the claim of his posterity to Canaan.

On the other hand, Abram, who obeyed the will of Yah-



weh, received a renewal of the promises when his nephew had departed. It was as though his god would make it plain to him that the departure of Lot in no way affected his promises, and that he himself, and not his nephew, was to be the father of the holy nation that would possess Canaan. "Look round you!"—such were the words of Yahweh—"Look towards every quarter of heaven, towards Lebanon and towards the boundary of Egypt, towards the Jordan and towards the Mediterranean Sea; all this land shall be an eternal heritage for your posterity, which I will make as countless as the dust of the earth. Pass through the country in every direction, and know that you are the father of its future possessors."

Abram obeyed, and journeyed southward. Thus he came to Hebron, or more properly to the district in which a city was afterwards built, called Kirjath Arba until it was conquered by the Israelites, and after that Hebron. Here there were splendid groves of oak-trees belonging to the Canaanite Mamre. For whole centuries the Canaanites, and after them the Israelites, would worship their gods at this spot, and gaze with especial awe and reverence at one gigantic oak. Down to the first century of our era the people in the neighborhood of Hebron would tell how this tree was as old as the world, or would boast that it had grown from a stick thrust into the ground by Abram. By this grove the Patriarch pitched his tent after receiving Yahweh's promise. There he was to learn how well it was for him that he had not gone to the valley of Jordan, that seemed so tempting, and how constantly his god protected and helped him.

For it happened that several princes from the north-east, of whom Kedor-laomer, an Elamite king, was the chief, declared war against the kings of Sodom and four other cities that lay in the so-called valley of Siddim. For twelve years the inhabitants of the valley of Siddim had been tributary to Kedor-laomer, but then they threw off his yoke. Hardly had a year gone by, however, before this prince appeared with an army to reduce them once more to submission. The march of the eastern kings was triumphant. They came down from the north, defeated the Rephaites at Ashteroth-Karnaim, conquered several other tribes east of the Dead Sea, marched round Mount Seir, and penetrated into the desert of Arabia Petræa as far as Hazazon Tamar, to the west of the valley of Siddim. Then the King of Sodom and his allies advanced to meet him,—five against four! But, in spite of this, they

were defeated and dispersed, while numbers of fugitives fell into the wells of asphalt, of which the valley was full, and the rest escaped to the hills. Thereupon the eastern kings took off the cattle and the provisions that they found in their enemies' cities; and, amongst other captives, Lot, who lived in Sodom, was carried off, with all that he had.

News of all this was brought to Abram, who had pitched his tents in the neighborhood of Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner, with whom he had entered into an alliance. No sooner had he received the dismal tidings than he determined to hasten to the rescue. Thinking nothing of the danger to himself, and forgetting how badly Lot had behaved to him, he called together all those of his dependants who had been born his serfs, thinking that he could rely upon their fidelity more confidently than upon that of the slaves he had bought. They were three hundred and eighteen strong, and Abram's allies added some bands of their own dependants to help them. With this force Abram set out in pursuit of the foreign princes. Overtaking them at Dan, one of the most northern points of Canaan, he divided his men into three companies, fell upon them by night, and scattered abroad the whole army of the four chieftains against whom the five kings of the valley of Siddim had not been able to hold their ground. Right on to Hobah, north of Damascus, he pursued the fugitives; and all the booty they had made, including the captives of war whom they were carrying off as slaves, fell into his hands. Thus Lot was rescued with the rest.

As the victorious Abram was returning, the humbled King of Sodom met him in the valley of Shaveh (afterwards called "King's Valley"¹) and implored him to be content with the cattle and the other booty he had seized from the enemy, but to give their liberty to the captives that had fallen into his hands, and were therefore his slaves according to the rights of war. At the same time Abram was visited by Melchizedek, the King of Salem; who brought him bread and wine, and, being a priest of the most high God, blessed him with the words: "Blessed be Abram of the Most High, of the All-ruler! And glory be to this Most High, for he has put your enemies into your power!" And Abram gave him the tenth part of all he had. This did not prevent his being bountiful and generous to the King of Sodom, to whose prayer he answered: "I swear by Yahweh the All-ruler that I will keep nothing that was yours, no not so much as a thread or a shoe-

¹ 2 Samuel xviii. 18.

string! — for you shall never be able to say, ‘I have made Abram rich!’ Of course I am not bound to make good what my men have eaten, nor can I dispose of that part of the booty that falls to the share of my allies, as a reward of the help they have given us; but as for me, I will never enrich myself at your expense.”

There is nothing in the chapters containing this narrative, that has excited the attention of the commentators so much as this meeting between Melchizedek and Abram, and many a brain has been sorely perplexed by the questions, “Where did the city of Salem lie?” “How came there to be a priest of God most high, to whom Abram did homage, in the midst of a population that is always branded as idolatrous?” Indeed, there is something enigmatical about this figure, and it is hard to explain how Abram, who had not his possessions with him, could give him a tithe of them all. We leave it, however, to those who look upon the narrative as history, to remove these difficulties. If we take it to be a legend, and only ask what the compiler meant by it, then the explanation is simple enough. Melchizedek — the word means “king of righteousness” — is a symbolical name; Salem is Jerusalem. Not that this city ever really bore the name of Salem, for until it was conquered by David it was called Jebus; but the writer called the city by the last half of its ordinary name, that is *Salem* or “peace,” because he wanted to speak of Jerusalem, but yet not to use its old Canaanite name. The main point in the story is that Melchizedek is a priest, and as such blesses Abram and receives the tithes, and its object is to exalt the priesthood of Jerusalem, which claimed homage and tithes from every one.

The account of Melchizedek does not appear to come from the writer of the rest of the story, who never hesitates to use names taken from his own times when speaking of earlier ages. Thus he speaks of Bethel, Ai, Hebron, and Dan as if places so called had existed before the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, and he would, therefore, have been at no pains to choose such expressions as “Salem” and “the most high God,” but would have spoken of “Jerusalem” and “Yahweh” without more ado. Besides, the meeting with Melchizedek is very strangely placed in the story in the middle of the account of the meeting with the King of Sodom. In the Israelite literature we only find one single reference to this story,¹ but, as if to make amends, the Christians are never tired of dwelling

¹ Hebrews vii. 20 ff.

upon it. First of all comes the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who sees in Melchizedek an indication of the high-priestly rank of Jesus, and explains the statement that Abram, the father of the priestly tribe of Levi, paid him tithes after having received his blessing, as a prophetic allusion to the doing away of the Jewish laws about the priesthood of the Levites.¹ Later teachers of the church followed the example of this writer, and discovered in Melchizedek all kinds of meanings, which were furnished them by the so-called "allegorical interpretation of scripture."

The great number of the proper names that occur in the account of the campaign of the eastern kings against the princes of the valley of Siddim has led many historical students to hope that they might find in this narrative an ancient and trustworthy monument of history. But when we look more closely into it we are disappointed in this hope, for it is quite evident that some of the names have a symbolic meaning. Thus one of Kedor-laomer's allies is called "king of the heathens" (authorized version "king of nations"), which is surely a strange title. The name of Bera, the king of Sodom, means "son of ungodliness," and Birsha, the name of the king of Gomorrah, "son of the wicked." We can hardly suppose that these are historical names! Besides this, — the main incident in the story, — the defeat of the eastern kings by such a little band as Abram's, is improbability itself.

It seems to be true, however, that in very early times there really was a powerful kingdom, the seat of which was in Elam, that held sway as far as to the borders of Palestine. The names of the monarchs of this kingdom often began with Kudur (Kedor), and as one of their gods was called Lagamar, it is quite possible that Kudur-lagamar (Kedor-laomer) is the real name of some ancient king of Elam, though it has not yet been found upon any inscription.

For the rest, the legend needs no elaborate explanation. The main thought is that Abram, the believer, is under Yahweh's protection; for when Lot has gone his way Yahweh confines his promises to Abram alone, lends him his help so that he can conquer these mighty kings with his little band, and makes him so rich that he has no need to keep any of the booty he has won by war.

Abram, on his side, appears in this narrative as the disinterested and generous hero who gives Lot the first choice of

¹ Hebrews vii. 20 ff.

country, risks his life to rescue him, refuses to keep the spoil of war, and freely gives his tithes to the priest. A noble figure! What a different spirit these actions breathe from that which is commonly met with in the world! Just think how often men quarrel for the best portion of anything, stand upon their rights, seize everything pleasant for themselves, consider whether they are called upon to give up the smallest thing to which they have a legal claim, hesitate to help a man "because he never did as much for them," will run no risk for another's sake for fear they should suffer themselves, like to be paid for any services they may have done, and calculate for how little they can get off when they are asked for a contribution to religious or any other useful institutions! Self-interest is a most powerful incentive, and such a character as Abram's is but rare!

This is only natural, for man enters life as a selfish being. Look at children quarrelling over some trifle, and see how each begins by looking after himself! A power must come into their hearts that can blunt the eagerness of their self-seeking, a power that can resist their inborn selfishness of disposition.

Now faith is such a power. Why should not Abram be generous when he trusted so perfectly in his god? Why should he not be ready to give Lot his choice as to the country he would take in possession? Yahweh took care of him. Why should he hesitate to go out to battle? Did not the angel of Yahweh encamp round about them that feared him? ¹ Why should one who had Yahweh's promises keep the spoil of war for himself? It was not for the sake of booty that he had done as he did.

So powerful has faith been in every age; so powerful is it still. This is why a man who has faith is generous and liberal, and rises by his faith above the common run of men, who seek nothing but their own advantage. Those who have faith, no less than others, like to grow rich, and their carnal nature urges them, too, to take the best for themselves and to run no risks for any one else; but they find a yet greater treasure in contentment, cheerfulness, quickness of sympathy, love; in a single word — a rich inner life; and they trust that his spiritual happiness will ever increase within them. Those who are so rich cannot be mean. Those who feel that they are happy, and cherish in their hearts a living hope, cannot bring themselves to be for ever calculating what will be most

¹ Psalms xxxiv. 7.

to their own advantage; and, without any effort, they bring into practice that command of Jesus which sounds so strange and exaggerated: "Give to him that asks of you, and turn not away from him who would borrow of you."¹

CHAPTER XIV.

THE OATH OF YAHWEH.

GEN. XV.

THE battle was over, and Lot had gone on his way. Abram could return to his tents and once more engage in his peaceful occupations, keeping his sword and his arrows sharp for the bear and the lion only. But now a heaviness of heart he had never felt before overpowered him. In the might of faith he had lived and worked, he had overthrown his enemies though far outnumbered by them, and had generously given away the treasure, and as long as he had been active he had felt no weariness. But now his lower nature re-asserted its claims and made itself felt by his very soul. Abram was sad at heart. He thought of the fatherland he had left. He thought of the dangers that surrounded him. He strained his eyes in vain to see into the darkness of the future. Yahweh had promised him the land that he had passed through; but how was this promise to be fulfilled? and who was to enjoy its fulfilment? He had no children, and both he and his wife were now so old that they had given up all hope of ever having any. His relations all lived far away. Lot had left the promised land of his own free will. So he had no heir but his slave Eliezer, who had indeed been born in his household, and was almost as dear as a son to him, but yet was not "his own." Abram was in deep depression.

But his god knew how to relieve this weariness of spirit, which might easily have led to loss of faith. Yahweh, who had already appeared to him more than once, came to him again. It was night, and Abram heard Yahweh in a vision calling to him, "Fear not, Abram! I am your shield, and will give you a rich reward." But he answered in despair, "O Lord Yahweh! what fortune can you give me? I go on

¹ Matthew v. 42.

my way childless, and Eliezer will be my heir, for I have no children."

Such was his complaint; but the answer that fell upon his ear was beyond measure comforting: "Not your slave, but your own son shall be your heir." And when Yahweh led him out of his tent he saw that this promise was not meant for a mere idle word. It was a glorious night. The moon had not risen, and the stars twinkled by thousands in the sky. "Look up!" said Yahweh. "Can you count the stars? Even so countless shall your descendants be." And however wonderful this word appeared, yet Abram kept down the voice of doubt in his heart. Yahweh's promise was so sure! He could not help accepting it with firm belief. Thus rest was brought to his soul. All that had troubled him was gone, as if by a magic touch. He no longer thought of his fatherland with pain, no longer saw dangers all around him: and, as for the future, his posterity should possess Canaan. How could it be? Nay that was as Yahweh should direct.

Now that his faith was established as to the main point, he was to gather the fruit of his trustfulness, and to learn how completely he had gained Yahweh's favor by it. "I Yahweh have brought you out of Ur of the Chaldees"—so his god went on to address him—"to give you this land for a heritage." Abram now believed in this promise without reserve; but he knew by experience how easily the shadow of doubt might fall upon his soul, so he answered, "Lord, give me a sign, that I may know it certainly." And Yahweh granted the request.

By the direction of his god the patriarch was to make the needful preparations for a solemn sacrifice in confirmation of a treaty. For this purpose he took an ox of three years old, a goat and a ram of the same age, and a pair of doves. He cut each of the larger animals into two parts, but left the birds undivided; then he arranged all these parts upon the ground, the two halves of the same animal opposite each other. When the vultures and kites, attracted by the flesh, flew forward towards it, he chased these unclean creatures away. The bleeding flesh must lie there unpoluted, so that when Yahweh came to conclude the treaty he might pass between the parts.

In patient, but eager expectation, Abram watched till the sun went down. When it had vanished behind the horizon, a deep sleep fell upon him; all at once he was wrapped in darkness, but it was not the natural darkness of the night.

Amazement laid hold of him; the thick black darkness in which Yahweh dwells closed round him and weighed upon his breast. Hark! it is the voice of Yahweh: "Know that your posterity shall sojourn in a strange land; there they shall be enslaved and oppressed. For three generations they shall remain among the strangers, because the measure of the sins of the Amorites, who are to be punished by your posterity, will not be full till then. But, though I leave them there to sigh so long, I will not forget my promise. And the people that oppress them shall fall under my avenging justice; the fourth generation shall rescue itself from the yoke of slavery, and shall return to this land, its heritage, laden with booty. As for you, O Abram, in a blessed old age you shall go to your fathers in peace and be buried."

Such was the promise of Yahweh that sounded from the darkness after the sun had set. But look! What is that appearing suddenly like a smoking furnace and a flame of fire? Yahweh himself was there, and passed between the parts of the sacrificial animals to confirm his promise with an oath.

Thus Yahweh swore to Abram that his posterity should possess the whole land of Canaan, from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates, the land of the Kenites and of all the other tribes that were settled there.

There is one passage in this story that I have intentionally avoided rendering accurately, because there is a contradiction in it, that calls away the attention of any one who notices it from the general drift of the story. When Yahweh is foretelling to Abram all that is to befall his posterity, and how they are to be oppressed in a strange land, — in saying which the writer is of course thinking of the slavery in Egypt — the promise is added that the fourth generation shall depart thence.¹ All this I told you, but did not add that side by side with it stands this other prophecy,² "for four hundred years shall the strangers oppress them." These two predictions do not agree together, for the space of four generations is far less than that of four centuries. This contradiction shows how the story is put together from the work of two writers, one of whom (the older) estimated the length of the stay of the Israelites in Egypt at four generations,³ while the other put it at about four centuries.⁴ This little fact also

¹ Gen. xv. 16.

² Exodus vi. 16, 18, 20, and elsewhere.

³ v. 13.

⁴ Exodus xii. 40.



shows us what free use an ancient Israelite author made of his materials, and how very uncritical people were in those days.

But this only refers to a point of minor importance; and we have one or two things of more consequence to notice in this story. To understand it rightly, we must remember that it was customary among the Israelites, as well as among other nations of antiquity, to confirm a treaty that was being made, by sacrifices. And as sacrificial animals, therefore, were slaughtered on these occasions, concluding a treaty was called "striking," or "slaying a treaty." Even we still use the expression, "to strike a bargain." It seems that the solemnities practised by the Israelites on such occasions were not always the same, but what is here described was one form of them. At any rate, it is referred to several times elsewhere.¹ They cut one or more beasts into halves, and laid the pieces along the two sides of the path by which the parties making the promise were to go, so that they would pass between these parts. The meaning of the ceremony, which was most likely expressed in words at the same time, appears to have been as follows: "May the fate of this sacrificial beast, hewn into two halves, fall upon him who violates this treaty and breaks this promise!" What the Israelites themselves were accustomed to do when they took their most solemn oaths, is here related of their god Yahweh. When he promised Abram a numerous posterity, he did so in the most solemnly impressive manner possible, by passing between the parts of all the animals suitable for a sacrifice, so that Abram might never doubt the certainty of his promise again.

The way in which Yahweh is here described gives us a glance into the ideas of the Israelites about their god. A terrific darkness is the first indication of his presence, for Yahweh dwells in the darkness.² For this reason there was no light in the inmost compartment of the temple, in the holiest place, where Yahweh was enthroned. Strangely in contrast with this is the form under which Yahweh himself appears—the flame of fire. This symbol occurs not only in this passage, but in so many others as to make it perfectly evident that the Israelites thought of Yahweh under this form more than under any other, and believed the consuming fire to be the true expression of the being of their god.³ As

¹ Jeremiah xxxiv. 18, 19. Genesis xxi. 27.

² Exodus xx. 21. Deuteronomy iv. 11.

³ Isaiah iv. 5, x. 17, xxx. 27 ff., xxxi. 9, xxxiii. 14. Amos v. 6. Ezekiel viii. 2, x. 4, &c.

an illustration of this idea, I will quote part of a psalm,¹ containing a description of Yahweh coming to help his favorite. The age of the song, which is ascribed to David in the superscription, is uncertain, but at any rate it is from the time before the captivity.

I will praise thee, O Yahweh, my strength!
 Yahweh is my rock, my fortress, my deliverer.
 My god is my rock, on which I trust,
 My shield and the horn that saves me, my tower.
 When I cried "Praise ye Yahweh"
 I was saved from the might of my foes.
 Billows of death surrounded me.
 Streams of terror made me afraid.
 The bands of the shadow-land had already laid hold of me.
 The snares of death were round me.
 Then I cried to Yahweh in my distress,
 Yea, I cried aloud to my god.
 He heard my voice from his palace,
 And my cry broke through to his ear.
 Then the earth trembled and heaved.
 The roots of the mountains shuddered
 And heaved because he was wrath.
 Smoke rose up in his nostrils,
 A consuming fire from his mouth,
 Coals blazed forth from him.
 He bowed the heavens and came down
 With storm-clouds under his feet.
 He rode on a thunder-cloud and flew,
 And shot forth on the wings of the wind.
 He veiled himself in a mantle of darkness,
 And shrouded himself in dark waters and masses of cloud.
 By the brightness before him his clouds were broken,
 By hail and coals of fire.
 And Yahweh thundered in the heavens,
 The voice of the Highest was heard.
 He shot forth his arrows and scattered my foes,
 Countless flashes of lightning to confound them.
 The beds of the waters were uncovered,
 The foundations of the earth laid bare,
 At the rebuke of Yahweh,
 At the blast of the breath of his nostrils.
 He stretched out his hand from on high and took me,
 He drew me forth from the stormy waters,
 From my mighty foemen did he deliver me,
 From those that hated me, and were stronger than I.

Such a description as this shows us how the religion of the Israelites, like that of other peoples, was at first a worship of nature, and how nothing made such a deep impression upon them as the thunder-storm, with the flickering and flashing lightning. The thunder-storm, therefore, more than anything else, made them think of the action of some higher power, and they thought of their god for the most part as a dreadful being who inspired them with terror, as a consuming fire.

¹ Psalm xviii. 1-17. 2 Samuel xxii. 2-18.

Gradually their religious life was more or less shaken free from the impressions caused by the phenomena of nature.

For us, such a representation of the deity has little or no value. At best it only speaks to our imagination and not to our heart. When we speak of the thunder as God's voice, and the lightning as his messenger, we are simply making use of a poetical form of speech, that has nothing to do with our real religious life; and, indeed, we should be shocked by such descriptions as that of the Psalm just quoted, if any one of our own day were to give them as the genuine utterance of his own heart.

There is certainly progress here, but it is not genuine progress, unless our reverence for God is as great as ever. God's majesty is not revealed in nature alone. He speaks sternly to us too, in our consciences, in the severe demands of the moral law, in the inexorable punishment he inflicts on sin, in the self-reproach and misery by which he teaches us that he cannot be "mocked."¹

Our god dwells in the darkness. He is a consuming fire. So spoke the ancient Israelite as he gazed, with a shudder, into the black gloom of night or the dark depths of the thunder-clouds, and trembled as he saw the heavens all a-glow with lightning, as if wrapped in flames. Our god is a consuming fire, he said again in later times, when his conscience was troubled, and he felt ready to sink under the burden of his sins. Our god is a consuming fire²—that word still expresses an awful truth, felt by every man who understands the extent of his duty, who is weighed down by the thought of his trespasses, who knows not how he can be rescued from the black night that sometimes falls upon his soul.

He who has never felt anything like this is not able to enjoy as yet the full comfort of the faith that God is our Father.

¹ Galatians vi. 7.

² Hebrews xii. 29.

CHAPTER XV.

HAGAR.

GEN. XVI.

ABRAM'S faith in the promise of Yahweh was severely tested; for ten years went by, after he had reached the land of Canaan, and still he had no hope of offspring. Then Sarai grew impatient, and began to wonder whether she was destined to be the mother of the future chief of Abram's tribe. For in promising a son to him, Yahweh had never promised one to her, and in her doubt and sadness she believed that she was never to have the joy of clasping a child of her own to her bosom! But she could not acquiesce in this. She could not bear the thought of going down to the grave childless. No! This misery, this shame—for so it was considered in Israel—must not be hers! There was one way to escape it, a way which strikes us as very extraordinary, but in which there was nothing shocking to the ideas of antiquity or at variance with its customs. She gave her slave-girl to her husband as a secondary wife, intending, should she have any children to adopt them as her own. Thus she tried, as the Israelites called it, “to build up her house by her slave-girl.” (The slave who was thus made the wife of her master was Hagar, an Egyptian.)

It is easy to imagine how unpleasant the relations between Hagar and her mistress gradually became. The servant, especially when she began to have hopes of being a mother, forgot more and more completely the respect she owed to Sarai, and began at last to treat her childless mistress with undisguised contempt. The latter complained of her conduct to Abram, and reproached him indirectly with paying the slave-girl too much honor. “May the reproach I suffer fall upon you!” she said, “Now that my slave is expecting to become a mother she despises me. May Yahweh judge between you and me!” Abram could only remind her of the authority she had over her own servant, and the mistress, now enraged by envy, made such ample use of it that Hagar could no longer endure the treatment she experienced, and forgetting that her flight would take away all her hopes of ever seeing her child exalted to the rank of Abram's heir and

the chief of his tribe, she left the tents of her master and set out for her own country.

But she had not got far on her journey before the angel of Yahweh met her by a well, on the way to the wilderness of Shur, and asked her where she came from and where she was going. She answered that she was trying to escape from her mistress Sarai. But the angel said, "Go back to your mistress and humble yourself before her. If you find this hard to do, comfort yourself by thinking what the future has in store for you. I will give you countless descendants. The son to whom you are about to give birth shall be called Ishmael, that is *God hears*, for Yahweh has heard the complaint of your oppression. Your child will be a man like a wild-ass; ¹ he will be against every one, and every one will be against him; and he will dwell to the east of all his brethren."

Then Hagar called the name of Yahweh, who had spoken to her, "Thou art a god that lets himself be seen," for she said, "Do I really live, after I have seen (him)?" So they call the well at which this meeting took place, the well Lahai-Roi. It lies between Kadesh and Bered. So Hagar went back to Abram and soon saw the angel's promise fulfilled, for she gave birth to a son, and called him "Ishmael."

The object of this story is to give an account of the Ishmaelites, as the Israelites called the wandering Arab tribes. It shows us that the Israelite did not deny his relationship to these Arabs, but looked upon them as his brethren, though he did not consider them his equals. According to him they were indeed Abram's children, but their mother was nothing but a slave. It was true that Ishmael was older than the forefather of the Israelites, or in plain language, that the Bedouins, or "sons of the desert," had existed as an independent people before the Israelites, and were their own masters when Israel still bowed beneath the yoke of slavery in Egypt; but their mother was an Egyptian, that is to say, they had not preserved the purity of their blood, but had intermarried with the Egyptians.

This legend, like many others, is associated with a particular spot. For the well Lahai-Roi, according to the story, owes its name to the appearance of the angel who foretold the future lot of her son to the Egyptian handmaid. The statement that the well in question lies between Kadesh and Bered gives us but little help in finding it again, for the name

¹ After an amended version.

of Bered is quite unknown to us. Nor does the repeated mention of the well in the stories about Isaac¹ bring us much further. Nor again does the name itself give us any indication about the well, for the real meaning of Lahai-Roi, which our writer seems to have translated "there is sight for the living," is uncertain. From very early times, however, the natives have pointed out a well a little to the south of Beersheba, which they call "the well of Hagar." Its position suits the direction of Hagar's flight from Hebron to the wilderness of Shur, which stretches along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, between the south-western border of Palestine and Egypt. We may therefore suppose this well to be the one intended.

Let us turn for a moment to the country and the people of the Ishmaelites!

Arabia is the name given to the vast extent of land washed on the south-west coast by the Red Sea, on the south-east by the Indian Ocean, on the north-east by the Persian Gulf, and bounded on the north by Palestine, Syria and the Euphrates. Geographers usually divide it into three parts, Arabia Felix, Arabia Petræa and Arabia Deserta, that is Fortunate Arabia, Stony Arabia and Desert Arabia, but the natives know nothing of this division. Arabia Felix is by far the greatest, for this name is given to the whole peninsula between the three seas just mentioned, while the extreme western corner only, together with the peninsula of Sinai and Mount Seir, is called Arabia Petræa, and the desert that lies between Palestine and the Euphrates, Arabia Deserta. This third portion of Arabia was the dwelling-place of the Ishmaelites, of whose ancestor it was foretold, as we saw just now, that he should live to the east of all his brothers.² It is a hilly and desert land, lying rather high, and almost always scorched beneath a burning sun. Its vegetation is thin, and it swarms with serpents and beasts of prey. The wells are but few, and most of them are brackish and sulphurous, and in many cases most offensive to the smell. Sometimes the scorching and suffocating blast of the terrible Simoom sweeps over these steppes.

Of the tribes who inhabited this country twelve were known to the Israelites, and were called the sons of Ishmael by them.³ Among these the Nabateans (Nebajoth) and the Kedarenes (Kedar) were the most important. The Israelites

¹ Genesis xxiv. 62, xxv. 11.

² Genesis xvi. 12, xxv. 18, after an amended version.

³ Genesis xxv. 13-18.

distinguished between these Ishmaelites and certain other Arab tribes, most of whom lived in Arabia Felix, but some of whom, such as the Midianites, were often to be found in Arabia Deserta or Petraea. They called these other Arabs the sons of Abram and Keturah.¹

The angel told Hagar that Ishmael would be "a wild-ass of a man," and we may see what an Israelite understood by this expression from the addition, "his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him," and also from the following description of the animal to which he is compared, taken from the book of Job : ²

Who has let the wild-ass go free,
And who has loosened his bonds ?
I (Yahweh) have made the wilderness his home,
And the barren moor-land his dwelling,
He scorns the wealth of the city ;
He heeds not the driver's cry,
He ranges the hills as his pasture,
And searches out every green thing.

Brave, free, and hardy, uncorrupted by luxury, but restless and rapacious, — such were the Bedouins. The land in which they lived had made them so ; for but a small part of it was fit for cultivation, and though the inhabitants differed from each other in their modes of life, some dwelling in open villages and others in tents,³ in no case could anything like cities be raised. Organized society could not exist where the population was for the most part unsettled ; and the dryness of their country, in which one miserable well was considered a valuable possession, and many parts of which became absolutely uninhabitable for the time, if no rain fell, brought the various tribes into constant collision with each other ; and want often drove them to make war upon one another, or to plunder the more fortunate regions that lay upon the borders of their desert. They were troublesome neighbors, therefore, and a great curse to the merchants ; for they were constantly attacking their caravans, and could not well be subdued themselves on account of the ease with which they escaped on their swift camels and horses, and disappeared with all their possessions, on the approach of a hostile camp, into the heart of the desert, to which their enemies could hardly follow them.

A wild-ass of a man, and every one's enemy ! This is surely not an attractive picture, and if it is a faithful likeness we can have no great respect for the people it represents,

¹ Genesis xxv. 1-4.

² Job xxxix. 5-8.

³ Genesis xxv. 16, after an amended version.

since they must have stood low in the scale of development "But," it may be said, "is it fair to throw the blame upon a tribe when the country in which it lived almost compelled it to lead a marauding life? We saw just now that the nature of their country made the Ishmaelites what they were. Was it their fault, then, that they were what their country made them?" Let us not deceive ourselves and each other! The character of a people, like that of an individual, is formed to a great extent by circumstances; but for all that we are not guiltless if we allow ourselves to be drawn into sin by our surroundings. Each one's lot in life brings its special temptations with it, and each one must learn to overcome them. It is just the same with nations. The character of every country brings some temptation with it. A rich and fruitful land has an enervating effect upon its inhabitants, and makes them luxurious, lazy, and licentious; just as a barren land, whose inhabitants have a hard struggle with nature, may easily make them rude, cruel, quarrelsome, restless, and rapacious. But no people must allow itself to be made bad by its climate and its circumstances. It must make itself master of them. It is no use saying that this is impossible; for even if the poverty of a country, for instance, makes its inhabitants impatient, and sets them fighting with each other, yet after all they would overcome the difficulties with which they have to contend more easily, and would experience greater prosperity and enjoy more happiness, if they helped each other and joined together to rescue themselves by courage and perseverance from the dangers with which they are threatened by nature than if they went on making war upon each other. It is only by learning to resist such temptations as these, and to overcome the evil influence of circumstances, that a nation can become a blessing to mankind and a joy to itself.

A barren land and straitened circumstances may even benefit a people if it knows that there are other and better treasures than great flocks or swift horses, if it loves religion and goodness. But, in spiritual things, the Bedouins never excelled. The wants of the moment, the satisfaction of their daily necessities, were the points of chief importance with them. Their old religion, like that of the Israelites, was the worship of stars and stones. But no Moses rose among "the sons of the East" to teach a higher view of the being and the service of the deity. Like so many other peoples, they went on standing where they had always stood, until they gradually

ceased to care for spiritual things at all. From this people "like a wild ass" no light has streamed. It is true that the tribe from which Mohammed, the prophet of the Arabs, sprang boasted its descent from Ishmael, yet it was not among the wandering hordes of the north, but among the inhabitants of those regions in which agriculture and commerce were practised, and even there to a large extent under Israelite influences, that Islam rose.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRAH.

GEN. XVIII, XIX.

IN the remaining stories about Abram, this patriarch is always called Abraham, and his wife Sarah, not Sarai. The occasion of this change is told us in a story¹ (the principal contents of which we shall speak of in another chapter), in which it is said to have been commanded by God.

What "Abram" means we are not told; but "Abraham," according to this writer, is "the father of a multitude," and the name embodies the prophecy of a numerous posterity; many peoples and kings were to descend from him. The name "Sarah," no translation of which is given, may mean "princess." This change of names is reported not by the oldest writer, but in the "Book of Origins." From this point, however, the compiler of the book of Genesis, who collected the different accounts together, has changed the names of Abram and Sarai into Abraham and Sarah in all the documents; and we shall follow his example.

First, then, we will tell the story of the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah. It runs as follows:—

When Abraham was living by the oak-tree of Mamre, he had repeated proofs of the favor with which he was regarded by Yahweh, the terrible avenger of wrong. Thus he was sitting one day, when the sun was at its hottest, in the door of his tent, when he saw at a little distance before him three men in whom he recognized at once his god Yahweh and two angels. It need not be said that he hastened to meet them,

¹ Genesis xvii.

and, throwing himself upon the ground, addressed the foremost of the three with the words, "Lord! be gracious to me, and pass not by the dwelling of your servant. Let me wash your feet, and do you then lie down under the tree until the meal is ready, that I may set a piece of bread before you, to strengthen you for the rest of your journey. Surely it is for this that you have visited your servant." The guests yielded to his invitation, and Abraham made haste to prepare a meal for them. He had modestly spoken of what he could set before them as "a piece of bread;" but, of course, he gave them the best he had, and a plentiful meal of cakes and meat, with fresh and curdled milk was soon prepared. According to the custom still prevalent in the East, Abraham did not join his illustrious guests at table, but waited on them himself.

After their meal, Yahweh asked where Sarah was; and when Abraham answered that she was in the tent, he declared "within a year I will come again, and then Sarah shall have a son." Sarah, who was in the front part of the tent, laughed to herself, and thought, "I have a son, indeed! Impossible!" But though she was standing behind Yahweh, so that he could not even see the incredulous look upon her face, he knew exactly what she was doing and thinking. "Why is Sarah laughing?" he asked. "Does she think that anything is too wonderful for Yahweh? I tell you again, at the appointed time I shall return, and then Sarah will have a son." Sarah now tried to make out that she had not been laughing, for she was afraid of Yahweh, but he would not allow himself to be deceived, and said again "you did laugh."

Then the three men rose and went towards Sodom, while Abraham made ready to accompany them. He little knew what he was now to hear.

Yahweh had fearful things on hand, and could not refrain from telling Abraham all that was going to happen. Should he conceal from Abraham, the ancestor of so many mighty peoples, Abraham whose fortune would become proverbial among all nations, what he was now about to do? "No!" he thought, "Abraham must know it; for did not I choose him for my friend, that he might teach all his posterity to serve me and to deal justly? For only on these conditions can I fulfil my glorious promises to him. Abraham, then, must be told what is about to happen."

So Yahweh said to Abraham, "There is a rumor of gross wickedness in Sodom and Gomorrah, and I am going to see whether the measure of it is full, that I may know what I

must do!" When Yahweh had thus declared his intention, his two companions went on their way to Sodom, but he himself still staid behind.

Abraham was deeply troubled, and ventured to come forward to plead for the sinful cities. He could not but admit the truth of the accusation. Yes! Sodom and Gomorrah were full of ungodliness; he could not contradict it. But yet. . . . "Lord!" said he, "You will not destroy the righteous together with the ungodly? Perhaps there may be fifty good men in the city, would not you spare it for their sake? Nay! I know it full well, you, the judge of all the earth, will surely do no wrong. You will not suffer the pious to perish with the ungodly." Moved by this entreaty, Yahweh answered, "Well! If there are fifty righteous men in Sodom, I will forgive the whole city for their sake." Abraham might now rejoice in the success of his mediation, but the fear came over him that even yet his intercession might prove fruitless. "See," he reluctantly began, "I have ventured to speak to the Lord, though I am but dust and ashes, and . . . suppose there were just five short of the fifty! Would the city be destroyed for want of them." And Yahweh's answer reassured him, for he said, "If I can find but five and forty good men in the city, I will spare it." This was a great point gained, but still Abraham went on, and asked, "But what if there were only forty?" and when he had received the same answer as before, he began again: "Lord! be not angry! . . . but suppose there were only thirty?" "Even for them will I spare Sodom," was the gracious reply of Yahweh. Encouraged by his clemency, the patriarch put the case that the godless city might contain but twenty pious men, and then even brought the number down to ten, and Yahweh promised him that he would forgive the whole city if he found ten righteous men in it. It was with feelings of relief and hopefulness that Abraham saw Yahweh depart upon his way.

But his hopes were idle. In all Sodom there were not so many as ten men whose sinfulness did not cry to heaven! This soon became apparent to the two angels who had gone to look into the matter. When they reached Sodom they were asked by Lot, who was sitting at the gate of the city, to be his guests. But when at last they yielded to his repeated and pressing request, and accepted his frank invitation, all the inhabitants of the city, "from the oldest to the youngest," collected together, and, in violation of the most

sacred laws of hospitality, threatened the strangers with violence. No further proof was required. The messengers of Yahweh need not go into any closer examination of the affair. Lot was the only righteous man, and Sodom must be destroyed.

Before the angels began the work of destruction, they uttered the words of warning to Lot, "Leave the city, with all your relatives," and added "Make haste, for we are sent by Yahweh to execute his avenging justice." In vain Lot visited his sons-in-law and foretold the destruction of their country to them. They heeded not; and at daybreak the angels urged him to make haste, and said, "Leave them all behind if they will not go with you. Take your wife and your two unmarried daughters and escape, or you will perish with the rest." Lot could hardly make up his mind to leave all his other relatives to their fate, but the angels compelled him to do so, and led him with his family outside the city, for Yahweh had mercy on him.

Once more they urged him to make haste. "Fly," said they, "for your life. Look not back, and rest not in all the valley of Siddim, but fly to the mountain, or you will perish!" Lot was now fully convinced that he must make the utmost speed, and cried, "Ah! my lords! you have been so good to me as to spare my life; now redouble your goodness to me! It may be too late for me to escape to the mountain; destruction will come upon me and I shall die. But this city here is close by, and it is but a little one. Let me find a refuge there!" His prayer was granted. The avenging angels promised that this little city should be spared for his sake, but they urged him to make all the greater speed, for they could do nothing till he was in Zoar. From this prayer of Lot the city took its name of Zoar, that is "little one."

When the sun rose and Lot drew near to Zoar, Yahweh rained brimstone and fire from heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah, and so destroyed not only the cities themselves but the whole valley of Siddim with all its inhabitants. Lot escaped; but his wife was so foolish as to disobey the angels and look behind her, whereupon she was changed in a moment into a pillar of salt.

That morning Abraham stood once more on the spot where he had entreated Yahweh to have mercy on the godless cities, and he soon saw that his intercession had been of no avail. A cloud of smoke, like that of a kiln, rose from the whole country in which Sodom and Gomorrah had stood, and

told him of the dreadful fate that had fallen on these cities and of Yahweh's avenging justice.

Let us make ourselves more closely acquainted with the place to which this story carries us.

In the south-east of Palestine there is a sea, about forty miles long, and, on an average, nine miles broad, which was usually called by the Israelites "the Salt Sea." Its many peculiarities have always excited the greatest interest, and within the last forty years it has more than once been made the subject of scientific investigations. A promontory, of considerable size, runs into it from its south-east coast, but otherwise its oval form is nearly unbroken. It forms a continuation of the valley of the river Jordan, which enters it from the north, but does not leave it again at the south; all the waters of this river, therefore, together with those of the numerous but for the most part inconsiderable streams that enter the sea from the east and west, evaporate from this great basin. It is surrounded on all sides by hills which reach close up to the water on the eastern side, but are separated from it by rather a broad strand on the west. This strand, like the plains to the north and south, is bald and sterile, and every thing on it is covered with a crust of saltpetre. This is the result of the exhalations of the waters of the sea, which are extraordinarily salt. At some seasons of the year, moreover, great quantities of asphalt or bitumen float on the surface of the sea, and give a leaden appearance to the whole sheet of water. At the south-west corner a rock of salt, about five miles long, but not very high, rears itself. It is called "the hill of Sodom," or "the stone of Sodom." Round its edge all kinds of petrified formations of salt appear, sometimes of the grotesque shape, and after a time they plunge back into the sea, or undergo great changes from the exhalations of the water and the influence of rain and sunshine.

Love of exaggeration has still further increased the gloominess of this scene. It has often been declared that the vapors rising from the water form a heavy pestilential cloud that never passes away, that no living creature can stay near it, that the birds that try to fly across it fall down into it dead, and that its waters are never stirred by the wind. All this is gross exaggeration. The fact that the district is inhabited, though but thinly owing to its barrenness, is sufficient to show that the exhalations of the water are not poisonous. Besides, whole days have been spent upon the sea itself or in journeys

along its coasts by travellers. Nor is it true that storms are unknown there. But it is undeniable that the Salt Sea has a dismal aspect, and it is not without reason that it is called the Dead Sea.

Now the origin of this "Dead Sea" is the subject of our story. The southern portion of the sea, we are told, was once called the valley of Siddim, and was then a fruitful plain. Several towns were built upon it, the best known of which were Sodom and Gomorrah, while others bore the names of Admah, Zeboim, and Bela or Zoar.¹ Several of the Israelite writers,² and some other ancient authors, speak of the devastation of this region by earthquakes and subterranean fire. The great quantity of bitumen that is found there, largely composed of petroleum, makes the occurrence of these terrible phenomena quite credible. It seems, therefore, that the tradition of which we are speaking is a true one.

The recollection of such a devastation would not easily be blotted out from this region that had suffered so much at the hands of nature. The gloomy spectacle furnished by the sea, as it lay between its salt-bound shores, was constantly calling the havoc of a by-gone age to mind, and, to those ancient spectators who saw the hand of an avenging deity in all the destructive agencies of nature, it told of wrath and chastisement. Here was food enough for the imagination! That little city Zoar, on the south-east coast, appeared to have been spared through special favor, for the destruction must have swept round it on three sides. What was the reason of this? If we make the inquiry in a scientific spirit we see that the strip of land on which it lay was on a higher level than that of the rest of the plain, so that when the plain became a prey to fire, and the water of the northern part of the sea overflowed into it, this piece of land very naturally remained above water. But in ancient times they never thought of this explanation, and saw a sign of God's favor in the fact that the city had escaped. Grotesque pillars of salt were to be found in abundance by the Hill of Sodom, and imagination often traced the petrified human form in them.

Thus other legends, besides the one we have given, would doubtless spring up among those who lived on the shores of the sea. We have seen already how rumor has exaggerated its dismal nature. About the beginning of our era the people

¹ Genesis xiv. 2. Deuteronomy xxix. 23.

² Jeremiah xx. 16; xxiii. 14; xlix. 18; l. 40. Lamentations iv. 6. Zephaniah ii. 9 &c.,

of the neighborhood spoke of thirteen cities that had been destroyed. We will take one more example of this kind of thing!

The Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus, tells us that fruit grows on the shores of the Dead Sea all full of ashes. "They look as if they were fit to eat," he writes, "but if any one takes hold of them with his hand they break up into dust and ashes." The Roman historian, Tacitus, refers to the same thing. The origin of this story of the "apples of Sodom" appears to be found in the fact that a certain kind of fruit really does grow in the neighborhood which becomes soft as it ripens, but which bursts with a clap when squeezed, and leaves nothing but a thin shell and a few fibres in the hand. In the substance of this fruit, the legend saw the ashes of the cities that had perished.

Our writer selected two of these local traditions, and brought them into connection with the patriarch he desired to glorify.

But what an extraordinary idea of his god he had! And what strange contradictions there are in his representations of him! On the one hand, Yahweh is a most exalted being who sees the future and knows all that is in the heart of man, — a god for whom nothing is too wonderful, and who acts as the judge of all the earth; but, on the other hand, this same god is also represented not only as conversing confidentially with Abraham, but even as eating and drinking, with his angels, in the patriarch's tent. These two sets of ideas can hardly be said to harmonize with each other. The only way of explaining this inconsistency is to suppose that the writer, in working up into a single whole certain old legends about Abraham's dealings with Yahweh and the promises he received from this god, together with stories about the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, tried to preserve all the features of the old accounts, but, at the same time, involuntarily ascribed to the god, whose actions he was describing, the attributes which he himself believed him to possess.

The later writer of the stories of the patriarchs says that Lot was spared "because God remembered Abraham,"¹ but this is not the idea of the ancient legend itself, which was better understood by one of the New Testament writers,² who declared Lot to have been a righteous man, rescued because of his piety. No doubt Lot stands far below Abraham in our

¹ Genesis xix. 29.

² 2 Peter ii. 7, 8.

story, but still he is a man who deserves to find favor in the eyes of Yahweh. He offers the most liberal hospitality to the angels, and when they, in return, warn him of the coming destruction he gives heed to them at once. Not only does he rise far above the godless inhabitants of the place in which he lived, but his readiness to leave all he had contrasts favorably with the unbelief of his sons-in-law. For his sake, therefore, Zoar was spared.

While Lot is the believer who hastens to escape the coming destruction, his wife who looks behind her in her flight, and is therefore changed into a pillar of salt, is also a believer, but only half-hearted in her faith. Why must she not look back? Perhaps the idea that lies at the bottom of this prohibition is the thought, familiar also to heathen antiquity, that the higher powers will not suffer themselves to be watched when at work. But it may be that it contains the idea borrowed from it by the Gospel of Luke¹ that he whose heart still clings to his possessions in the day of God's judgment, so that he cannot unhesitatingly leave everything that he has to save himself, is but half a believer, and will be destroyed with the rest.

The noblest figure in all the scene is that of Abraham, the trusted friend of Yahweh, from whom he will conceal nothing, because the patriarch must teach his offspring to fear him, Abraham the humble, faithful advocate of the unhappy country. It need not be said that the way in which Abraham prays, constantly beating down the demands of the retributive justice of his god, and persuading him to offer more and more favorable terms, cannot be made the model of our prayers, but this is an objection to the writer's idea of God rather than to his account of Abraham's piety. Deep sympathy with the doomed cities is expressed in his bold but humble intercession. It is a noble thing to "say a good word" for others, however wicked they are, and however much we hate their wickedness: for it shows that we love our fellow-men.

It was very natural that the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah should pass into a proverbial expression for any terrible disaster among the Israelites; natural, too, that together with the flood, it should become the type of God's severest judgments, in the writings of the early Christians.² Nor is this injurious to the religious and moral life if only we clearly understand that when so used it is an emblem of the terrible consequences of sin, and nothing more; but the superstitious view of the phenomena of nature which lies at

¹ Luke xvii. 32.

² Luke xvii. 28, 29.

the basis of this story, and about which we spoke when treating of the flood, is very hurtful to our inner life.

The volcanic eruptions, the earthquakes, the explosions of the naphtha wells, and the way in which they had changed the country from a fruitful plain to a salt sea with barren shores, — all this spoke to the ancient inhabitants of the district of the punishments of God; and the aspect of the Dead Sea ever reminded them that their god was a consuming fire who could punish them in fearful ways. So if one of our rivers overflowed its banks in spring time, and its waters, tumbling over the fruitful land, converted it into a swamp, and caused incalculable misery to the inhabitants, we might imagine that the sufferers were more sinful than those who lived on the other side, and who were rescued by the very fact of the river having overflowed on the side removed from them. But this is a miserable idea, for it not only makes us slothful in discovering and applying the best means of preventing or avoiding the danger, but it is apt to make those that escape self-satisfied; and in any case produces a fear of God that may indeed lead to a slavish obedience and a cringing submission, but can never be united with a free surrender of the heart to God or genuine love of Him. For love is cast out by fear.



CHAPTER XVII.

THE SON OF THE PROMISE.

GEN. XXI. 1-21.

ABRAHAM'S faith in the repeated promises of his god was not put to shame by the event. For what both he and Sarah had thought impossible until it was promised to them really happened; his wife at ninety years of age became the mother of a son, and he was called Isaac, that is, *the laughter*. In child-like joy Sarah exclaimed when he was born: "God will make them all laugh at what has happened to me. Every one who hears of it will laugh. Who will go and tell Abraham Sarah gives children suck? For even in his old age have I borne him a son!"

It was not customary in ancient times for a child to be completely weaned till it was about three years old. When

Isaac had reached this age, the event was celebrated by a festal gathering. Then Sarah looked round her with a mother's pride, and her eye fell upon Ishmael, who was happy, playing. He was an eyesore to her. Had he not been treated but now as Abraham's heir and the future chief of the tribe? And yet his mother was nothing but an Egyptian slave! As long as she had had no son herself she had smothered her vexation, and was even glad to have this other child, though only hers by adoption. But now she had a son of her own. The reign of the slave child must come to an end. He was not the son of the promise. Away with him!

Sarah "the princess" went in wrath to her husband. "Drive out this slave and her son," she cried, "for the child of a serf shall never share my son's inheritance!". Abraham was grieved by this violent demand, not so much for Hagar's sake as for Ishmael's, who was, after all, his son. He hesitated, therefore, to comply with Sarah's desires. But in the night his god appeared to him and said: "Let not the request of Sarah trouble you. You need feel no anxiety for your son and his mother. The descendants of Isaac shall indeed be called especially after you, but I will make a mighty people of the posterity of the slave-girl's child as well, because he is your son."

Thus persuaded and urged to compliance, Abraham called Hagar to him in the morning, and told her of this sentence of banishment. He gave her bread and water for the journey through the desert; and she took her child upon her shoulder, and entered the desert of Beersheba.

Poor Hagar! How had she fallen! Ever since Isaac's birth she had seen the arm uplifted that struck her now; but the blow fell none the less heavily for that. In her imagination her son had been the heir, nay even the tribal chief, and now . . . rejected! All the glory of which she had dreamed had vanished! Alone with her child she entered the inhospitable desert — an exile.

She pursued her way until the water was all gone, and then there was nothing left her but to die. What did she care for that? All joy in life had ceased for her, and as for her son, what enjoyment could he ever taste — the disinherited! But yet she could not look on him while he died of thirst. So she laid him under a bush, and threw herself down a bowshot off, so as not to hear his cries. But now her strength and spirit were exhausted too — her mother's heart was so deeply smitten — and she burst into tears.

Consolation was near the mourner. God had compassion on her son, and his angel cried to her: "Hagar! why do you weep? Your son, rejected as he is, is not forgotten by God even here. Raise him up and support him; and despair not of his future lot, for he is the father of a great people."

Thus encouraged, Hagar raised herself; and now that her eyes were cleared by hope, she saw a spring. Life smiled upon her once more for her child's sake. She soon refreshed the fainting Ishmael, and then she pursued her journey.

In the desert of Paran Hagar and her son continued to dwell, and God protected the boy, and he grew up in the hardy life of the desert, and became a skilful archer. His mother took him a wife from Egypt.

So Ishmael, as Abraham's son, was saved and blessed; but, as the son of a slave, he could not be his father's heir, but must yield to the son of the promise.

Is this touching story a legend too? Undoubtedly. This appears not only from the repeated mention of immediate communications from God, in a dream or by the appearance of an angel, which always show that we have the work of imagination or invention before us, but also from the fact that Ishmael, according to the foregoing narratives,¹ must have been seventeen years old three years after Isaac's birth, and was therefore no longer a lad that his mother could carry, as is here supposed.²

In many points this story resembles that of Hagar's flight, of which we have spoken already,³ though they are not both by the same writer. In either case we are placed in the desert of Beersheba, and by a well. The chief point in both stories is the prophecy of Ishmael's future greatness, though he is not to be as great as Isaac. Just as in the other account Hagar is expressly called the Egyptian woman, to signify that the Arabs had mixed themselves with the Egyptians, so it is told us here, with the same object, that Ishmael's mother took him an Egyptian wife. There is one point, however, besides the form, in which they differ from each other; for in this story no mention is made of the wildness of the Bedouins, referred to in the other; the only allusion to the mode of life of the inhabitants of the desert is contained in the statement that Ishmael was celebrated as a skilful bowman. Nor is it said — though people have often seen it there⁴ — that Ishmael

¹ Genesis xvii. 24, 25; xxi. 5.

² Pp. 126-131.

³ Vv. 14, 15, 18, 20.

⁴ Galatians iv. 29.

had behaved insolently, or had irritated Sarah by mocking; or teasing his younger brother; it is simply stated that he laughed or played.¹ The whole story expresses good-will towards Ishmael.

But high above him, in the writer's estimation, stands Isaac, the son of the promise, for whom the slave child has to make room. This is the main idea of the legend. The writer makes Sarah imperious past bearing, and cruel to her slave in the extreme, and Abraham shamefully weak; for who would drive out a woman and her child, helpless and unprotected, into the desert? But he does not think about all this. Before his eyes stands nothing but the picture of the son of promise, for whose sake the son of the slave must be expelled. In this he saw the presage of the higher privileges granted to Israel "the chosen people" above the Ishmaelites. Although the people of Yahweh was younger, yet it rose far above the inhabitants of the desert, and advanced towards a more glorious and blessed future.

Centuries after this narrative had been written, one of the greatest of the followers of Jesus, Paul, was thinking it over. Ishmael, the son of the slave, who was expelled by the divine command in order that Isaac, the child of the free woman, might inherit Abraham's blessing, floated before his mind, and it seemed to him as if this old history foreshadowed something similar, which he saw going on in his own days. For the Jews in his time bowed down beneath the yoke of the law, and were therefore like Ishmael, the son of the slave. The Christians, on the other hand, were delivered from the pressure of the law, and so might be considered children of a free mother. Just as Isaac was the child to whom all the promises of God belonged, while Ishmael had to make way for him, so too the Jews must take a lower place than the Christians who received God's greatest blessings.²

Is it true that there are such "children of the promise?" Is it true that one man is more richly blessed with spiritual gifts than another—that one people throws another into the shade—that one community rises above another in its religious capabilities? Is it true that the older is sometimes pushed aside by the younger who is more richly gifted than he? All this is true without a doubt. There are men, communities, peoples who are, as it were, chosen by God to play an important part in the world, whose dispositions are nobler than those of others, and who, when under circumstances

¹ Genesis xxi. 9.

² Galatians iv. 21-31.

favorable to their development, easily surpass those who have shone before them. So was Israel, "the people of religion," pushed aside by Christianity. So did the Greeks and Romans far outstrip the Eastern peoples as Christians. So again did their light pale, in its turn, before that of the Germans when the reformation of the sixteenth century took place. Nay a fresh generation ought always to rise above that which has preceded it. This should be so from the very fact that it learns from the older generation, and, as it were, stands upon its shoulders. But the path by which mankind advances towards its golden age has many windings. It often seems to keep at the same distance from the goal, and sometimes even to lead further away from it, rather than to draw nearer to it. But ever and again there stand up men in whose heart God's voice sounds clearer, who tower above other men in insight, love, and piety, and by their faith give mankind a fresh impulse forward. These are "the children of the promise," for the world is blessed by them, and others must make way for them.

"But in God's dealings there is much that is strange! According to this God seems to be partial!" He does. Did you expect to find it a simple thing to see into all His ways of educating the world?

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LAST ORDEAL.

GEN. XXII. 1-19.

ABRAHAM had already given the brightest proof, on many occasions, that he was ready to obey his god in all things. For at his command he had left his fatherland; trusting in his protection, he had wandered all through Canaan; nay, had he not, though it cut him to the heart, cast out his own son Ishmael, at the same high command? But his god was not yet satisfied. He determined to try his servant yet once more, and this last trial should be a hard one.

Once on a time, while Abraham was still at Beersheba, his god appeared to him and cried "Abraham!" "Here am

"I, Lord, prepared to serve thee," was the patriarch's ready answer. But how his ears tingled when he heard the command: "Take your son, your only son, your loved one, Isaac; go with him to the land of Moriah, and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains that I will show you"!

However dreadful this command might sound, it was no unheard-of thing, for Abraham knew that the Canaanites often slew their children and burnt them upon their altars in honor of their deities, for they believed it to be the way to serve these gods and to show their absolute devotion to them. But Abraham had never thought that Yahweh too desired such a sacrifice. And yet the command was plain, and it was not for him to ask the reason. He had only to obey, and obey he would.

So he rose early on a certain day and saddled his ass. Two servants and his son were to go with him. They cut some wood for a sacrifice, and everything was soon in readiness for the journey upon which they were to start. It took them two days to reach the place of their destination. Leaving the mountains of Judah on the left, they journeyed northward, by Hebron and Bethlehem, until at last, on the third day, Abraham saw Mount Zion in the distance. Then he told his slaves to stay behind with the ass. "My son and I," he said, "will go to that mountain to worship our god, and then come back to you." The sacrifice he had to make was harder than words could say, but there was no need that any human eye should watch his agony in making it.

So the last part of the journey was performed on foot. The two went on together, through the valley of the Rephaites, over the low range of hills that parts that plain from the valley of the sons of Hinnom, then down again, — and the dry limestone ridge, the most northern peak of which had been indicated to the obedient friend of God as the place of sacrifice, stood right before them.

The two went on together, the boy bending beneath the weight of the wood that was to consume the sacrifice, the father with the pan of fire and the sacrificial knife.

The two went on together; the father silent and sad at heart. The voice of doubt kept speaking, "Can Yahweh demand such a sacrifice? My son! my only son! It is too much to require." But it was his god who asked it, it was that awful god, that consuming fire! How could he open his mouth against him to complain? Must Yahweh render

an account of what he did? Was he not God, and could he not ask whatever he would? Be still, rebellious heart; for this must be!

The two went on together; the son careless and happy, full of enjoyment of life, full of health and strength, but yet more or less subdued by the character of the landscape, by the solemnity they had come to perform in solitude, and by the gloomy silence of his father. Not that his father's silence surprised him, for Yahweh was a terrible god, a god that must be appeased by bloody sacrifices; the whole aspect of nature round about them, too, was gloomy, and that white mount that rose so steep before them out of the valley looked to him like the dwelling-place of a stern Being.

So the two went up the mount together, till Isaac broke the silence all at once by crying in surprise: "Why, father!"—"What is it, my son?" was Abraham's reply.—"We have the fire and wood," said the boy, "but where is the lamb for the sacrifice?"—Poor father! The question pierced like a dagger to his heart. Where was the lamb for the sacrifice? asked the innocent child. What was he to say to him? As long as he could he would conceal from his child the terrible demand of his stern god. Be still, complaining heart! "Our god himself will provide a lamb, my son!" was his mysterious reply.

So the two went on together.

Go on, thou faithful servant! It is a word of truth that thou hast uttered! God will indeed himself provide a lamb. He will not accept the sacrifice that you intend to offer!

When they had reached the top of the mountain Abraham built an altar in the place that had been pointed out to him, arranged the wood upon it, bound his son Isaac and laid him on the pile. But as he stretched out his hand to slay him, the angel of Yahweh cried to him from heaven, "Abraham! Abraham!" Even as when his god appeared to him to give that frightful order he had now almost fulfilled, so now the patriarch replied, "Here am I;" and a ray of hope broke through to his soul. Could it be that Yahweh was satisfied by his willingness, and would not have him actually perform the sacrifice?

Aye! Lift up your head, O Abraham, and rejoice. Let that dull glare, through which the soul of a fanatic speaks, depart out of your eye, and let the glow of thankful joy come in its stead! Your God did but try your faith. Listen!

"Lay not your hand upon the lad, nor do him any harm : for now I know that you fear God, and hold not back your only son from me." His son was delivered, as though given him a second time ! He was soon unbound, was standing at his father's side, and the two were hanging upon each other's necks. "Praised be Yahweh who has taken the will for the deed !"

There stood the altar ! The wood was all in order. The fire was ready burning. The knife was whetted. Well might Isaac ask, "Where is the lamb ?" If they had but an animal with them now to sacrifice, how gladly they would offer it. The spot on which they stood was holy ground ; Yahweh was present there ; what would they not have given for a beast to sacrifice. And, lo ! in the background Abraham perceived a ram, with his horns entangled in the brush-wood, as if brought to the place and kept a prisoner there by God himself. So even this last wish was fulfilled. In a moment he had seized the ram and offered it in the place of his son.

As the smoke of the sacrifice rose on high the patriarch bowed down in prayer, and said, "This place must be called Yahweh shall appear !" ¹ Then the angel of Yahweh called to him again : "I swear, says Yahweh, that because you have done this thing, and have not spared your son, your only son, that I will bless you and make your offspring countless as the stars of heaven and as the sand upon the sea-shore. Your posterity shall rule over their enemies, and all the peoples of the earth shall bless themselves in the name of your descendants ; ² they shall say : God make us blessed as the tribe of Abraham ! All this shall come to pass because you have been obedient."

Then Abraham returned to his servants, and they all went back to Beersheba together.

The remembrance of this event is still preserved in the name of the mountain, "Yahweh will appear." ³ The spot upon which Abraham had shown his readiness was held sacred ever after, and was even considered worthy of supporting the great sanctuary of Israel, the temple, where Yahweh dwelt in darkness, and was honored by the songs of praise and the offerings of his worshippers.

The most various nations of antiquity practised the horrible rite, still found here and there amongst uncivilized

¹ After an amended version.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

tribes, of sacrificing human beings, and especially children, in honor of the deities. It is undeniable that this was the case with Israel too, and our story furnishes a contribution to our knowledge of the custom. For though the chief object of the story is evidently to glorify Abraham's unlimited obedience, yet it surely would not have taken this form if the custom of sacrificing children had never been observed. However horrible the subject may be, we must try to discover how the practice came into existence; and it is not very hard to do so.

For whenever any one offered a sacrifice to express his thankfulness, or to make atonement for a sin he had committed, he went upon the idea that this present would be pleasing to the deity, and would dispose him favorably towards the offerer. The idea that the matter of chief importance was the disposition of the heart occurred, indeed, to some few who were in advance of their times, but was, generally speaking, unknown to the ancients. They imagined their god to be like themselves in thinking more of a great than of a small present. He valued an animal more than a sheaf of corn, and a sheep more than a pigeon. He preferred an ox to a sheep, and was better pleased with a man who brought him ten oxen than with another who only brought him one. And on solemn occasions an immense number of animals were accordingly slaughtered and burned. Thus Solomon sacrificed a great number of oxen and sheep at the consecration of the temple.¹ We need not be surprised, therefore, to find people trying to raise the value of their sacrifices by considering not only their number but also their nature, and arguing that since a man is of far more value than an animal the deity must set a higher value on the sacrifice of a human being, a prisoner of war, for example, or a slave, than on that of a number of animals. And so at last it came to their offering up the most precious of all possessions—their own children. Great thankfulness and, above all, a growing sense of guilt must have led them to this terrible extreme.

That this is really the way in which people learned to make such horrible sacrifices appears from these words of the prophet Micah,² amongst others:—

Wherewith shall I come before Yahweh,
And bow me before the high God?
Shall I come before him with offerings,
With bullocks of one year old?

¹ 1 Kings viii. 5.

² Micah vi. 6, 7.

Will Yahweh be pleased with thousands of rams,
 With countless rivers of oil?
 Shall I give my firstborn for my sin,
 My own child, to obtain forgiveness?
 No! He has shown you, O man, what is good,
 And what Yahweh requires of you.
 It is to do right, to hold justice dear,
 And to walk humbly with your god.

Such words give us a glance into the religious life of the Israelites of the eighth century before Christ. The prophet does indeed reject the sacrifice of a firstborn child, but he does so not because it is something horrible in itself, but simply because, like sacrifices of oxen and of oil, it is insufficient to cover the guilt of man, since Yahweh asks nothing but justice and humility.

While many of the neighbors of the Israelites sacrificed children to their gods, and the custom was indeed followed by many Israelites, and even observed as a part of the Yahweh-worship, our writer preaches on the other hand that Yahweh only demanded the sacrifice of his son from Abraham in order to test his faith, and being satisfied by the patriarch's willingness to make the offering, took care himself that there should be a ram as a substitute for Isaac on the very spot where Abraham gave proof of his obedience.

This spot was the mount of the temple. In retelling the legend I have brought out this point quite clearly, but, as the story stands in Genesis, this information is not given us in so unmistakable a form. Indeed the place of the sacrifice is described so indefinitely that the interpreters are not yet agreed as to its position. The story speaks of "one of the mountains in the land of Moriah" or "one of the mountains of Moriah;" but though Moriah, as a name of the mount of the temple, was in use in the last centuries before Christ yet it only appears in one other passage in all the Old Testament.¹ Everywhere else the mount of the temple is called Zion. Now, since "the hill of Moreh" appears as a place near Shechem,² some people have transferred the scene of the sacrifice thither, especially as "the oak tree of Moreh" is mentioned in the stories of Abraham as the sanctuary of Shechem.³ It is quite possible that some more ancient legend lies at the bottom of our story, according to which Abraham performed at Shechem some action similar to the one here described. But, in the account as we have it, the reference is certainly to the mount of the temple, which is called especially

¹ 2 Chronicles iii. 1.

² Judges vii. 1.

³ Genesis xii. 6.

the mountain of Yahweh. The writer tries to give an explanation of the name "Moriah," which he translates "appearance of Yahweh." So the writer of the book of Chronicles sees in the same name a reference to Yahweh's appearing to David.¹

Yahweh — such was the writer's intention in this story — who dwells in the temple and has chosen Mount Moriah as his favorite place of revelation, Yahweh might demand the sacrifice of a first-born, nay of an only son, just as other gods have done. Indeed he does really desire that his worshippers should be willing to make this offering. But he does not insist on the sacrifice being actually performed, for on the mount of the temple he has appointed a beast to take the place of a human child.

The idea that God can ever ask such a sacrifice from us never even comes into our minds; but yet the disposition that revealed itself in that custom, horrible as it seems, inspires every true believer still. We must be ready to give up all things, even what is dearest to us, to God; for we must love him more than friends or relatives, more than our own life; nay, we must hold him dearer than our very children.

Thus if in times of persecution a man urges his own son to endure death rather than be faithless to the truth, he offers his child as a sacrifice.

If a father urges his son to risk his life for his neighbor, when some occasion requires him to do so, while his heart bleeds at the thought of his child's offering himself up and being taken away from him, he is making the sacrifice of Abraham.

God often requires great sacrifices from us. He would have us hold all things cheap for his sake and truth's sake, for the triumph of right and the salvation of mankind; and though he does not always take what we are willing to give, though we may even, as a rule, enjoy much happiness while still fighting for him, yet we must be prepared to accomplish even what is hardest, to sacrifice even what is dearest, if he requires it.

¹ See the passage quoted above, 2 Chronicles iii. 1.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PURCHASE OF THE CAVE OF MACHPELAH.

GEN. XXIII.

WHILE Abraham was living at Kirjath-arba (afterwards Hebron), Sarah died at the age of a hundred and twenty-seven. As soon as the days of mourning were over, Abraham requested the chiefs of the Hethites, to whom the country belonged, to grant him an interview. They invited him, therefore, to meet them at the gate of Kirjath-arba, and when he came he addressed them thus: "I dwell amongst you as a stranger, and therefore possess no land; but let me have a tomb amongst you in which to bury my dead." This request was favorably received by the Hethites. "Dear sir," they said, "you dwell amongst us like a prince of God. Bury your dead in the best of our graves; for there is not one of us who would refuse you his." Touched by their kindness, and grateful for their readiness to grant his request, Abraham bowed down before the Hethites; but he did not accept their offer to place the corpse of Sarah in one of their graves, as he wished to have a burying-place of his own. So he said: "If you are so good as to allow me to bury my dead amongst you, then plead my cause with Ephron the son of Zohar to let me have the cave of Machpelah, that lies on his estate, at its proper price, for a family burying-place." Now Ephron himself was sitting there, as an elder, among the rest, and he answered at once, in the hearing of all present, by offering the cave and the land on which it lay as a present to Abraham. But Abraham, turning to him and assuring him that he had rather buy the land, begged him to name its price; upon which Ephron made the courtly answer, "Nay, do but listen! What matters a piece of land, worth no more than some four hundred shekels, between men of substance like ourselves? Bury your dead there!" So Abraham learned the value of the land, and at once weighed out four hundred shekels in the currency, and so became the owner of the cave, together with the land that belonged to it and all the timber that was growing on it.

Then Abraham buried his wife in this cave, which lies in the land of Canaan, to the east of Mamre, that is, Hebron.

So Abraham bought this piece of land, the cave of Machpelah, from the Hethites, for a family burying-place.

In itself all this is of little interest ; but the writer evidently attached the greatest importance to it, for it is almost the only story about the patriarchs that is given with any detail in the "Book of Origins." Generally speaking, the writer of this book gives us but brief indications of the fortunes of the patriarchs ; but in the case of this interview between Abraham and the Hethites he paints the scene in the liveliest colors. He describes the position of the cave of Machpelah more than once, and evidently attaches great importance to its purchase by Abraham. We must try to find out why he did so ; but, first of all, I may take this opportunity of making one or two remarks upon the customs of the Israelites in mourning for their dead, and the way in which they buried them.

When an Israelite lost any of his nearest relations he mourned for a certain number of days, — never less than seven, and sometimes as many as thirty. Most of this time he spent in the chamber in which the dead body lay, sitting there upon the ground, or among the ashes of the fire-place which was in the middle of the room. Unwashed, unshaven, with dust upon his head and his face covered, he sat down, for the most part fasting, wrapped in a dark garment, usually called "a sack," that had not been cut out or fitted. In former times the Israelites followed the custom, common among most uncivilized peoples in every age, of mutilating their bodies in token of grief ; and the practice of shaving a bald place "between the eyes" is especially mentioned. But this is forbidden in the law of Deuteronomy as heathenish.¹

We know but little of the treatment of the bodies of their dead by the Israelites of early times ; for though there are some traces of the custom of embalming the dead — which is known to have existed in Egypt and elsewhere — there are no clear proofs that the practice was generally followed by the Israelites. The corpse, whether more or less protected from decay, or simply wrapped in linen cloths, was carried on a bier to the grave, while hired female mourners went before it with mournful music and cries of woe, and the relations of the deceased followed.

To lie unburied and be devoured by dogs and birds of prey was a frightful idea to the Israelites, for they all thought a

¹ Deuteronomy xiv. 1.

great deal of having a regular funeral, and especially of being laid in the family grave. The practice of burning the dead is but seldom mentioned in Israelite literature, and seems only to have been followed in exceptional cases. As a rule, they committed the bodily remains to the earth. They had a special preference for graves hewn out of a rock; and tombs of this description are still to be found in Palestine in great numbers.

The subject we are considering naturally turns our attention to Hebron, and makes us ask whether any remains of the grave of the patriarchs, of which our legend speaks, are still to be found there.

Tradition still points it out. Hebron is now called el-Khaliel, that is " (the city of) the friend (of God)," by which Abraham is meant, for the Arabians too hold him in high honor. The city lies in a deep, narrow valley, and the hills slope up from it on either side. On the south side of the city, at the foot of the eastern slope, the Haram, that is, the sanctuary, rises above every other building, and in the inmost portion of this sanctuary are the graves of the patriarchs. The Mussulmans, who are the present possessors of Palestine, as you know, allow the Jews to look through a little lattice in the wall, to the left of the principal entrance, into the vault in which the graves are said to be. Many of them avail themselves of this permission, and come to the holy place to weep and pray.

The date of these tombs is unknown, but they existed and were magnificently adorned as early as in the days of Josephus, that is in the first century after Christ. If European scholars could gain admittance to the interior of the sanctuary, with permission to investigate its oldest portions, they might get some light as to the age of the tombs and their immediate surroundings. But every one who is not a Mussulman is strictly forbidden to enter the holy place. It appears, however, from the curious architecture of the most ancient portions of the walls and arches, that the building on the foundations and ruins of which the present modern sanctuary is reared, must have been built many ages ago.

It appears from our legend that even before the exile there was a place at Hebron that passed for the tomb of the patriarchs. At least the easiest explanation of the origin of such a story as the one in question is to suppose that there was some place to which the popular tradition had given this name. Who can say what was the cause of this? It may have grown out of some misunderstanding, or the zealots for the worship

of Yahweh may have given the name to some cave in which heathen rites were practised, to give the affair an orthodox color. All this however is mere guesswork as long as we know so little of the tombs themselves. All we can say is this, that most likely our writer was furnished with an opportunity for composing this story by some spot that passed for the tomb of the patriarchs.

But the most important point we have to inquire into is the great interest felt by the writer of the "Book of Origins" in this purchase of the cave of Machpelah. The importance he attached to it appears from his repeated mention of the cave in other passages as the place in which not only Abraham, but Isaac, Rebekah, Leah, and Jacob were buried. He is never tired of repeating that it was bought by Abraham for money.¹ The same writer also tells us that the piece of land near Shechem, on which Jacob pitched his tent, was bought by that patriarch.² We can only think of one reason for his laying so much stress upon these purchases, namely, that he looked upon them more or less as establishing the right of the Israelites to conquer Canaan. If this is so, we have a remarkable example in these stories of the manner in which moral ideas gradually make their way.

The ancient sons of Israel, who conquered Canaan under Joshua's command, certainly troubled their heads very little with the question of what right they had to the country. They had only one right, namely, that of the strongest. Their god Yahweh had given them their land, just as Chemosh, the god of the Moabites, had given them theirs,³ and just as all other peoples had received their possessions from their special gods. During the centuries that followed the conquest they were more puzzled to understand why there were so many Canaanites left in the country, and why they had not all been rooted out⁴ than why their own forefathers had been allowed to slaughter or expel so many thousands of them. When the belief in Yahweh's righteousness began to develop itself among the most advanced Israelites the sins of the Amorites and the other inhabitants of the country were brought forward as the reason for which Yahweh had given them into the hands of the Israelites.⁵ But it seems that the author of the "Book

¹ Genesis xxv. 9, 10, xlix. 32, l. 13.

² Genesis xxxiii. 19.

³ Judges xi. 24.

⁴ Exodus xxiii. 29, 30. Deuteronomy vii. 16. Judges iii. 1, 2, 4.

⁵ See p. 122 (Genesis xv. 16.). Deuteronomy, ix. 4, &c.

of Origins" felt how little right the immorality of the former possessors could give the Israelites to take their land from them; and that he tried to meet the difficulty in another way.

We have already had an example in a former story of progress in the knowledge of good and evil; for we saw how the oldest writer in Genesis, without feeling that he was disgracing his hero, put a lie into the mouth of Abraham, namely, that Sarah was his sister; while a second writer tried to improve the work of his predecessor by glossing over this untruth.¹ We shall see again from other passages that this oldest writer had no clear notions of honesty or love of truth.

Now, this story from the "Book of Origins" does not point back to any other legend, but it refers to the fact of the conquest. The writer felt that Israel's claim to Canaan was not very well founded, and so tried to find some justification of the conquest of the land. This he found in the purchase of a family grave by Abraham and of a piece of land near Shechem by Jacob. So, according to him, the Israelites did but recover by force of arms what had been unjustly withheld from them. It is true that this was but weak ground upon which to rest their right to the whole of Canaan, but yet it is something that the writer felt the conquest of a country to deserve condemnation unless it could be justified in some way.

The right of the strongest is the oldest, the original right. For a long time there was none higher. Gradually, in the intercourse of individuals, it had to make way for a better right, and the prohibition, "Thou shalt not kill nor steal," came to be revered as a divine command. But long after this had been recognized the old right of the strongest remained in force in the dealings of nations with each other.

When one citizen took away anything from another by force or fraud it was called theft; and if any one killed his neighbor he was a murderer. But when the Israelites fell upon their neighbors and robbed them of their land, simply because they wanted it themselves, they called their wars "the wars of Yahweh;" and all ancient peoples acted in the same way. The Jewish priest who wrote the "Book of Origins" at any rate began to see that the right must be upheld in the dealings of nations as well as of individuals.

This fact is now recognized by all the more civilized nations. No people is justified in attacking its neighbors unless they have wronged, plundered, injured, or insulted it. A war of conquest is universally condemned. It may be asked whether

¹ See pp. 111, 112.

such wars are not still waged, whether the right of the strongest is not still revered, as a matter of fact. Undoubtedly. But all this is no longer done avowedly. Even the most ambitious prince, however little he cares for the right, will find out some pretext for a war. Let us be thankful for this; for even the fact that evil disguises itself, and no longer dares shamelessly to display itself in its true shape, shows some progress at any rate. It is an involuntary tribute to the right

CHAPTER XX.

THE FAITHFUL SLAVE.

GEN. XXIV.

ABRAMHAM'S days were numbered. He saw that he was not long to outlive his wife, and that he would soon be gathered to his fathers. Now that he could see in Isaac the future ancestor of that posterity, to be called especially after himself, that was to inherit Canaan, he could go in peace. Yahweh had fulfilled his promise. But before he quietly laid down his head to die, he wanted to see his son happily married; for he had learned by his own experience that Yahweh was no more indifferent to the mother than to the father of the tribe, and that the holy people which should inherit the promise must not spring of an ignoble race on the mother's side. No Canaanite blood must flow in its veins.

And so, anxious to the last to labor for the accomplishment of God's promises, he called Eliezer, his chief servant, who had the superintendence of all his affairs and was therefore the appointed guardian of the young chief, and made him swear that he would seek a wife for Isaac from his former country, where his relatives, the tribe of Nahor, still dwelt. In no case must he marry him to a Canaanite wife, yet he must not allow him to return to Mesopotamia himself. The faithful slave was willing to do all that was possible for his master, but urged that perhaps the woman he chose might refuse to follow him. Abraham answered that in that case he would be free from his oath and the curse he had called down upon himself, should he break his promise, would not fall upon him. But the patriarch thought it very unlikely

that his fears would be realized, for Yahweh, the god of heaven, who had brought him out of his fatherland and had promised Canaan to his posterity, would provide for this too. He would send his angel before Eliezer to enable him to find a wife for Isaac.

Thus persuaded, Eliezer took the oath required of him and set out on his journey, taking with him ten camels laden with treasure for the bride. He accomplished his journey prosperously and reached Haran, the city of Nahor, in "the land of the two rivers," safe and sound. Night was beginning to fall as he made his camels kneel down to rest at the well that lay close by the city.

So far all had gone well; but now how was he to find the right wife for Isaac? Was he to ask for the relatives of Abraham, and then demand the richest and most beautiful girl he could find amongst them in marriage for his master? Some such course would have been taken by human intelligence, by the wisdom of the world; but for the pious worshipper of Yahweh there was another way. His god, who had guided him so far, would himself point out to him the wife he had chosen for Isaac. He would trust in him, and ask him for a sign. So he prayed, "O Yahweh, god of my master Abraham, be gracious to my master and grant that I may find her whom he desires! Let me appoint this sign with you. The girls of the city will soon be coming, as I stand by the well, to draw water, and if I ask one of them to give me some water to drink, and she says, 'yes, gladly! and I will draw some for your beasts of burden too'—then let her be the wife you have chosen for Isaac. This will be a proof of your kindness to me."

Yahweh heard the prayer, for the last words were still on Eliezer's lips when lo! the beautiful Rebekah, an unmarried girl, the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Abraham's brother Nahor and of Milcah, came out of the city with her pitcher on her shoulder. She went down to the well, filled her pitcher and came up the steps again. No sooner had she heard the request that the stranger made her, with a heart so full of hope, than she granted it to the full, resting her pitcher on her hand while he quenched his thirst. As soon as he was refreshed she saw the camels and said she would go and draw water for them too, till they had had enough; and suiting the action to the word she emptied her pitcher into the drinking trough, ran down to the well to replenish it, and so went on till the beasts had drunk their fill.

Eliezer followed every movement with his eyes, in speechless amazement and thankfulness. Had Yahweh really come to his aid so fully? Was she the chosen one? Though he had no longer any doubt that this was so, yet he must make assurance still more sure by finding out whether she was unmarried and of Abraham's kindred. Hoping to learn this, he addressed her again; "Tell me, maiden, who you are, and whether we can have a night's lodging in your father's house." Transported with delight he bowed himself to the earth when she answered, "I am Bethuel's daughter. There is plenty of fodder and straw at home, and you are welcome to spend the night with us." The words of thanksgiving welled up in his heart: "Praised be Yahweh, who has directed my steps to the house of my master's brother!"

Then he gave Rebekah a heavy golden nose-ring and two bracelets, and she hastened home to tell them all that had happened. The sight of such handsome presents disposed them all, but especially Rebekah's brother Laban, very favorably towards the stranger. So Laban hurried to the well and found Eliezer with his subordinates and camels still waiting there. Then he said, "O favored of Yahweh! come in with me. Why do you stay without? I have had my dwelling put in order for you, and there is stabling for the camels."

Of course Eliezer had no need of any long deliberation before accepting his hospitality. He was soon in Bethuel's house, the beasts were unloaded and fed, and water was brought in for a foot-bath for the guests. But when the master of the house would have them begin the evening meal Eliezer refused to taste anything before he had unburdened his heart. So he asked them to listen for a moment to what he had to say. When they had promised to do so he made himself known as Abraham's servant, and then enlarged upon the wealth of his master and told them how he had had a son in his old age who would inherit all he had. Then he told them of the oath that Abraham had made him take, and how Yahweh had not only led him prosperously to their home, but had pointed out to him, as clearly as could be, that no other than Rebekah was the destined wife of Isaac. This last circumstance was so conclusive that when Eliezer wound up by asking for an immediate answer to his request for Rebekah's hand, Laban and Bethuel exclaimed, as if with one mouth, "It is the finger of Yahweh! We can urge nothing against it. You may take Rebekah to be the wife of your master's son, as Yahweh has commanded."

On receiving this reply the slave of Abraham fell down upon the earth to give Yahweh thanks. Then he opened all his treasures, rich bridal presents for Rebekah and many costly gifts for her mother and brother — such was the custom of the Israelites — as the price that must be paid for her. Then they took their evening meal.

Next morning Eliezer begged them to let him go home again at once, and even when Rebekah's relatives pressed him most earnestly to put off his return at least for ten days or so, he still insisted upon going back at once. As they could not come to any agreement in the matter, they asked the bride herself to decide between them, and she declared that she was ready to go at once.

Submitting to her decision, the members of Rebekah's family let her go, with her nurse, under the guidance of Eliezer and his men. As she was parting from them they all blessed her with the words, "O our sister! may your descendants be countless in number, and may they possess the cities of their enemies!"

Eliezer's return was as prosperous as his outward journey had been; and sooner than he could have hoped he was able to give Isaac his bride; for though he generally lived by the well Lahai-roi, Isaac had just now come northwards, and was in the neighborhood of Hebron, the so-called "South of Judah." Still sorrowing over his mother's death, he had gone out in the twilight of a certain evening to lament her¹ undisturbed in the open field, when he saw the caravan approaching. He, too, was observed by the others, and Rebekah seemed to have some presentiment that he was her bridegroom, for as soon as she saw him she lighted from her camel. "Who is that coming to meet us?" she asked Eliezer. "It is my master," he replied, and, in accordance with the customs of the land, Rebekah must veil herself at once.

Informed by Eliezer of all that had happened, Isaac took Rebekah into Sarah's tent. She became his wife, and he loved her, and in her love he found comfort for his mother's death.

By all that is told us here we are drawn towards Eliezer, the faithful slave of Abraham, born in his house,² the steward of all his possessions, fixed upon as his master's heir until the birth of Isaac. What thoughtfulness we trace in the

¹ After an amended version.

² Genesis xv. 3.

difficulties he suggests! What tender care he showed in accomplishing the task he had undertaken! What true zeal inspired him, when weary as he was with his journey, he refused to eat anything before he had delivered his message! What diligence he displayed in carrying out his mission! He is the very pattern of an old and faithful servant such as existed in the writer's mind, such as he had probably met in real life too, though hardly in such perfection. We are drawn towards Eliezer too by his earnest piety, none the less genuine because we must admit it to have been coupled with very mistaken ideas.

Yes! the whole idea of Eliezer, or rather of the writer of the story, as to the way in which God helps those he loves is mistaken and superstitious. Abraham expects that the wife whom Eliezer chooses will follow him, because Yahweh will send his angel to show him the way. Apparently Yahweh does so. Then he gives ear to Eliezer when he fixes upon a certain sign by which to know the chosen maid. She is pointed out by Yahweh himself, as her relations see at once.

The belief that such things may happen, and that God sometimes uses outward means of warning men, of showing them their way, of helping or resisting them,—this belief was very common in ancient times. We shall meet with numbers of examples of it in the Bible, and it was long maintained by Christians too; nay, it is even now the faith of thousands. This idea has made people attend to omens, try to discover the meaning of unusual natural phenomena, and attempt to read the future by means of lots and other such contrivances. Thus it has not been unusual for Protestants, even in recent times, to use the Bible as a book from which they can ascertain what is going to happen to them, and which will expressly intimate to them what they are to do or leave undone. They opened a Bible, for instance, and took the first word they happened to see as a sign from God. So-called Bible-almanacs are often used in the same way by people who look at them when in any difficulty to learn from the text of the day what line of conduct to pursue.

Sensible people, however, no longer observe such practices as these; but there are still many remnants amongst us of the belief from which they rose. Thus, certain books of history lay great stress upon deliverances by the sudden rise of a storm, by the death of a dreaded enemy, or other unforeseen events; and they delight to point to them with some such exclamation as "It was the hand of God!" Many a pious

man can tell you of strange circumstances in his own life and in that of his friends, through which they escaped some danger or gained some great happiness in a way of which they had never thought, and which they refer, therefore, to an immediate dispensation of providence. Irreligious people say nothing about "the hand of God," but so-called coincidences and accidental combinations sometimes make them betray a certain remnant of the old belief, that some mysterious power has a hand in their fate, by exclamations such as "But really it is very remarkable!"

This belief is connected with a very defective idea of God's relation to the world, and with a misunderstanding of the natural connection of events and phenomena. It is a mistake to suppose that God gives us any special revelation of his will in these unexpected occurrences. God has given us no mysterious signs, no lots or other such contrivances, to teach us our way through the world. Our reason is the guide he has given us, and he reveals himself in the fact of our learning to use it, and to avoid dangers and promote our happiness by its help, far more than in one or two accidents that turn out in our favor.

In ancient times, however, people did not think so; and we shall see that the most pious Israelites kept "asking the mouth of Yahweh," that is, trying to penetrate the future by some means or other, — by lots, for example, or by the aid of the priests or the prophets, or by dreams. Like all other superstitious ideas, this belief, that God informs us what is about to happen in such ways as these, is very hostile to progress and injurious to our character. For it fills us with dread of a mysterious world that surrounds us, and takes away the clearness of head and freshness of heart that enable us to find our way through life.

Though we cannot but think, then, that the ideas of Abraham's servant about his god and the way in which he helped him were untrue, yet we cannot help looking on him with great affection. In his case, as in that of many other men, especially of ancient times, we must learn to value what is good even when accompanied by much that is imperfect, and especially by superstitious ideas. We must never become attached to the mistakes, but still less must we withhold our admiration from those who make them, if the key-note of their character be true. Eliezer's faith may have been marred by mistaken notions, but at least it was coupled with self-sacrifice and fidelity. His piety is of the true stamp, for it inspires him

with zeal, and makes him forget himself while he watches over his master's interests. He is the type of what a certain Christian of the first century¹ had in mind when he said in exhortation to the slaves of his own time: "Servants! be obedient to your earthly masters in everything; not with eye-service as men-pleasers; but in simplicity of soul, fearing the Lord. Whatever you do, do it from your heart, as for the Lord, and not for men; knowing that you will receive from the Lord the reward of the inheritance."

CHAPTER XXI.

ISAAC.

GEN. XXVI.

THE accounts of Isaac are very scanty. The "Book of Origins" passes over him almost in silence, simply mentioning that he was born, that at the age of forty he married Rebekah, that he and his brother Ishmael buried their father Abraham, who died at the age of a hundred and seventy-five, in the cave of Machpelah,² that he had two sons, that he lived by the well of Lahai-roi, and that he died there. One of the older writers is certainly rather fuller, but the tameness of all he tells us under this head contrasts remarkably with his detailed accounts of Abraham and Jacob, and convinces us that he dwelt with no particular interest on the fortunes of Isaac.

The name of Isaac, however, is repeatedly explained. It may be translated by "laugher," and this meaning of the word is referred to in several stories. When God foretold the birth of a son to Abraham the patriarch "laughed," upon which, in allusion to this expression of unbelief, God commanded him to call his son Isaac.³ When Yahweh, reclining with his angels before Abraham's tent, foretold that Sarah should give birth to a son she laughed,⁴ and when the promise had been fulfilled, she cried, "God will make them all 'laugh' at such an old mother!"⁵ Besides these there are two other

¹ Colossians iii. 22-24.

² Genesis xvii. 17-19.

³ Genesis xxi. 6.

⁴ Genesis xxv. 7-10.

⁵ Genesis xviii. 12-15.

references to the name of Isaac; for Ishmael is expelled, together with his mother, because he had "laughed"¹ as if no one but Isaac had a right to do so! and King Abimelech discovers from the way in which Isaac "laughs" with Rebekah that she is not his sister but his wife.²

Except the account of the danger he ran of being sacrificed by his father, and that of the manner in which he obtained a wife, in both of which he took a very passive share, together with the stories of Esau and Jacob in which he sinks into the background, while his sons take the chief parts, there is but one legend of any extent about Isaac. It runs as follows:—

Once there was a famine in the land, so that Isaac was obliged to leave it. On his way to Egypt, to which he intended to go, he came to the land of Abimelech, king of the Philistines, at Gerar. Here Yahweh appeared to him, forbade him to continue his journey, and commanded him to remain in this country, promising that he would bless him there. Mindful of the promise he once had made, upon oath, to Abraham,³ he would give the land for an inheritance to his posterity, because his father had been obedient to the law of his god.

In obedience to this command, Isaac remained at Gerar. In fear of his life he imitated the conduct of Abraham in Egypt and declared his wife to be his sister, but as soon as the king had discovered this deception, Isaac saw how unnecessary his precaution had been, for the king forbade his subjects upon pain of death to injure either him or his wife in any way.

An unusually rich harvest, gathered in by Isaac, gave him another proof of the favor of his god, and his wealth continually increased. At last the number of his flocks and his dependants became so great as to excite the envy of the Philistines. They tried to thwart him, therefore, by filling up the wells that Abraham's men had dug in their country, and finally Abimelech himself insisted on Isaac's leaving his territory, as he had become too powerful for him.

The patriarch yielded to his wishes, and pitched his tents in "the valley of Gerar," where his men reopened the former wells of Abraham, which the Philistines had stopped up, and gave them their old names again. But when they discovered certain new wells the Philistines, on two occasions, disputed the possession of them. So they called the wells Esek and Sitnah ("violence" and "hate"). They remained in undis-

¹ Genesis xxi. 9.

² Genesis xxvi. 8.

³ Genesis xv.

turbed possession of a third well, however, and therefore called it Rehoboth, that is "room," because Yahweh had made room for them.

But Isaac left this district too, and chose Beersheba as his home. It seemed to be a holy place, for Yahweh appeared to him there, making himself known as the god of Abraham, and promising to protect him for his father's sake. So Isaac built an altar there in honor of Yahweh. There, too, his dependants once sank a well, and just at this time Abimelech came to visit him, with Ahuzzath, "his friend," that is to say his first minister of state, and Phichol his general. Isaac asked, in some surprise, "What brings you here, — you who drove us out of your country because you hated us?" Upon which Abimelech replied, "We have seen that Yahweh helps you, and are, therefore, desirous of making some agreement with you. Remember, now, that we never injured you, but allowed you to depart in peace; swear, then, that neither will you devise any evil against us, for you are blessed of Yahweh." Isaac, who was of a peace-loving disposition, granted their request, and prepared a banquet for them. On the following day they confirmed their alliance with an oath, after which Abimelech and his followers departed in peace. That same day Isaac's men told him of the well they had found, to which accordingly he gave the name of "Sheba," that is *oath*. So the city that lies close by it is still called Beersheba, or "the well of the oath."

Not without reason has this story been called an echo of the legends of Abraham, for almost every point in the former stories reappears in this. The measure adopted by Isaac at Gerar to escape the danger into which Rebekah's beauty might bring him is twice ascribed to Abraham.¹ And not only is this latter patriarch brought into connection with Abimelech on one of these occasions, but a scene takes place between them² almost exactly like the one just described. For Abraham, we are told, when dwelling at Beersheba received a visit once from Abimelech and his general Phichol. The prince desired to make a treaty with him, for he was convinced of God's love towards the patriarch. Abraham consented, but rebuked Abimelech because his dependants had robbed him of a well that was his own, upon which the Philistine excused himself by pleading his ignorance of what had occurred. After this they concluded a treaty. On this occu-

¹ Genesis xii. and xx.

² Genesis xxi. 22-34.

not be surprised to find him, rather than another, using this name and betraying some knowledge of this ancient worship, for he came from Tekoa, which lies north of Hebron, in that same "South" of which Beersheba was the furthest limit. He must therefore have lived in the midst of these "sons of Isaac." Josiah's reformation probably gave the last blow to the worship at Beersheba, or if it survived this storm, it fell more and more into decay after the fall of Judah, until at last it disappeared.

While, for these reasons, Isaac, as preserved in the tradition, is but a lifeless figure, the pictures of his sons, Esau and Jacob, on the other hand, are sketched in very vivid colors, which give them a look of real individuality, and make them far more interesting than their father.



CHAPTER XXII.

JACOB OBTAINS THE BIRTHRIGHT AND HIS FATHER'S BLESSING.

GENESIS XXV. 19-34, XXVII. 1-45.

BETWEEN the southern end of the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aelana lies a broad, sandy valley called the valley of Arabah, along the east side of which stretches a steep range of hills. This is the range of Seir. Its highest peak, Mount Hor, rears itself to nearly five thousand feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. On the east these mountains touch the plains of Arabia Deserta. The name Seir may mean "rough," "bristling," and it is usually supposed, therefore, to indicate a mountainous and well-wooded district. Between the masses of rock, of which the mountains are largely composed, lie a number of fruitful valleys, with green pastures and rich plough land, and many spots well suited for the cultivation of the vine; but, on the whole, the country is bare, and the western hills especially are said to be very barren and unfruitful. The air is pure, however, and the heat is tempered by cool winds, so that the climate is very healthy.

This mountainous district was inhabited in early times by the Horites, concerning whom we know little but the names of certain of their tribal chiefs.¹ The name "Horite" is

¹ Genesis xxxvi. 20-30.

often translated "cave-dweller," and though the correctness of this translation is open to doubt, yet the character of the country certainly led its inhabitants to choose dwelling-places which would have made the designation quite appropriate; for the district was full of caves, and not only the tombs, but many dwellings for the living, and even public buildings, were hewn out of the rocks.

Now these Horites had been conquered by a branch of the Terachites; and even before the time of Moses, accordingly, the mountains of Seir were in the hands of the Edomites, whom the old Israelite stories represent as a mingled race of Terachites, Horites, Canaanites, and Ishmaelites; for this is the meaning of the assertion that Esau, who is expressly called the ancestor of the Edomites,¹ was the son of Isaac, and was married to Adah, a Hethite, that is a Canaanite,² to Aholibamah, a Horite³ (who is elsewhere⁴ also called a Canaanite), and to Bashemath, an Ishmaelite.⁵

Long before the Israelites had obtained fixed abodes the social life of the Edomite tribes was settled and regular, and consequently while "the sons of Israel" were still divided amongst themselves, and were a prey to the surrounding nations because they had not yet succeeded in rising to any national unity, the inhabitants of Seir, so closely related to them, were already governed by kings.⁶ In the language of the legend this is expressed by saying that Esau was older than his twin brother Jacob.

But this was a mystery to the Israelite, for the elder was also the chief. The eldest son succeeded to the rights of his father, and became his heir and successor. The eldest son was chief of his brothers. Was Edom then Israel's superior? Impossible! Jacob, although the younger brother, had obtained the rights of the first-born.

Now, until the time of Saul, the relations between the Edomites and the Israelites were very friendly, and the recollection of their brotherly connection with each other was kept up long afterwards. But as soon as the national unity of Israel was established, the Edomites seem to have grown jealous of the sister nation. At any rate there was war between the two kingdoms from the time of Saul onward. David conquered the Edomites, and after his death they still remained subject to the kings of Judah, until the days of

¹ Genesis xxxvi. 1, 8, 9, 19, 43.

² Genesis xxxvi. 20-25.

³ Genesis xxxvi. 3, xxviii. 9.

⁴ Genesis xxxvi. 2, xxvi. 34.

⁵ Genesis xxvi. 34.

⁶ Genesis xxxvi. 31-43.

Ahaz, but not without making repeated efforts to recover their freedom.

The higher antiquity of the people of Edom and the higher privileges of that of Israel, the greater fruitfulness of Canaan, as compared with the mountains of Seir, the subjection of the Edomites, and the reluctance with which they bore the yoke of their brothers, — all this is referred to in the following legend: —

When Isaac and Rebekah had been married twenty years, their hearts were gladdened by the birth of their twin sons Esau and Jacob, the only children they ever had. The elder, Esau, received this name, which means "the hairy," because his skin was so extraordinarily shaggy that he looked as if he were all wrapped up in a garment of hair. His character agreed very well with his appearance, for when he grew up he delighted in the wild hunter's life or in wandering through the country far and near. But Jacob, whose name means "the deceiver," was a respectable kind of man, and lived in his tent like a shepherd. Isaac was more attached to Esau, for he was very fond of venison, but Jacob was Rebekah's favorite.

One day when Esau came home hungry from the chase, he found Jacob busy with preparations for a meal. Some red-looking lentil porridge that was just ready excited the famished hunter's longing; so he asked for it, somewhat impatiently, and said, "Give me some of that red stuff to drink, for I'm tired!" Seeing that his brother was terribly hungry, Jacob seized the opportunity to demand, as the price of the meal, that Esau should give up his rights as the first-born son to him. His rough brother, longing for the food, said in reply, "I may be dead to-morrow! Why should I trouble myself about my birthright?" But Jacob would not be put off with a careless word like this, and insisted on Esau's solemnly renouncing all his rights as the eldest son upon his oath, which accordingly he did. Then Jacob gave him some bread and the lentil porridge, and he ate and drank and went on his way without a care or a thought!

So lightly did Esau value his right as the first-born son, that he sold it in this way to Jacob! From his exclamation, "That red stuff, that red stuff there!" he got the name of *Edom*, that is "the red."

By this stroke Jacob had secured the birthright for himself; but he was to get the better of his elder brother in yet another

way. For one day, when Isaac had grown old and blind, he called Esau and said to him, "I am old, my son, and know not when I may die; but before I go I would fain give you a father's blessing. So take your bow and arrows and go out into the fields and shoot some game, and when I have eaten it I will bless you in the presence of Yahweh." So Esau went out with a light heart to hunt.

But Rebekah had overheard the conversation, and it disturbed her greatly. For if Isaac did as he intended, there was no longer any chance that her darling Jacob would receive the best portion of the inheritance. She knew what to do, however. She called Jacob without loss of time, and told him to bring a couple of kids and prepare them to set before his father for venison, so that he might receive the blessing himself as if he were Esau. Jacob objected that, since Esau was rough and hairy, and he himself was smooth, he was afraid of being found out by his father, in which case he should stand before him in confusion, and receive a curse instead of a blessing. But his mother removed this scruple by saying, "May the curse fall upon me, my son! Only do as I tell you." So Jacob allowed himself to be persuaded.

The meal was soon ready. Jacob had put on Esau's clothes, and had covered his hands and neck with goat-skin, so that if his father were to feel him, in doubt whether he really had the right man before him, he might not notice the difference between Jacob's smoothness and the roughness of Esau. Thus prepared, he went into his father's tent.

"My father!" "Here am I, my son! who are you?" "I am Esau, your eldest son; I have done as you desired; come, eat of my venison and then bless me." "How soon you have got it ready, my son!" "Yahweh, your god, brought the quarry across my path," was the traitor's answer. "Come near," said the blind man, suspiciously, "and let me feel you, to be sure that you really are Esau." The precautions of Rebekah appeared successful, and Isaac, after passing his fingers over the rough hands of his son as he stood before him, was half convinced, and murmured, "It is Jacob's voice, but the hands are Esau's." Yet once more, however, he inquired, "It is really my son Esau, then?" and when he had been assured again that it was, he suppressed all his doubts, and allowed the meal to be set before him. When he had eaten the meat and drunk the wine he made ready for his solemn task. "Kiss me, my son!" said the blind old man, and as Jacob kissed him, and he perceived the smell of his clothes — the smell of

the hunter's garments — all his doubts and hesitation disappeared, and he broke out in passionate fervor, "My son is fragrant as the field that Yahweh has blessed!" And now the old man's hands are raised, and laid upon the head of his kneeling son. "God," he cries,

"God shall give thee of the dew of heaven,
And of the fatness of earth,
And abundance of corn and wine!
Peoples shall be thy servants,
Nations shall bow before thee!
Be thou thy brothers' ruler,
Let thy mother's sons fall down before thee!
He who curses thee shall be cursed,
He who blesses thee blessed."

Of course Jacob made away with all possible speed, and left Isaac deep in thought. It was some time before the latter was roused from his reflections by a voice that had always been dear to him, but filled him with terror now. "My father!" cried Esau, as he entered the tent full of bright anticipations. "rise up and eat of your son's venison, that you may bless me." "Who are you?" the old man asked. "Your son, your eldest son, Esau!" was the reply; and Isaac, betrayed and horror-struck, grieving for Esau's sake and knowing that his blessing could not be called back, exclaimed, "Who was it then, that was here but now, that brought venison from his hunting, of which I ate before you came? I have blessed him, moreover, and he shall be blessed indeed!" A loud and bitter cry escaped the defrauded Esau — "Bless me, me too, my father." "Alas! your brother has come and has stolen away your blessing, my son!" In scorn and indignation, Esau burst out, "Truly he is well named Jacob 'the deceiver,' for this is the second time he has deceived me, first he took my birthright from me, and now he has stolen my blessing!" and then with more of sadness in his voice he went on, "Father! have you no blessing left for me?" His father, who would so gladly have given him something, but was bound by his own words, answered mournfully, "I have made him your master, and all his brothers have I made his servants, corn and wine have I given him, and what have I left, then, to give you, my son?" Esau burst into tears and could only say, "Have you but this one blessing, father? Oh father! bless me too!"

As the rude hunter sinks sobbing to the ground, his father lays his hand upon his head. He longs from the bottom of his heart to bless him, but he has no power to turn fate aside,

and the words that rise involuntarily to his lips sound more like a curse than a blessing: —

“ Bereft¹ of the fatness of earth shall thy home be,
 Bereft of the dew of heaven.
 A freebooter's life shalt thou lead,
 And be subject unto thy brother;
 But in restless freedom thou shalt break his yoke
 And shake it from off thy neck.”

No wonder that Esau hated his brother for what he had done. He plotted vengeance; but, as he loved his father, he determined to wait until after his death and then to destroy his brother. But when Rebekah heard that Esau had declared that this was his intention she called Jacob and said to him: “ See, your brother comforts himself for the injury you have done him, by the hope that he may kill you. Fly therefore to my brother Laban, in Haran, and stay there till Esau's wrath has cooled and he has forgotten the whole affair. Why should I lose both my sons at once?”

Before retelling the story, we glanced at its object, and at the way in which the nature of the countries inhabited by the Israelites and the Edomites and the history and mutual relations of the two peoples are as it were reflected in it; and we need, therefore, spend no more time in specially pointing out these matters. There are, however, several points in the story which still call for our attention.

The legend places us in a world full of amazing superstition. Esau, the writer assumes, since he was the eldest, would have been the chief as well, had not Jacob seized his opportunity and succeeded in buying the right of the first-born from him, and so stepping into his privileges. This does not mean that Esau was constantly injuring himself by the carelessness of which he gave proof on this occasion, and that Jacob got on in the world as a natural consequence of the shrewdness of which this was a specimen; nor does it mean that, in consequence of having sold his birthright, Esau was obliged to give up certain privileges, the exercise of which made him Jacob's superior. No, the story means to say that Jacob came into possession of the power and consideration that Yahweh had destined for Isaac's first-born son.

The same remark holds good of his stealing his father's blessing. Unenlightened people still think very seriously of the blessing or curse of others. They are delighted by a hearty good wish, and, still more, appalled by a bitter curse,

¹ After an amended version.

not because the blessing or curse shows their neighbors to be well or ill disposed towards them, and it is pleasanter to receive signs of friendship than proofs of enmity, but because they believe that these blessings and curses exercise some influence upon their lot, and that their prosperity and adversity are, to some extent, dependent upon them. In ancient times this was a general belief.

But of course people did not attach the same weight to every man's words. They declared the favorable or unfavorable predictions of certain individuals to be especially rich in happy or disastrous results. Who these specially powerful individuals were, was a question variously answered according to the various mental attitudes from which it was asked. Those who attached most importance to religion believed the most pious men to have the greatest influence; but others were especially anxious about the words of those whom they considered cleverer than others. It often happened that the boldness with which certain people declared themselves to have power over the forces of nature and the lot of their fellow men, made such an impression on the ignorant multitude that they bowed down before them in terror. Moreover any circumstance that threw any sort of mystery over a man was enough to make people think that he had power over the lot of his fellow men. This belief then in soothsayers, magicians, witches, rain-doctors, and enchanters, which was once very general and has by no means disappeared even now, rises from a want of reflection, from ignorance, and most of all from fear, which is always powerful amongst those whose intellectual life is poorly developed.

It is not surprising that people who held such beliefs thought a great deal of the blessing or the curse of a father. Who would not shudder involuntarily, however innocent he might be, if his father cursed him? In such a case, though the intellect repeated after the Israelite sage, "As a sparrow flies away, as a swallow disappears, so a curse for which there is no cause shall not come,"¹ yet no one would be able to get rid of a very bitter recollection of it, and many a one would be in danger, when some misfortune happened to him, of thinking of this curse as if the two things had some connection with each other. And yet we know very well that such a connection does not really exist, and that no man's words have power to fix our weal or woe. How very differently the ancient Israelites thought upon these matters and how

¹ Proverbs xxvi. 2.

far most of them were from sharing the common sense of the proverb just quoted we may see from the story of Isaac's blessing.

Isaac wishes, before he dies, to bless Esau and to make him lord over all his brothers. If he fulfils this intention Esau will really receive these blessings. So Isaac himself and Esau and Rebekah and Jacob all believe. The last of these disguises himself and receives his father's blessing in his brother's stead; he obtains the promise of a fruitful country and of the rulership. Esau is in despair when he finds out what has happened, and Isaac too is downcast, for his words have decided the future of his sons. He perfectly understands that Jacob came "with deceit" and stole the blessing, but in spite of this the blessing itself does not lose its power. "And now he will be blessed," he declares emphatically. Now it is all very well to try to soften down this most extraordinary and indeed shocking representation by saying that Isaac's mistake was brought about by Yahweh because he desired to make Jacob the superior, and that Isaac, therefore, though he did not know it himself, blessed his sons "through faith;"¹ but nothing is gained by this way of putting it, for it simply brings more clearly to light the amazing imperfections in the conception formed by this writer of his god. For if Yahweh desired to make Jacob chief of the brothers, could he not have done so in spite of Esau's being the elder and of Isaac's having blessed him? Must Jacob deceive his brother twice in order that his god might be able to bless him? Had the words of a man such a powerful influence over Yahweh?

We observed just now that this superstitious set of ideas springs from a low stage of intellectual development; and it may perhaps be affirmed that the story tells quite as much against the writer's morality. For when he represents Jacob as being blessed by Yahweh by means of the birthright he had bought from his brother in an unguarded moment, and the blessing he had stolen from him, we might very well suppose that he saw absolutely nothing wrong in these proceedings. But this would be doing him an injustice. Appearances in this case are misleading.

Let us examine the characters of the two men here portrayed!

We are most attracted by Esau. Not that even he is a very noble figure! The levity with which, to still his hunger,

¹ Hebrews xi. 20.

he sells his rights as the first-born son, with the exclamation, "Who knows how soon I may die!" is a striking type of the lightness with which many a one sacrifices peace of conscience and health of soul to some momentary pleasure or passing enjoyment,¹ and is as much to be condemned as his violent burst of passion against Jacob. But this levity is accompanied by a certain freshness and naturalness. He loves his father, and, for his sake, puts off his vengeance. There is something impressive in his passionate grief when the blessing is stolen from him; for it speaks of something more than mere disappointment at the loss of wealth and honor. Esau is rough, but straightforward; a man of the field, and, though not our ideal, yet more attractive than Jacob, the smooth, cautious, crafty man, who seizes his opportunity of getting hold of the birthright, has but one objection when his mother urges him to deceive his blind old father, namely, that perhaps he may be found out and cursed, and unhesitatingly follows his mother's advice as soon as she declares her readiness to take the curse upon herself! The word used by the writer to describe the character of Jacob² is peculiar. I have translated it "respectable." Most of the translations, both ancient and modern, render it "simple," "upright." The word that is used in the original properly means "perfect," "sound," and the writer's meaning in using this word of Jacob is explained by the connection. Esau is called a man of the field, rough, quick, and changeable, but Jacob is a "perfect" man, dwelling in tents. Gentle manners, courtesy in the intercourse of life and culture distinguished the dwellers in tents from the rough, wandering hunters. These are the qualities, then, celebrated in Jacob.

We must not suppose, however, that because the writer placed the respectable Jacob above the ruder Esau he therefore approved of the conduct of the former to his brother and his father. It is only among some few tribes of savages that such ignorance of what is right can be found as to make them think there is nothing wrong in cheating their nearest relatives, and the writer sees well enough that Jacob's conduct can be described by no gentler term than that of cheating; he himself calls it so without reserve.³ His mistake is in calling ill-gotten goods a blessing of God, and so making his Yahweh a party to Jacob's knaveries; not in having approved of the deception, which he never did.

In the main, then, we agree with the writer in our judg-

¹ Hebrews xii. 16, 17.

² Genesis xxv. 27.

³ Genesis xxvii. 35, 36.

ment of this dexterous double dealing on the part of Israel's ancestor. But we go further than he does, and should call a man like Jacob anything but "perfect." Cultivation may be worth something, and pleasant manners in society may be preferable to a rough way of speaking and acting, for roughness often causes mischief and is a source of strife. But if an ugly mind lurks behind the urbane exterior, if the pleasing manners throw a veil over scheming treachery, then all the outward cultivation is as nothing. Nay, sometimes it is even worse than nothing, for we are attracted by it in spite of ourselves, and so the deceiver has free play. A rough, straightforward man is at any rate better than a "smooth" individual

CHAPTER XXIII.

JACOB'S DREAM.

GEN. XXVIII. 10-22.

FEW forms of worship were so universal in ancient times as the homage paid to sacred stones. Amongst uncivilized tribes, or so-called savages, it is to be found almost everywhere to the present day; and among the most various nations, which have long ago struggled out of the state of barbarism, sundry reminiscences of the worship of stones are still preserved. The savage looks upon certain unhewn stones as deities, and worships them accordingly. It is very difficult to make out what his ideas in doing this are, and so too with respect to many other elements of his worship it is very hard to understand what goes on in his mind, just because there is not much that does go on there. He reflects but little or not at all. Involuntarily we look for too much depth in him.

The lowest stage of religion that we can discover is generally called *fetishism*, sometimes *animism*. Its characteristic is the worship of all manner of miscellaneous objects that happen to make an impression on its votaries. Among the collections of these sacred things are found the strangest objects, products both of nature and of art, side by side. The name *fetishism* is not really at all appropriate to this form of worship, since it owes its origin to a mistake. For when the Portuguese voyagers came to certain regions to which but

little civilization or knowledge had penetrated, and to which no Europeans had ever found their way before (such as the countries of the Negroes in Africa for instance), they saw the natives worshipping certain objects, and supposed that they were instruments of Magic. So they called this form of religion after their word *fetisso* which means a *charm*. The name *animism*, derived from the Latin word *anima*, "soul," implies that the savages think of their sacred objects as living and having souls. We shall use the word *fetichism* as the one most generally employed.

Now among sacred objects of this kind, unhewn stones occupy a prominent place; and in the history of the religion of even the most highly civilized peoples, such as the Greeks, Romans, Hindoos, Arabs, and Germans, we find traces of the attachment felt by the masses to their stone-gods, an attachment often so deep that in many cases the reformers who desired to supersede these rude forms of worship by better ones, saw no chance of getting rid of the sacred stones. They tried therefore to find some explanation of the homage paid to them. Among the Romans they made them into boundary stones, raised in honor of Terminus, the god of boundaries. In other places they explained the homage paid them by declaring that they were meteor-stones that had fallen from the sky. In other districts they were made into monuments or altars of the forefathers. When the simple faith in the consecrated stones began to languish, the learned men of the Greeks and Romans, among others, gave all manner of profound interpretations of their sanctity, and taught that these stones were the dwellings of the gods, or petrified sunbeams. But this throws no light upon the real significance they had to the minds of their ancient worshippers. Perhaps the gigantic dimensions and grotesque forms of certain masses of rock gave them the impression of strength and of something mysterious. Then some concurrence of events might lead them to believe that a certain stone had exercised a beneficial or injurious influence upon their fate; and imagination, unrestrained by habits of reflection, had thus free play. The belief that all objects were alive, contributed its share towards increasing the reverential awe for anything that had once attracted the attention, and finally the fame of the sanctity of certain stones was preserved and magnified by tradition. However this may be, the worship of stones reappears in all manner of countries. They were honored by sacrifices and were anointed with blood, wine, or oil in sign of reverence.

One of the most celebrated of all sacred stones is the Black Stone, in the Caaba, at Mecca, formerly the common sanctuary of the Arab tribes, and afterwards down to the present day, the temple of Islam. When Mohammed rose, this stone was considered the most sacred thing in the temple; and though the worship offered to it was as little in keeping with his religion as the homage paid to the other idols, yet he did not venture to attack it, and when he had conquered Mecca, though he banished all the other idols from the Caaba, he reverentially kissed this stone. In later times the learned Arabs invented all kinds of wonderful stories about it; such as that it had become so black because of the sins of men; and that the angel Gabriel had brought it to Abraham when he was building the Caaba, and so on. The stone still continued to be the most sacred object of Islam, so that in the year 930 A.D., when an hostile tribe wanted to break the neck of this religion, they could think of nothing better than to steal the black Stone. This plan accordingly was violently carried out, amid the lamentations of the inhabitants of Mecca. But it was no good after all, for now the faithful worshipped the place in the wall where the stone had been imbedded! At last it was bought back again for an enormous sum of money.

Among the ancient Israelites, too, the worship of stones was very general. The reformers among them, prophets and priests of Yahweh, certainly did their best to wipe out the remembrance of the fact, but they were not altogether successful in doing so. In Euhemeristic fashion,¹ they attempted to make the stones which were honored by the people harmless, by finding a place for them in the Yahweh-worship; and many narratives owe their origin to this attempt; but in these stories the original signification of the sacred objects shines through everywhere.

The old stone worship has also left traces behind it in some of the Israelitish proper names; as Elitsur, *i. e.*, "the rock is my god;" Tsurishaddai, "Shaddai, or 'the mighty one,' is my rock;" Tsuriel, "God is my rock;" Pedatsur, "the rock delivers." Yahweh too is frequently called the rock of his worshippers, or the rock of Israel. Now, it is quite true that this is metaphorical; just as Yahweh is often called the mountain, the shield, or the fortress of those that trust in him; but the marked preference shown for the expression "Israel's rock," and the emphasis with which it is used, show that there must have been a special reason for selecting just

¹ See pp. 104-106.

this metaphor so often; and we can find no other than that derived from the ancient worship of blocks of stone. Here is one out of many examples: ¹—

The Rock, his work is pure,
For all his ways are right.

The Rock that produced thee thou hast rejected,
And thou hast forgotten the god that bore thee.

How should one (Israelite) pursue a thousand,
And two put ten thousand to flight,
Except their (the enemies') Rock had sold them,
And Yahweh delivered them up!
For their Rock is not as our Rock.

In these lines "the Rock" is used in exactly the same sense as the word, *god*. The name generally used to signify the sacred stones, which were found in great numbers by most altars and also standing alone, was *massebah*, a word the literal meaning of which is simply "something which is set up." In the Authorized Version it is translated "an image."² The Romans called them "anointed stones" on account of the manner in which they were usually worshipped.

Now Bethel was one of the places at which there was a sacred stone. This city, the name of which signifies "God's house," was, as is well known, of the greatest importance in the religion of Israel, especially after the division of the kingdom; for there Jeroboam raised one of his golden oxen, and since Bethel was situated on the southern boundary of the kingdom, not far from Jerusalem, this sanctuary was the most important of the rivals of the temple of Sion. It was called the king's sanctuary.³ But although by the setting up of this image of an ox it was consecrated as a temple of Yahweh, the pilgrims who came there were also much given to the worship of a certain stone, which was probably situated within the consecrated area of the temple, while a sacred oak in the neighborhood of the place had also a powerful attraction for them. This oak was called, for some unknown reason, "the oak of weeping." Now the priests and prophets of Yahweh were bent upon rooting out these primeval forms of worship; and on account of the importance of the city, they gave themselves more trouble to do so in this case than in that of similar national sanctuaries in other localities. This is why such repeated mention of the worship of Yahweh at Bethel is made in

¹ Deuteronomy xxxii. 4, 18, 30, 31.

² For example in 2 Kings xxiii. 14. Hosea iii. 4.

³ Amos vii. 13.

the legends about the Patriarchs;¹ but it is not certain that the same stone is referred to in every case. The following story amongst others was called into existence by the desire to proclaim the high antiquity of the sanctuary there as a temple of Yahweh, and to make a sacred stone harmless:—

On his journey from Beersheba to Haran Jacob came to the Canaanite city Luz. Near this place he had to spend the night, for the sun went down, so he took a stone, which he found there, laid it under his head and fell asleep. But his sleep was not undisturbed, for in his dream he saw a ladder set upon the ground, the top of which reached to the vault of heaven, and on which angels of God climbed up and down. Meanwhile Yahweh stood by him and said, "I am Yahweh, the god of Abraham and Isaac! The land on which you are now sleeping I will give to you and to your posterity; and your descendants shall be innumerable as the dust of the earth, and you shall spread to all the countries under heaven, so that all men shall bless each other by making mention of you and of your posterity,² saying, 'God prosper you as Jacob and his children!' And, as for the season now coming, I will be with you and will protect you everywhere, until I have brought you back again to this land and accomplished all my promises to you."

Full of reverential awe and a certain holy terror Jacob woke, and as he thought of all he had seen and heard, he said in glad surprise: "Truly, Yahweh is here too! I knew not that. What a dreadful place is this! It is no less than a house of God; it is a gate of heaven!" In the morning Jacob took the stone which had served him for a pillow and set it up as a *massebah*, and then anointed it with oil.

He took occasion from this appearance of the deity to call the city, which had hitherto been known as Luz, Bethel, that is "house of god." At the same time he made a vow that if Yahweh protected him on his journey, and provided food and clothing for him, so that he returned in prosperity to his parents' home, he would acknowledge him as his god, and would give him tithes of all his possessions, while the spot on which the anointed stone was raised should be a god's house to him.

Let us be careful in thinking over this story not to water down its contents by ascribing modern notions to Jacob or the writer. To the question "Where is God?" we have

¹ For example, Genesis xii. 8, xiii. 4, xxxv. 1 sqq.

² After an amended version; see also p. 109.

been accustomed from childhood to hear the answer "Everywhere," so that it is difficult for us really to enter into the thoughts of men who had no idea of such an answer, but believed that their god was only present in certain places. If we are to understand antiquity, however, we must try to place ourselves at this point of view. In the conception of the Israelite who wrote our narrative, and of all those who surrounded him, Yahweh was confined to a definite place, just like a man. He lived in heaven, and sometimes came from thence to visit the earth. He did not come down to all places alike, however, but only to some few selected spots where he revealed himself in dreams and visions, or in personal intercourse, and where he heard the prayers of the faithful, while the offerings that had been brought there, rose up to him. It is true that Yahweh sometimes sent one of his messengers or angels with those he loved, so that they were under his indirect protection everywhere, but he himself was only to be found in certain places, which were considered sacred on this account, and were often up on hills, but sometimes on lower ground. Any one who would see him, who had a favor to ask of him or an offering to bring him, must seek him at these spots.

This seems to us a very mistaken idea, and we are ready enough to accuse those who cling to it of narrowness. We are quite right in doing so; for the idea that the deity is only present in certain places shows a want of reflection; but it may well be that it was sometimes coupled with a far greater measure of religiousness than is to be met with in those who declare without hesitation that God is everywhere.

For it is not so much the contents of our creed as the way by which we have arrived at our convictions that determines our religiousness; not what we believe, but how or why we believe it. If we declare that God is everywhere, only because we argue it out, as we may easily do, it proves nothing for the earnestness of our spiritual life; with this belief we may still live like heathens. On the other hand, take Jacob — to make the truth apparent in his person — as a type! He has to leave the tent of his father. It goes to his heart to do so, for it is sad to say farewell to those whom we love, and all the little spots to which tender recollections are bound. But the heaviest blow to him is this, that he must wander away from the sacred Beersheba. There Yahweh dwelt. There he had appeared again and again to his grandfather and father. There he had received their offerings and

had blessed them. Nay, had not he himself passed many hours, he could never forget, in the shadow of the sacred tree? Had he not in times of trouble felt the consoling presence of his god? Had he not been terrified by the darkness that surrounded Yahweh, and filled with awe and wonder by the consuming fire? Now he must leave that consecrated spot and wander away through regions where Yahweh was not? How would it go with him on his journey? He would have to pass through deserts, to cross rivers, to brave the fury and the cunning of wild beasts — and all this without Yahweh by to help him! Or would this god, who had been so good to his family, send an angel to accompany him? Yahweh dwelt at Beersheba and by the well Lahai-roi, but yet he dwelt by the oak at Mamre and elsewhere too; might he not have a place of revelation somewhere here? How the wanderer longed to make him an offering! It would be such a comfort to him on his journey! Amid such thoughts he lays himself down in weariness to rest. He does not fear the wild beasts now. Yahweh, he hopes, will send a messenger to protect him. And in his sleep he sees the ladder reared between earth and heaven, he sees Yahweh standing by him, and he hears the promise of protection, and then he wakes and cries out, "Yahweh is here too! This is a house-of-god!"

A faith which springs up in such a way as this is the fruit of religiousness; and this is the way in which the belief in holy places rose. Where the pious saw themselves particularly blessed or where important revelations were vouchsafed to them, where good thoughts rose within them or dangers were averted, there they said, "Our god is working here!" A great deal must often have taken place in the life and soul of a man then before he came to recognize a place as holy; nay, it often needed more reflection than it costs many a one to argue that since, as he has always heard, there is one almighty Being—God, this God is of course everywhere, because if he were not he would not be infinite and almighty.

For us every place is holy in which we have felt by experience that God exists, where we have mourned over our trespasses or have formed good resolutions, where holy thoughts have risen within us or some true consolation has fallen to our lot, where our vocation has become clearer before our eyes and faith in our destiny has been quickened. So we do not believe in our hearts that God is everywhere

until we have found out that we can experience his presence in all places, and can receive his blessing everywhere if our heart is rightly tuned.

CHAPTER XXIV.

JACOB AND LABAN.

GEN. XXIX. - XXXII. 3.

TWO reasons for the departure of Jacob to Haran are given in Genesis. We have been told already that he went there through fear of Esau's vengeance; but we find another account besides this that differs very widely from it, and is evidently by another writer. It runs as follows:¹—

When Esau was forty years old he took two Canaanite wives² and they vexed the souls of Isaac and Rebekah. Rebekah, therefore, said to her husband, "I am grieved about these Hethite women. If Jacob were to follow Esau's example, and marry a woman of this country, I should wish to die." Acting upon his wife's exhortation, Isaac called Jacob to him, and, after having blessed him, gave him this injunction: "You must not take one of the inhabitants of this country for your wife; but go rather to Padan Aram, to the house of Bethuel, your mother's father, and choose a wife from among your kindred. And God Almighty (El-Shaddai) bless you and give you a numerous posterity, so that many tribes may spring from you! May he lay upon you and your posterity the blessing of Abraham, that you may have possession of the land in which you are a stranger, that he promised him!" Thus Isaac sent Jacob away to Padan Aram to Laban, the son of Bethuel the Aranæan (or Syrian). Now when Esau saw that his father had blessed Jacob, and sent him to Padan Aram to bring a wife thence, and had told him not to marry a Canaanite wife, he was reminded afresh of his parents' strong disapproval of his own marriage with women of the country; so he married a relative, an Ishmaelite woman, as well.

It is easy to see that this story differs considerably from the one related in our last chapter but one. There Esau is the favorite of Isaac, who desires to bless him, and only makes Jacob the head of his brothers by mistake. Here, on

¹ Genesis xxvi. 34, 35, xxvii. 46-xxviii. 9.

² See p. 167.

the other hand, Isaac thinks just as Rebekah does about Esau. His marriages with Hethite wives are a thorn in the flesh of both, and induce Isaac knowingly and intentionally to call down the blessing of Abraham upon Jacob's head. There Jacob obtains the birthright and his father's blessing in an underhand manner. Here he is the obedient son, who goes to Mesopotamia to seek a wife after the heart of his parents, so as not to forfeit their favor as Esau had done. Now attempts have been made to bring these two stories into agreement with each other, by saying that Rebekah represented to Isaac how desirable it would be for Jacob to marry one of his own kindred, simply in order to gain his consent to the departure of his younger son: but there is not a single word that points to this conclusion; and if it is correct, then surely Isaac is made out a most feeble creature, for he renews, of his own free will and without a word of reproach, the blessing gained in the first instance by a fraud. Nor can we understand how Esau could determine to marry an Ishmaelite wife "because Isaac had blessed Jacob and sent him to Padan Aram to fetch a wife" if the blessing had really been stolen already.

In the account of Jacob's departure from Beersheba to seek a wife among his kindred, we have a portion of the "Book of Origins" before us; and here as elsewhere¹ that work gives but colorless figures to the patriarchs. There were some old legends, on the other hand, that gave Jacob very characteristic features; for his name that was interpreted "deceiver"² led the popular tradition to describe him as a crafty man, and in this character he actually appears in one set of the legends concerning him. In others, on the contrary, he is simply sketched as the blessed one of his god, whose help he can never celebrate enough. Here is the story that has grown out of the union of these two sets of legends, in the form in which we now have it:—

After he had received the promises of God's protection at Bethel, Jacob went on to the land of the men of the East. When he reached it he came upon some flocks of sheep and goats pasturing round a well in a plain. Jacob was surprised to see this, for it was before noon, and he wondered why the shepherds did not water their flocks and then drive them further on their way. As he wanted to find out the reason of their conduct, he entered into conversation with them and asked them where they came from. "We are men of Haran"

¹ See pp. 107, 108.

² Genesis xxvii. 36.

was the reply. Haran! then he had reached his journey's end already! He asked for information about his kindred at once. "Do you know Laban, the son of Nahor?" They said they did, and in answer to further questions Jacob learned that his uncle was doing well, and that they were expecting his daughter Rachel to arrive with her flocks every moment. This brought him back to the point that had first led him to address them, so he asked, "Why are you wasting your time at the well here? For it is too soon to collect the flocks." "We cannot water our flocks," they said, "till we are all here and can unite our strength to roll away the stone that lies over the mouth of the well."

He was still talking with them, when behold Rachel drew near with her father's flocks. No sooner did Jacob see her with the cattle of his mother's brother, than he strode up to the mouth of the well and with the strength of a giant rolled away the stone, and then watered the flocks. Rachel looked on in amazement, which soon made way, however, for joyful surprise, when the stranger came up to her and, greeting her with a kiss and bursting into tears of joy, made himself known as her cousin, the son of Rebekah. She hurried back to her father, who came with all speed to meet Jacob, and when he found him, embraced and brought him home affectionately. Then Jacob had to tell his story, and when it was over Laban cried, "You are my own flesh and blood! Look upon my house as upon that of your father!"

Now, when Jacob had been with Laban a month, helping him to pasture his flocks, his uncle said to him, "See, you are like a brother to me! why should you serve me for nothing? Tell me what your wages shall be." Jacob soon had an answer ready; for he had fallen in love with Rachel, his younger cousin, who was far more beautiful than her sister Leah, whose eyes were dull. He offered, therefore, to serve his uncle seven years for the hand of Rachel. Laban consented. For Jacob the seven years flew past like a few days, for he loved Rachel so, and when they were over he demanded her in marriage, and Laban, like a man of his word, consented. But when the wedding day came he made difficulties about it, and compelled Jacob to marry Leah instead of Rachel, since it was not right, he said, for the younger to be married before the elder sister. To make it right again, however, he proposed that Jacob should marry Rachel as well, and then serve him for seven more years, and to this the disappointed Jacob consented.

But though the precedence had thus been given Leah, Jacob still loved Rachel most. It seemed, however, as if Yahweh had determined to make up for this slight, for while her sister remained childless Leah gave birth to four sons, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah. Rachel, in her jealousy of Leah, determined to "build up her house by her slave girl," as Sarah had done.¹ So she gave her servant Bilhah to Jacob as a secondary wife; and she had two sons, Dan and Naphtali, of whom Rachel was just as proud as if they had been her own children. But Leah, fearing to be outdone by her sister, determined to adopt the same means of increasing the number of her own sons. So she gave her slave girl Zilpah to Jacob for a wife. Gad and Asher sprang from this union, and when Leah herself had a fifth son, Issachar, and then a sixth, Zebulun, and finally a daughter, Dinah, Rachel was thoroughly defeated. But at last Yahweh thought of her, and she too had a son. This child, for whom she had waited so long, she called Joseph.

When this happiness had befallen Jacob the desire rose in his heart of returning to the land of his birth, and before long he asked Laban's leave to go. But the latter by no means fell in with the plan. He declared at once that Jacob had served him well, and even that Yahweh had evidently blessed him for his sake; and so he pressed him earnestly to stay with him. If he would do so he might name his own terms. Jacob declared that though he was quite aware that while he had had charge of his uncle's flocks they had increased enormously, yet he would be content with but a small reward, one of no significance at all in fact—all the speckled and spotted sheep and goats should be his share. Laban agreed, and as soon as the animals were sorted he separated his flocks so far from those of his son-in-law that it was impossible they should get mixed. But Jacob was too cunning for him. He himself fed the flocks of his uncle, who had a high opinion of his skill as a herdsman. But this skill now enabled Jacob to look after himself. He knew all kinds of tricks for managing that most of the lambs should be born spotted or piebald, and he plied his arts so cleverly that he soon became very very rich, not only in small cattle but in male and female slaves, in camels and in asses.

But a rich man is soon envied, as Jacob now discovered. Laban's sons complained that their father suffered great loss

¹ See p. 126.

by the arrangement he had made. They could not bear the sight of Jacob's prosperity. Their words gradually began to have some effect upon Laban himself, and Jacob soon perceived that his father-in-law was no longer so favorably disposed towards him as he had formerly been. Then Yahweh commanded him to go back to Canaan. So Jacob called Rachel and Leah and put the whole matter before them : "Your father," he said, "is no longer what he was to me. But it is not my fault. The god of my father has helped me, and you know how faithfully I have served your father. But he has not treated me well. He has altered the terms of my service ten times, but God has not allowed him to injure me by it ; for if we had agreed that I was to have all the piebald lambs and kids, then all the sheep and goats dropped piebald young ; but if on the other hand we had agreed that my wage was to consist of all the speckled ones, then speckled young kept coming into the world. Thus God has given me all your father's wealth. Indeed he foretold as much to me in a dream, in which he said that he would make all the lambs just of the very sort that was to be my share, because your father treated me so badly. Moreover he made himself known to me as the god of Bethel, where I raised that anointed stone." Rachel and Leah thought that their husband was quite right. They declared that they were altogether severed from their father's house and had still more to complain of than Jacob had himself ; for they were indignant with their father for having sold them as if they were strangers, and were of opinion that the whole of the wealth that God had taken from their father's property belonged to them and to their sons. They declared, therefore, that they were quite ready to comply with Jacob's wishes.

So once when Laban was at a sheep-shearers' feast, Jacob took the opportunity of making off, taking all his property with him, and at the same time Rachel took her father's household gods (*teraphim*) with her. Jacob set out on the way to Canaan, crossed the Euphrates, directed his course towards the mountains of Gilead, and had just reached them, on the seventh day, when he was overtaken by Laban, who had not heard of his departure till the third day after he had gone. Laban was very angry, especially about the household gods having been stolen, and had no very gentle thoughts as regarded his nephew. So the meeting might have been a very unpleasant one and might even have ended in bloodshed, if God had not helped his favorite and warned Laban not to

do him any kind of harm. As it was, all went off quietly, though Laban reproached Jacob for having slipped away without warning, and declared that if he had known of his intention he would have given him a festal escort. Jacob excused himself by saying that he had been afraid that Laban would not leave his daughters free to accompany him.

But when Laban accused him of having taken away the *teraphim*, he stoutly maintained his innocence, and gave his father-in-law leave to search all the tents, declaring that any one in whose possession the stolen goods were found should be put to death. This was a rash promise; for he ought to have remembered that a great deal might have gone on that he knew nothing about. Rachel, however, who had not told her husband what she had done, managed to escape detection; for she hid the *teraphim* in the pannier that was usually fixed on the camel's back to carry the women, and then went and lay down on it herself, pretending to be ill; and when her father came to search the tent, she begged him not to be offended with her for not rising, as she was unwell. So he could not find what he had lost; and Jacob assumed a tone of injured innocence and said: "Now just see what you have been hunting me down in this way for! What injury have I done you? What have I stolen from you? Have I not always served you faithfully these twenty years—fourteen years for your daughters and six years for your cattle? Have I not looked after your interests at the cost of my own? And all you have done has been to change my wage ten times, so that if the god of Abraham and the Terror of Isaac had not helped me, I should have been a beggar when I left you."

Laban now dropped all hostile intentions and proposed to Jacob that they should make an alliance together. Jacob agreed, and raised a *massebah*. Then the dependants of both of them raised a great heap of stones, by which they took their meal. They called this artificial hill of stones "the heap of the witness," which is "Gilead" in Hebrew. It has given its name to a certain district beyond the Jordan. Then Laban cried, "God bear witness that when we have left each other you are to treat my daughters well, and marry no more wives! Moreover this heap of stones and this *massebah* are witnesses that we will never cross this boundary with hostile intentions towards each other. May the gods of Abraham and of Nahor judge between us!" Then they swore to observe this covenant—Jacob's oath being in the name of the Terror of Isaac. After that Jacob prepared a feast in cele-

bration of the covenant, and next morning each of them went on his way.

When Jacob was pursuing his journey again there came angels of God to meet him, and when he saw them he exclaimed, "It is a camp (*Mahanim*) of God!" So the place is called Mahanaim.

We should certainly have placed but small reliance on this oath of Jacob, and for the best of reasons! How can we rest anything upon the faith of a man who plays such a shameful part as Jacob does in this affair? He cheats his father-in-law, — who is certainly just as bad as he is himself however, — he sees his own possessions constantly increasing and those of Laban diminishing in consequence of all kinds of tricks that he practises, and yet the name of God is ever on his lips, he speaks to his wives of their father's injustice, complains of his want of kindly feeling towards him, and talks about the blessing of God by which he has grown rich. A most repulsive figure! Nay, a depth of immorality that makes us shudder is opened before us, for what is more detestable than for a man to have the name of God in his mouth and faithlessness in his heart.

Not to do the Israelites the injustice of supposing that they saw no harm in such a dishonest way of life, we must bear in mind what I mentioned before beginning to tell the story, namely, that it is put together out of two legends. In the one Jacob becomes rich at Laban's cost by his dishonorable practices, whereas in the other he is represented as an honorable man who is cheated by Laban, first of all on occasion of his marriage, and afterwards by constant changing of his wages; but all this only brings out more and more clearly the faithfulness of his god, who blesses him with children and with wealth, who restrains Laban from injuring him, and whose angels he meets by the Jordan.

The writers of these original stories had of course certain definite objects before them. One of these objects comes very clearly into view. The writer, namely, who gives us such a detailed account of the birth of Jacob's children, adding the explanation of their names — which I have omitted, however, because it can only be understood when we have the Hebrew words from which they are said to be derived before us, — this writer desired to assign its proper rank to each of the tribes of Israel. With the exception of Benjamin, whose birth has not been mentioned yet, the tribe of Joseph, that is

of Ephraim and Manasseh, occupies the first place in his estimation. It is true that Joseph is not the eldest son, that is to say, that other tribes had gained settled abodes and become influential at an earlier period; but he is the son of the dearly loved Rachel; he is the long expected one, after whose birth Jacob desires at once to return to Canaan as if the object of his stay in a foreign land were now accomplished. After the twofold tribe of Joseph came Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun as being of purer Israelite blood than the other tribes. This is why they are called the children of Leah, a wife of the first rank. The tribes on the other hand, that are said to be the children of the slaves, are of less noble blood in the writer's estimation.

Again, these legends teach the lesson that friendly relations ought to subsist between Israel and Aram or Syria; explain the origin of the worship of *teraphim* in Israel; and above all declare emphatically that the Israelites, unlike the Edomites, have no Canaanite blood in their veins, and in this way vehemently oppose matrimonial alliances with the Canaanites, in which many Israelites saw no harm. In later times we shall hear of this disputed point again and again.

The accounts of Jacob's cunning lead us to ask what idea of honor the writer can have had. In speaking of the legends of Abraham we could not help noticing that the feelings of the ancient Israelites on this point were none of the finest;¹ and here we have a further proof of the fact. But we must be careful not to exaggerate. We must not suppose that at the time when this story was composed, that is to say after the division of the kingdom, the Israelites had still so little idea of honesty as not to disapprove of Jacob's conduct towards Esau, Isaac, and Laban. They were not so morally dull as that, or at least the more enlightened amongst them were not. The commandment: thou shalt not steal! had not been a dead letter amongst them. The law-givers settled a penalty for theft, namely that the thief was to restore at least twice as much as he had stolen.² The proverb-makers, or sagas, whose object was above everything to promote goodness, condemned both stealing and underhand trickery in the strongest terms. They considered it quite right that a thief should be punished even if it were to satisfy his hunger that he had stolen.³ They were zealous against the use of false weights

¹ Pp. 111, 112.

² Exodus xxii. 4.

³ Proverbs vi. 30, 31, after an amended version.

and measures, and called a deceitful pair of scales and a double ephah (a certain measure for dry wares) an abomination in the sight of Yahweh.¹ They uttered warnings against removing boundary stones and thereby appropriating a part of the fields of orphans.² The truth that ill-gotten wealth does not thrive, lived in their hearts, and was expressed in their predictions, "Who sows iniquity shall reap adversity;"³ "A possession that grows too fast at first will not be blessed at last;"⁴ "However good stolen bread may taste after a while it turns to sand in the mouth."⁵ Nor did liars or men of a double heart⁶ find mercy at the hands of Israel's preachers of righteousness, for they mentioned the tongue of deceit among the things that Yahweh hates,⁷ and spoke in praise of eyes that look straight before them.⁸ It need hardly be said that the prophets of Israel never spared the thief or cheat, but inveighed against dishonesty and underhand proceedings with all their power.⁹

Now the writer of our story no doubt quite agreed with those who were so zealous against all kinds of cheating. He never thought of approving of the conduct of Jacob, according to his own account of him. And yet we can see, from the way in which he tells us about him, that he had no very high standard of honesty; for he evidently took a certain delight in Jacob's cunning. He speaks of the patriarch's tricks with the same kind of pleasure that many of us too feel in hearing of ingenious plots and cleverly executed knaveries. But the one thing that is worst of all, and that really does need some explanation, is that the wealth obtained by Jacob, in consequence of all this cheating, is called a blessing of Yahweh. How is it possible? That a man may grow rich by dishonest means is but too true; but if any one who had done so were to say that he had become possessed of his wealth by the blessing of God, we should consider him a hypocrite. And yet this writer, who represents Jacob as a cheat, and condemns his conduct, acknowledges at the same moment that these knaveries enabled him, by the blessing of his god, to obtain the right of the first-born son, his father's blessing, and the greatest wealth. How is this to be explained? In this story we have one of the results of nature-worship before us. The Israelites saw the hand of their god especially in the

¹ Proverbs xi. 1, xx. 10, 23.

² Proverbs xxii. 8.

³ Proverbs xi. 20.

⁴ Amos viii. 5, for example.

⁵ Proverbs xv. 25, xxii. 28, xxiii. 10.

⁶ Proverbs xx. 21.

⁷ Proverbs vi. 17.

⁸ Proverbs xx. 17.

⁹ Proverbs iv. 25.

phenomena of nature and in prosperity or adversity ; so that riches, honor, health, and a number of children, were regarded as the consequences of the favor of their god ; and poverty, sickness, and childlessness were signs of his displeasure. Such a god is not a morally good being, and may do all kinds of things from mere caprice or even from ignoble motives. Is not nature often fickle and capricious? Can we find any reason connected with the demands of the moral law why the lightning should strike one man's house and spare another's? Surely not! A successful man was said by the Israelite to be blessed by God. But suppose a man had become rich by cheating? Well, in that case he was a bad man ; but still he was blessed by God. They could not argue otherwise ; for a nature-god is not a morally good being. And so it was possible for a man to attribute base actions to his god and yet be religious ; to be zealous for his honor and ready to sacrifice himself to him if need were, and yet at the same time to be of a very low moral type.

This was the position of the Israelites, as of all ancient peoples. It is true that from the time of Moses onward the moral requirements of God were placed more and more in the foreground, but they were never very closely connected with religion properly so called ; and the Israelites never got quite beyond the imperfect views of nature-worship. Even among Christians there are many who still hold them. We must not think it hypocrisy, then, if a king, who takes violent possession of a part of the territory of his neighbor, calls upon the Lord of hosts as he does so, and appears to see in the victories he has won a proof of God's approbation of what he has done. It is conceivable that he is quite sincere in this. He may be a religious man. But in this case his god is a nature-god and not much more.

It is only when we have learned to see in God above all the perfectly Good, the morally Holy, so as to feel that our consciences are bound by him and that we are dependent on him in all we do or leave undone ; it is only then that it becomes impossible for us to tell a lie and yet be zealous for God, or to think that he will send his blessing upon the frauds of men.



CHAPTER XXV.

JACOB'S RETURN TO THE FATHERLAND.

GEN. XXXII. 3-XXXIII. 20, XXXV.

WHEN Jacob had broken up his camp at Mahanaim, so the account goes on, he began to fear that a meeting with his brother Esau might lead to anything but pleasant consequences. They had so little in common! So he sent an embassy to Mount Seir to inform his brother that he had grown rich with Laban, and now desired his friendship. The messengers soon returned with the news that Esau, at the head of four hundred men, was coming to meet his brother. Terrified by this information, Jacob separated his servants and flocks, with a heavy heart, into two caravans, anxiously thinking as he did so, "Even if Esau attacks and destroys one of them, yet the other may escape!"

When he had completed these precautionary arrangements he prayed, "O Yahweh, god of Abraham and of Isaac! thou who hast commanded me to turn again to the country of my birth, and hast promised that all shall be well with me! I am unworthy of all the kindness and faithfulness thou hast shown thy servant, for I crossed this river Jordan with nothing but the staff I held in my hand, and now I have grown into two companies. O rescue me from the power of my brother Esau! For I fear that with unsparing ferocity he will destroy everything, even the mother that hides her children with her body. O rescue me, for thou hast said to me, 'I will make all well with you, and will multiply your offspring as the sand on the sea-shore.'"

Next morning he took still further precautions. He prepared a rich present of hundreds of sheep, goats, oxen, camels, and asses. Each kind of animal was given separately in charge to several shepherds; they were to be driven, a flock at a time, to meet Esau, and the shepherds were all instructed what to answer when Esau met them and asked whose dependants they were, where they were going, and for whom all these animals were intended. They were to reply, "We are servants of Jacob, who sends this present to Esau, and is following us himself." By this means he hoped to make a favorable impression upon his more powerful and warlike brother, and so to secure a gracious reception at his hands.

When it was night again he sent his wives and children and all his property across the ferry of the river Jabbok, while he himself remained behind alone, and no human eye, therefore, witnessed what now took place. A man came and wrestled with Jacob until break of day, and when he saw that he could not overcome the patriarch he grasped his hip, twisted it out of joint as he wrestled with him, and said, "Let me go, for it is day already!" But Jacob answered, "No! not till you have blessed me!" Then his adversary asked him, "What is your name?" and on being told that it was Jacob he said, "Henceforward you shall no longer be called Jacob, but Israel (striver-of-god), for you have striven with god and man and given proof of your might." Still only half content, Jacob said to him, "Tell me what is your name;" this, however, the unknown visitant refused to do, but he pronounced a solemn blessing upon him and disappeared. Then Jacob called the place Penuel, that is *face-of-god*, because he had seen God there face to face, and nevertheless remained alive. Then as he crossed the Jabbok the sun rose. The patriarch limped in consequence of the dislocation of his hip; and that is why the Israelites never eat the hip-sinew of any animal.

When Jacob had reached the further side of the Jabbok, the meeting he so much dreaded must soon take place. In the distance he sees Esau with four hundred warriors drawing near. There is just time to carry out one more measure. The two slave-wives and their children are placed in the front part of the caravan, then comes Leah with her children, and lastly, quite in the rear, the most precious treasure of all, — Rachel with her son Joseph. Jacob himself takes the lead. Then Esau draws near, while his brother falls humbly seven times upon the ground before him. But see! his fear was needless, for Esau hastens to meet him, falls upon his neck and kisses him. The two brothers burst into tears of joy. "Who are these?" asks Esau, glancing at Jacob's wives and their children. "These are the sons with which God has blessed your servant," is Jacob's humble answer. Bilhah and Zilpah draw near with their sons and bow down before the mighty Esau, then Leah with her six, and lastly the most dearly loved of all with her one son. "And for whom is all that army that met me on my way?" asks the Bedouin prince. "It is a present for you," answers Jacob, "that you may be gracious to me." "I have abundance already," replies the lord of Seir, "keep what is your own." But Jacob, to whom his brother's favor is of such vast consequence, presses it upon

him, saying, "Ah no! do me the favor of accepting my present, for I am rejoiced to see your face, that is like the face of a god to me, and you receive me so kindly! Take what I offer you, for God has made me rich."

Esau soon proposed to Jacob that they should stay together; but the shepherd prince, much as he rejoiced to see his brother, did not think this a suitable arrangement, and objected that his caravan included little children, and sheep and cattle still suckling their young, that would die if driven too hard even a single day. He must accommodate himself to the state of his own affairs; which was more than could be expected of Esau. It would be better therefore for the latter to go on to Mount Seir in advance, and he would join him there. Esau's offer to leave part of his escort to protect his brother was also declined; and the two went on their several ways, — Esau to Seir and Jacob to Succoth. Here he built a house and some cattle-sheds, after which he called the place Succoth, that is *sheds*. From Succoth the journey led to Shechem, and — Jacob was once more in Canaan! At Shechem he bought the piece of land on which he had encamped from the inhabitants, and raised an altar there and called it "the god of gods of Israel."¹

At Shechem he received commandment to go to Bethel, and to raise an altar there to the god who had appeared to him on his outward journey, when he was fleeing from Esau. In order to perform this duty in a becoming way, Jacob first ordered his followers to put away all the foreign gods they worshipped, and to purify themselves by changing their clothes and washing themselves. All these gods and the amulets that the members of his household carried in their ears were buried at the foot of the sacred tree, the "teacher's oak,"² at Shechem. Great fear took hold of all the surrounding tribes, so that they let Jacob pass in safety; and when he came to Bethel he raised an altar there, and called it "the god of Bethel," because the deity had formerly appeared to him there.

Here Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, died. They buried her to the south of Bethel, under an oak, which was called after this circumstance Allon-bachuth, "the oak of weeping." Hence they travelled southwards, to the region of Ephrath, but before they reached it Rachel had a second son, whose birth cost her her life. The dying mother called her son Ben-oni, "son of anguish," but Jacob called him Benjamin, "son of the right hand," that is to say, "son of fortune," for when a

¹ After an amended version.

² See p. 110.

wizard stood with his face to the east appearances in the south, which would be to his right, were considered fortunate. An anointed stone was raised at Rachel's grave, and was afterwards known as "the stone of Rachel's grave." Thence they passed on to Migdal-eder, "the tower of the flock," where Jacob pitched his tents.

Thus had the wanderer returned to the land of his birth.

This story does not come from the same hand as the pictures of Jacob deceiving his brother, father, and uncle; nor should we say, from reading it, that Esau had so many good reasons for hating Jacob. The latter is indeed afraid of his brother, looks forward with anxiety to the meeting, and even says that his present "must appease the countenance of Esau,"¹ but neither in his prayer for help nor in what he says to his brother is there a single word about any offence he has committed, nor does Esau appear to think of any for a moment. Now, we have no account from this writer of the occasion of Jacob's departure to Haran; for all he said on the subject seems to have been dropped when the legends were thrown together. We may, indeed, gather from one or two expressions that, even according to his representation, Jacob's fear was not without sufficient grounds, for when God reminded him of his having appeared to him at Luz he said² that he had revealed himself to him "when he was fleeing from Esau;" but it by no means follows that Jacob had given him cause to feel bitterly towards him by practising deceits at his expense. The only word that seems to refer to anything of the kind is the one just quoted, namely, that Jacob desired to "appease" Esau; and even this does not prove that Jacob was conscious of having done anything wrong; for the author of Proverbs xvi. 14, for instance, in saying that "the king's wrath is a message of death, and a wise man, therefore, seeks to appease him," does not mean to say that a king is never angry without sufficient reason. As it is uncertain, therefore, whether any account of Jacob's deception preceded this account of the meeting of the brothers, I have not ventured to represent Esau as the pattern of a forgiving disposition, which he would certainly have been, to a great extent, if he had had such good reasons for anger as those mentioned by the other writer. I have only represented Esau then as a powerful and rough, but liberal and generous, Bedouin chief, kindly disposed towards his weaker and more cultivated and prudent brother.

¹ Genesis xxxii. 20.

² Genesis xxxv. 1, 7.

The materials from which the portion of the legend of Jacob, of which we have now spoken, is formed, are of many kinds. The desire to explain names and usages was evidently a powerful incentive to the author. He gives us derivations of the names Mahanaim, Penuel, Jabbok (an allusion to which is contained in the Hebrew word that means "to wrestle"), Israel, Succoth, Allon-bachuth, and Benjamin; and the significance of the practice of refraining from eating the hip sinew, of the sacred oak, and the consecrated stone at Shechem, of the *massebah* at Bethel, and of Rachel's grave, is pointed out.

Here we have another account of the stone at Bethel. This writer had indeed mentioned that Jacob had a dream at Bethel, but the account of his raising a *massebah*¹ was from the hand of the writer who uses the divine name Yahweh. The great interest felt by the Israelites in this stone, this "god of Bethel," as it is called in so many words² in this story, is shown by the fact that both these writers devote their attention to it. Moreover it is mentioned again in the "Book of Origins;" for though the author of that work treated the fortunes of the patriarchs so briefly, he devoted several verses³ to the remarkable stone at Bethel and to the origin of the name of the place. He tells us that God appeared to Jacob after his return from Padan Aram, blessed him, altered his name from Jacob to Israel, and foretold that there should be kings amongst his descendants, and that they should have possession of Canaan. After this appearance of God, Jacob gave the Canaanite city Luz the name of Bethel, "house-of-god," and anointed a sacred stone there.

A word must be said about the account of Rachel's grave. It is said, by way of fixing the spot, that she died after they had left Bethel and were still some distance from Ephrath, and that Jacob having buried her on the spot, went on and came to Migdal-eder.⁴ Now to the name "Ephrath" an explanatory note "that is Bethlehem" is added, both here and in a later passage where Rachel's grave is mentioned.⁵ Rachel's grave accordingly may be found marked on the maps near Bethlehem. On our map, however, it has a note of interrogation placed after it there,⁶ because this addition, "Ephrath is Bethlehem" is perhaps a mistake. The district

¹ See chapter xxiii.

² Genesis xxxv. 7.

³ Genesis xxxv. 6 (first part), 9-15.

⁴ Genesis xxxv. 16-21.

⁵ Genesis xlviii. 7.

⁶ See map iv. Jerusalem and its neighborhood

of Ephraim lay in the territory of Benjamin, a little to the south of Bethel, north therefore of Jerusalem, as is indicated indeed in the story itself.

The point that excites our attention most in the account of Jacob's return, is his wrestling with God. To us there is something so extraordinary and even shocking, alike to head and heart, in the representation of a man wrestling bodily with God, that we can hardly imagine how thoughtful and religious men could ever have related such a story. Yet this is clearly what is meant; for though the Being with whom Jacob has been wrestling gives him no answer when he asks his name, yet the fact that he is a divine being comes out clearly enough in the explanation of the name Israel, "You have striven with God (or with gods) and men," and also in Jacob's exclamation when he calls the place Peniel "face-of-god," namely "I have seen God face to face and am yet living." So too the legend is understood by the prophet Hosea, when he mentions, in allusion to it, Jacob's wrestling with God or with an angel.¹ We see moreover that it is no symbolical wrestling, — no continuous entreaty, for instance, — but a veritable bodily conflict that is intended, from the trait of the dislocation of Jacob's hip, from which the custom of never eating the hip-sinew is explained. The real origin of this custom, which is only referred to here and in a single passage in the Talmud, is quite unknown.

We cannot help asking how in the world people got hold of such ideas. To find a proper answer to this question, we must remember in the first place that we are now in the region of polytheism (belief in many gods). The belief that there is one only God is entirely wanting in the old Israelite legends. We have often noticed this fact already, and the name of the anointed stone at Shechem — "the god of gods of Israel" — is a fresh proof of it. Even if we translate the expression here used, "El is the god of Israel," which it may also mean, it makes no real difference; for if a man can speak of "a god of Israel" or "a god of Bethel," he does not recognize the unity of God. It stands to reason that if a man believes in the existence of a number of gods, the interval between gods and men is far smaller and the intercourse between the two far more familiar in his conception than if the name "God" make him think of one single, infinite, perfect Being.

Stories of struggles between gods and men, in which the

¹ Hosea xii. 4, 5.

So in the celebrated poem of the Swedish Tegnér, the Frithiof's saga, the hero Frithiof kills Ham, the winter wind, and Hejd, the hailstorm, with his spears.

What we now consider a poetical mode of speaking was literally true to the ancients. With spear, club, arrow, or sword the heroes fought against the hostile powers of nature, against the gods. The Israelite, too, when he had to brave the violence of storm and lightning, of the scorching east wind, or of a water-spout, recognized in these phenomena gods who desired his destruction. His highly wrought imagination, the fruit of fear and ignorance, taught him actually to see these beings rushing wildly about him. If he was killed by the lightning, people said he was overcome by the deity; but if he escaped the danger by his intrepidity then he had triumphed over the god; and even if he had been wounded he could still boast of having won the victory, for though the mighty god had wounded him, yet he had been unable to kill him. So too a stroke or a fit of epilepsy was supposed to be an attack by some god, and even an accident, such as being struck by the fall of a tree or stone, or anything else, was believed to have been designed by some deity who was intent on taking the life of the individual in question. If he escaped uninjured therefore, or only wounded, he had parried the onset of the god.

These ideas gave rise to the stories of conflicts between gods and men; for the poets worked out the mythological expressions until they had made them into legends. The story of Jacob's wrestling was naturally suggested to the writer who recounts it by the name Israel, which he desired to ascribe to the patriarch of whom he was speaking, as the ancestor of the people of Israel, and which he interpreted, quite incorrectly however, as "warrior-of-god."

Of all these legends, as we saw just now, the "Book of Origins" has nothing but the mention of the stone at Bethel. It does not even tell us that while Jacob was away Esau moved to Seir. It simply gives the names of Jacob's twelve sons and tells us¹ that when he came back from Padan Aram he returned to his father Isaac again, and, not long after, the latter died at the age of a hundred and eighty, and was buried by his two sons. They lived together like brothers, until their possessions became so numerous that they could

¹ Genesis xxxv. 23-29, xxxvi. 6-8.

no longer stay together. Then they parted, as Abram and Lot had done before them, and Esau settled in Mount Seir.

In another connection we shall speak of a saga that is told us in connection with Jacob's stay at Shechem,¹ but which could not be understood at present without a longer digression than our readers would find pleasant.

CHAPTER XXVI.

JOSEPH, THE FAVORED OF YAHWEH.

GEN. XXXVII., XXXIX.-XLI.

FROM this point in the patriarchal narratives Jacob steps into the background, and Joseph becomes the chief character, and his greatness the favorite theme. We shall divide the stories about him into three sets. First we shall see how the blessing of his god was always upon him, then how he became a mighty ruler and lord even over his own relatives, and finally how he protected them.

Israel's son Joseph, a lad of seventeen, served his brothers, the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, as a shepherd,² and as he always told their father when they did anything wrong he was thoroughly hated by them. Israel loved Joseph more than his other sons, because he was born to him in his old age; and he clothed him in a regal robe. But this preference of Joseph by his father roused the envy of his brothers so strongly that they could not speak a friendly word to him. Matters became still worse when Joseph told them once a dream that he had had. "I dreamed," said he, "that we were all binding sheaves in the field together, and all at once my sheaf stood up on end and stayed upright, and all your sheaves came round it and fell down before it." "Oh, indeed!" sneered his brothers, "so you're to be our king and to rule over us, are you?" If all this increased their hatred, it became more bitter yet when something of the same kind happened again, and Joseph told them that he had had another dream, and that this time it was the sun, the moon, and the eleven

¹ Genesis xxxiv.

² After an amended version.

stars that bowed down before him. Even his father, however much disposed to find everything that was good in his best beloved son, rebuked him now, and said to him, "What! shall I and your mother and your brothers — shall we come to do homage to you?" But while the only effect of these events upon Joseph's brothers was to increase their hatred towards him, his father thought a great deal of them, and pondered over them deeply. And he had good reason! For these dreams were sent by Yahweh to announce the future greatness of Jacob's son, and this repetition of the same idea under various forms was a most emphatic prediction.

For the present, however, there did not seem much chance of the dream being fulfilled; and Joseph soon had a very substantial proof of the hatred of his brothers. For once upon a time they were pasturing the cattle near Shechem, and Joseph was sent by Jacob to ask after their welfare and that of the cattle. In obedience to his father's commands, Joseph went to look for them. On his way he understood from a man whom he met at Shechem that they had gone on to Dothan. So he followed them there. Now when they saw him in the distance they conceived the thought of murdering him. "There's our dreamer coming!" said they. "Let us kill him and throw his body down a well, and say that he has been torn to pieces by a wild beast. Then we shall see what comes of all his dreams!" But one of them, Reuben, who, as the eldest brother, felt his responsibility more than the rest, sprang into the breach. He did not venture, however, to declare outright that he disapproved of the plan altogether, so he had recourse to a stratagem to rescue his brother. "We had better not murder him with our own hands," said he. "We can throw him down this well here in the wilderness, and then he will die without our having killed him." This suggestion was adopted, so when Joseph came up to them they dragged him out of his splendid robe and threw him down a dry well, where he would die of hunger and thirst.

Delighted to have satisfied their vengeance, Joseph's brothers had just sat down to their meal, when they saw a caravan drawing near. It consisted of some Arab merchants, Midianites or Ishmaelites, who were on their way to Egypt with balsam and spices. As soon as he saw them coming Judah cried out "Really, brothers! what is the use of our killing Joseph. Remember he is our own brother after all. Suppose we sell him to these Ishmaelites." The idea was taken up by the rest, and Joseph was soon sold to the merchants for twenty

shekels of silver (twenty-five shillings) — the usual price of a slave.¹ This threw Reuben out of his calculations, and when he came to the well to rescue Joseph and found that he was no longer there he ran in terror to the others and cried out, "The lad is gone! Where shall I hide myself now?" To conceal what they had done Joseph's brothers killed a goat, dipped his splendid coat in its blood and sent it on to their father, while they themselves soon followed, and, pretending to be much horrified, said to him, "We have found this coat. Is it not Joseph's?" Jacob recognized it, and cried out in dismay, "My son's garment! A wild beast has devoured him! Joseph is torn to pieces!" For many days the father sat down in mourning, while his sons and daughters stood round him to console him. But he would not accept any comfort, and kept repeating, "I shall go down mourning to my son to the world below!" Thus was Joseph bewailed by his father.

Meanwhile the merchants had taken him to Egypt and sold him as a slave to Potiphar, the captain of the royal lifeguard, But even in the strange country Yahweh did not forsake him, and everything he took in hand turned out so successful that Potiphar, who saw more and more clearly how this Hebrew slave was helped and blessed by his god, gradually intrusted more and more to his care, until at last everything was under his control. Nothing could have been more to Potiphar's advantage. Yahweh blessed him for Joseph's sake. The harvest was a specially good one. The cattle had numbers of young, and were sleek and healthy. The yield of wool and milk was wonderful. The household slaves did their work faithfully. Spinning and weaving were more industriously performed than ever before. The food was beautifully prepared. It seemed as if the handmills themselves had never ground so well before. In a word there was not one single cause for dissatisfaction; and the master of the house had no occasion to look after anything, for Joseph saw to it all. Thus he proved himself to the fullest extent worthy of his master's confidence.

Moreover, he showed himself deserving of this confidence in other respects as well, by resisting a sore temptation. For Potiphar's wife let her eye fall upon the powerful and comely slave, and endeavored to persuade him to commit adultery with her. Glowing with holy indignation, Joseph answered her in proud and earnest language. "My master," he said,

¹ Leviticus xxvii. 5.

"has intrusted all to me. I am next in rank to himself, and am acquainted with all his affairs. You only must be sacred and inviolable to me, for you are his wife. How should I do such great wickedness, then, and sin against God!" It was of no avail. She would not desist. Day after day Joseph had to reject her vile requests, until at last, thwarted and embittered as she was, she accused him to Potiphar of having attempted to seduce her; and he, believing the accusations of his wife, threw him into prison.

Thus Joseph was once more the victim of others' wickedness. First the son of the shepherd prince had become a slave, and now the trusted and honored servant was doomed to imprisonment. But even there his god did not forget him. The prisoner soon won the jailer's confidence. Just as it had been in Potiphar's house, so was it here. Everything that was intrusted to Joseph went on well, so that he was allowed to go about and look after the other prisoners in comparative freedom. Everything that he looked to was looked to well.

When he had been in prison some time a conspiracy was discovered against the king, and the chief butler and the chief baker were thrown into close confinement on suspicion of having attempted to poison Pharaoh. Joseph had charge of them, as he had of the other prisoners, and when he came to them one morning he noticed that they were much disturbed by something, and so asked them, "What ails you? I can see by your faces that something is troubling you." "We have both of us been dreaming," was the reply, "and we cannot tell what our dreams mean, or who can interpret them for us." "Let me hear them," said Joseph, "God can interpret dreams. Only tell me them." Then the butler told his dream. He had found himself standing by a vine-tree with three branches. He had seen it spring up and blossom and form clusters of ripe fruit. He had held the king's cup in his hand, and had squeezed the juice of the grapes into it and presented it to the king. Joseph understood the meaning of the dream at once. "Listen to its interpretation," said he. "The three branches signify three days. At the end of that time you shall once more occupy your former place of honor at the king's court. And then," he added, "when it is well with you, think of me and make mention of me to the king that he may release me from this place. For I have been kidnapped from the land of the Hebrews, and have done nothing wrong to deserve to be shut up here." Now, when the chief baker heard the favorable

interpretation which Joseph had given of his companion's dream he hoped for the same lot himself; but his hopes were disappointed. For when he had told him how in his dream he had seen himself with three baskets upon his head, the topmost of them full of all kinds of baked food for the king's table, and how this food had all been eaten up by the birds, he heard to his dismay that the three baskets, like the three branches, represented as many days, and that he too should be exalted, as well as the butler, after three days, but exalted in a very different sense; for he should be hanged, and should be a prey to the birds.

What Joseph foretold took place. After three days it was the king's birthday, and he had a feast prepared for all his courtiers. Then he restored the chief butler to his former office, and allowed him once more to hand him his wine-cup, but he had the chief baker hanged. And now the hour for Joseph's release might soon have struck if only the butler had borne him in mind. But he forgot all about him.

The victim of persecution, treachery, and ingratitude on the part of men, Joseph remained in prison. But Yahweh still remembered him. He determined to set him at liberty, and therefore quickened the chief butler's memory. For, two years after what has just been narrated, the king too had a dream. There was not one of all his interpreters who could explain what he had seen. As he stood in his sleep by the bank of the Nile he saw seven oxen rise out of the river. They were fine and fat, and they went quietly grazing in the pastures along the river. Then all at once seven more oxen rose out of it, and these were ugly and lean, so that the king had never seen their like for ugliness, and they went up to the fat ones that came out first and ate them up, all seven of them, but yet they were still as thin as ever themselves. When he had seen this vision the king woke up, but soon to fall asleep again and to dream a second time. This time he saw seven rich heavy ears of corn, growing out of one stem, and then seven lank thin ears, parched by the east wind, and these ate up the first. Terrified and disturbed, the king next morning, summoned all the wise and learned men of Egypt to explain the dreams to him. But they could not do so. Then the past came back before the chief butler's mind, and he said to the king, "My lord, I remember my sin. Two years ago you were angry with me and threw me, together with the chief baker, into prison. Now, once when we both of us had had dreams, there was a Hebrew lad there, a

slave of the captain of the life-guard, and when we told him our dreams, not only did he interpret them in a moment, but what is more, the interpretation proved to be true. For he foretold that I should be restored to honor, and that he would be put to death."

The king sent for Joseph at once. They shaved his head bare, according to the custom of the Egyptians (for they never let their hair grow unless they were in mourning), and gave him a suitable garment for appearing at court. Thus prepared he entered the palace. Then Pharaoh addressed him and said, "I have dreamed a dream, which no one can interpret for me. Now, I have heard that you can interpret every dream as soon as you hear it." "Not so," was the young man's modest answer, "but I trust that God will foretell something acceptable to the king." Then the prince recounted his dreams, and they did not remain uninterpreted. "Your two dreams have but one meaning," said Joseph, "the fat oxen and the full ears signify seven years of plenty, while the lean beasts and lank ears of corn foretell seven years of famine. The famine thus foretold will be so dreadful that the plenty which has gone before will be forgotten, and all Egypt will sink under it. As to the repetition of the dream, it is a proof of the certainty of the prediction that the same truth is declared in two different ways." Having assigned this meaning to the dreams, Joseph added a piece of good advice on the subject. "The king," said he, "should set some intelligent and competent man over the whole of Egypt, and should have granaries made for him in which to collect one-fifth of the produce of the land during the years of plenty to be saved for the times of want that will follow."

The king was much relieved to understand the meaning of the warning he had received, and was no less pleased with Joseph's sensible advice. The conduct of the latter had made a favorable impression on the courtiers too, and they quite agreed with the king, therefore, that a more suitable person could hardly be found to carry out these extensive plans than Joseph himself. For clearly the spirit of God was in him. So Pharaoh said to Joseph, "Since God has made all this known to you, there is no wiser man than you, and you shall be the ruler of all the land of Egypt, responsible to no one but me." No sooner had the king uttered these words than he drew his signet ring from off his hand and gave it to the newly appointed grand vizier

Then he told them to provide him with the royal garb of the priesthood, and to throw a chain of gold round his neck. Immediately after this he received homage. He rode all through the capital, in the second royal chariot, while the heralds that went before him cried to the people "Kneel down! Kneel down!"

This new dignity was matched by a new name, and Joseph received the high-sounding Egyptian title "Saphnat-Panéah," which means, according to some authorities, "deliverer of the world," and according to others "food of the living." Moreover, he received Asnat, daughter of Potipherah, priest of On, in marriage.

The prediction was soon fulfilled. There came years of unheard-of plenty. The corn was laid up in the cities by Joseph's orders in amazing quantities, and the harvest was so great that it was no longer possible even to measure the stores that were gathered together. But after seven years this abundance was followed by scarcity. The crops failed year after year, and the helpless people were directed to Joseph, who now opened his granaries and sold the corn. So all the Egyptians streamed to Joseph to buy bread. Nay, the whole world came to Egypt for provisions, for the famine was universal.

If we read this story straight through it runs pretty smoothly, and we should hardly guess that, like most of the legends of the patriarchs, it is put together from two accounts. So it is, however. Here and there slight contradictions and repetitions betray the joints and fastenings, and show us that the work is not all of one piece. In many points the two traditions differ considerably from each other. According to one, for example, Joseph is sold to some Ishmaelites by his brothers, while the other relates that he was thrown into the well by his brothers, and was found there by some Midianites who were passing by, so that he was really stolen, as he tells the chief butler in prison, from the land of Canaan, which is here described, somewhat prematurely, as the land of the Hebrews. According to one tradition he is imprisoned on the accusation of Potiphar's wife; the other knows nothing of this circumstance, and brings Joseph to the prison not as accused of any crime, but simply as the slave of Potiphar who had charge of the prisoners. If we could separate the two stories accurately we should have mentioned each of them separately. But as that is at present

impossible, we have given the narrative as it lies before us in Genesis.

In whatever particulars the two legends about Joseph may have departed from each other, it is evident that they both mention him with honor; but while the one dwells more on his strict morality and especially his chastity, the other represents him as the man to whom his god revealed his pleasure, especially by means of dreams and the gift of interpreting them. For the whole story hinges upon dreams. Joseph dreams; the butler and the baker dream; and Pharaoh dreams. And it is clear that very great importance is attached to these visions, for they all come out true, and are evidently looked upon as communications from God.

This seems strange to us, who use the word *dream* as the symbol of all that is vain and unreal, but it was not by any means so in ancient times. It was the common belief of all nations that dreams were sent by the gods, and of course, as a necessary consequence, that the art of interpreting them was a science. It is easy to see how this belief came to be held. The dread of everything incomprehensible played an important part in the formation of the religious representations and ideas of the ancients, and it need not surprise us therefore if the mysterious phenomena of dreams, the clearness with which one sometimes sees all kinds of things in one's sleep, the misery or delight one experiences on these occasions, the recollection, sometimes so clear and sometimes so confused, that is left behind, — it need not surprise us, I say, if all this made a deep impression upon people's minds, and was ascribed to the action of a deity.

There is a characteristic passage about dreams and their interpretation in the works of the celebrated Roman author Cicero, which helps us to understand the views of the ancients in the last century before Christ, in a time, that is, when people were beginning to give themselves some account of their beliefs. Cicero attaches great importance to dreams, and says that "what happens to a seer or soothsayer in his waking hours is experienced by ordinary people when asleep. For then, while the body is prostrate and almost dead, the soul is awake, and is free from the influence of the senses, and from all distracting care. Since the soul has existed from all eternity and has held intercourse with countless numbers of other souls, it sees everything that lies in the nature of things, if only it is not too much disturbed by excess of eating and drinking to be able to keep awake while the body is asleep.

Thus it is that the dreamer has power to read the future. The power of interpreting what the dreamer sees is, then, no natural gift, but an artificially acquired power. And so, too, with oracles and predictions. In all these cases the interpreters explain these phenomena just as the grammarians and commentators explain the poets. What use could we make of the metals if we were not taught how to find them? Of what use would timber be to us, but for the carpenter's art? So to every good gift that the gods have given man there is attached an art by which he can make use of it. Inasmuch, then, as there is a great deal that is obscure and ambiguous in dreams, oracles and predictions, we have recourse to the explanations of the interpreters." Such was the argument of a philosopher from whose mind simple unreasoning faith had long vanished. In earlier times no such arguments as these were used, but people believed — without ever for a moment doubting the truth of their belief — in the first place that it was often God's will to reveal the future to man, and in the next place that dreams were amongst the means by which he did so. And thus in Israel, too, the dream, together with the vision of the prophet and the oracle of the priest, was looked upon as a very common means by which Yahweh revealed his will; and the "dreamers" are mentioned by the side of the prophets and the priests.¹ The proverb-writers or "sages" of Israel appear to have attached less importance to dreams, and at any rate to have called in question their value as means of prediction. Thus, in the latter portion of the book of Job, which was dated to it at least a century after the Babylonian captivity,² Elihu says :³

God makes himself heard in this wise
And in that wise; but men mark it not.
In dreams and in visions of the night,
When a deep sleep falls upon men
And they slumber tranquilly on their beds;
Then he opens the ear of man
And stamps the seal on his exhortations,
To hold him back from the deed of horror,
And to estrange him from pride;
To deliver his soul from the grave
And his life from the arrows of death.

Here then, as in another passage,⁴ a dream is said to be sent by God, but only as an exhortation to men. Later sages deny the predictive value of dreams still more emphati-

¹ Numbers xii. 6. 1 Samuel xxviii. 6, 15. Joel ii. 28. Deuteronomy xiii. 1-5.

² See vol. ii., chapter xiv. p. 165.

³ Job xxxiii. 14-18.

⁴ Job iv. 13 ff.

cally. One treats them as parallel with "vanities,"¹ and another says straight out:²

Vain and deceitful hopes befit the senseless man,
And dreams make fools rejoice.
Like one who grasps at a shadow and chases the wind,
Is he who puts trust in dreams.
A dream is a reflection of something that is,
The reflex of face against face.
How then can the clean come out of the unclean?
Or truth out of a lie?
Oracles and soothsaying and dreams are deceit,
Mere imaginings of the heart, as of one racked by pain.
Then if dreams are not sent by the High One,
Set not thy heart upon them in trouble.
Dreams have led many astray e'er now,
And they that trusted to them have fallen.

At the very time, however, when this Israelite was denying, with such quiet good sense, that dreams had any value, the old superstition still lived in undiminished strength in the minds of the masses; and the art of interpreting dreams, together with its character as a gift of God, was glorified in the person of Daniel.³

At the time when the stories about Joseph were written, no doubts had yet risen as to the divine origin of dreams, and there was no difficulty, therefore, in sketching the ancestor of Ephraim and Manasseh as a man who enjoyed, by God's favor, the privilege of having prophetic dreams himself, and being able to interpret those of others.

Joseph is described as the favored of Yahweh; and in the next chapter we shall consider the connection between this fact and the moral excellence which is ascribed to him. We will close this chapter by citing an Israelite song, which shows how much importance was attached to the favor of Yahweh by his worshippers:⁴

Preserve me, O God! for I trust in thee.
I say to Yahweh, "Thou art my lord,
My bliss can be found in thee alone."

Yahweh is my heritage and my cup;
Thou holdest my lot in thy hand.
Lovely places have been given to me,
And my heritage is fair in my eyes.
I will praise Yahweh, for he gives me counsel,
And my heart teaches me by night.
I set Yahweh ever before my mind.
For if he stands beside me I shall not be shaken.
Therefore my heart rejoices,
Therefore my soul is glad,
And my body shall dwell in safety.

¹ Ecclesiastes v. 7.

² Jesus son of Sirach xxxiv. 1-7.

³ See vol. ii., chapter xxii. p. 237.

⁴ Psalm xvi.

For thou wilt not surrender my soul to the shadow-land,¹
Nor suffer thy favored one to look on the pit,
Thou wilt teach me the way to abide in life.
Joy is before thy face,
Beauty in thy right hand, for ever.

CHAPTER XXVII.

JOSEPH, THE LORD OF HIS BROTHERS.

GEN. XLII-XLV.

CANAAN, — so the story goes on — like every other country, felt the effects of the famine that Joseph had foretold; and Jacob and his family soon began to be in want. They were already reduced to great distress when the father said to his sons, “Why do you look at each other in that helpless way? See, they tell me that corn is to be had in Egypt. So go there and lay in provisions to keep us alive.” Joseph’s brothers attended to their father’s sensible advice, and all the ten of them set out for Egypt. But Jacob would not let Benjamin accompany them, for fear some accident should befall him on the journey.

So once on a time, when Joseph was busy selling corn, and people from all quarters of the world came before him, his own brothers appeared amid the crowd and bowed down in reverence before him as the governor of the land. Now, though they did not recognize him, he knew who they were at once, and all the past rushed into his mind. So now his dreams had come true, and his brothers were bowing down before him! What sufferings they had brought upon him because of these dreams! They deserved a heavy punishment; and though he had no intention of dealing with them after their deserts, yet they must not be allowed to escape entirely unchastised. They must be made to feel that sin never goes unpunished. So he met them with the words, “You are spies! You have come to see at what point the country is open to attack.” His brothers answered in dismay, “No! no! We are all sons of the same father; honorable men and no spies.” “I don’t believe you,” he replied. “You are come to see where the frontier is exposed.” “No! my Lord,” answered they, repeating their first assertion at greater

¹ After an amended version.

length. "There were twelve of us once, but the youngest has stayed at home with our father, in the land of Canaan, and one is no more." But Joseph put an end to all contradiction by saying, "I don't believe a word that you have said, but we must find out the truth of the matter. Send one of your number home, while the rest stay here as prisoners, and have your youngest brother brought here. Unless what you have said is true then as sure as Pharaoh lives you shall be treated as spics." So he kept them three days in prison, and then sent for them and said, "Listen to me. I am a God-fearing man, and will not act unreasonably. Let one of you remain here, while all the rest go back with provisions for your family, and then come here again with your youngest brother."

Then Joseph's brothers said to each other in their misery, "We have deserved it all! For did we not see our brother's anguish when he begged us for mercy without being moved by it. It is for his sake that this misery has come upon us." And Reuben said to them, "I told you not to injure the lad, but you would not listen to me. Now his blood is required at our hands." So they spoke amongst themselves, not knowing that Joseph could understand them; for he kept up his Egyptian character well, and always spoke with them through an interpreter. But now he could hardly contain himself, and hurried away from the hall to weep aloud. As soon as he had recovered his self-command he returned to see his sentence carried out. One of his brothers must remain behind. He spared Reuben because he knew that he was guiltless, but Simeon, the second brother, was put into fetters in the presence of the others, and led away as a hostage.

By Joseph's orders his brothers' corn-sacks were now filled with grain, and their money was secretly put in at the top, besides which they had provisions for their journey given them. Now, as they were going home one of them opened his sack at an inn to get out some food for his beast, and there, to his great surprise, he found his money. This mystery filled them all with fear. "What has God done to us now!" they cried in amazement.

So they came back to Jacob, and told him all that had happened; and when each one of them found his money in his sack they and their father were again greatly disturbed. Jacob, in despair at the dreadful demand of the Egyptian ruler, cried out: "How you are robbing me! Joseph is not; Simeon is not; and now you will take Benjamin away from me too! Everything goes against me!" Reuben now

showed once more that he was worthy of his position as the eldest of the brothers, for he came forward and offered his two sons as surety. He gave his father leave to kill them if he failed to bring Benjamin back alive. It is true that his father would not have gained much by doing so, but the offer, which is quite in the spirit of the age, at any rate showed how thoroughly he was in earnest when he said: "Trust him to me; I will take care of him." But Jacob would not be persuaded, and refused to let Benjamin go. Now that Joseph was dead, was not he the only child of his beloved Rachel that was left? If any accident happened to him on the way, his gray hairs would go down in sorrow to the world below.

But after a time they were pressed by want. The corn was all used up, and Jacob himself urged his sons to go to Egypt to get some more food. But they objected to going unless they might take Benjamin with them; and indeed roundly refused to do so, as well they might, for it would have been certain death! Jacob, whom his agony of mind made utterly unreasonable, exclaimed, "What business had you to tell that man that you had another brother at home at all?" "He asked us about our father," said they, "whether he was still living, and whether we had another brother. How were we to know that he would say, Bring him here?" Then Judah took the lead in pressing his father and urging him to consent. "I will go surety for him," he said; "you may claim him back from me. If I fail to bring him back safe and sound you may hold me responsible all my life, and may do what you like to me! Only give your consent, to keep us and our children alive. If we had not wasted so much time we might have been there and back twice over by now."

Thus persuaded, Jacob at last gave way. "If it cannot be helped, then so be it," he said. "Take presents of the most precious products of the country with you, as a token of respect for this man, and double money, so as to be able to return what you found in your sacks. Perhaps it was an oversight." And then he added with a sigh, "Take your brother with you, then, and go back to this man, and God Almighty give you grace in his eyes, so that he may let Simeon and Benjamin come back. As for me, if I must be left utterly childless, I cannot help it!" Joseph's brothers started upon their journey at once, and reached the capital of Egypt in safety.

Then they stood once more in the presence of Joseph; and when he saw them again and recognized Benjamin in the

midst of them, he ordered his steward to take them to his house, and to make everything ready there for them to take their evening meal with him. But Jacob's sons had been made suspicious (and no wonder) by all the disagreeable and mysterious adventures they had met with in the foreign land ; and they were afraid, therefore, that some trap was being laid for them. " Ah, sir ! " they said to their guide, " last time we were here our money came back again, we know not how, into our sacks, but we have brought it with us now." But they were set at peace at once on this point, for the Egyptian told them that he knew nothing about it except that he had received their money. " No doubt your god and the god of your fathers made you find a treasure in this way in your sacks," he said.

Reassured to some extent, they went into the palace, and there they were soon joined by Simeon. They thought it a good sign that they were politely received, that some slaves came to wash their feet, and that their beasts were provided with fodder ; and they spread out their presents and awaited the viceroy of Egypt with greatly decreased anxiety. When he came he graciously accepted the tokens of their respect, and asked them in a friendly manner, " How do you fare ? And the aged father of whom you spoke, how is he ? Is he still alive ? " " He still lives," they answered, prostrating themselves on the earth again, " and we all are well." So far Joseph had easily restrained his feelings ; but when he looked at Benjamin, the son of his own mother, he could hardly utter the words, " Is this your youngest brother, of whom you spoke ? God bless you, my son." Then he hurried away to another chamber and found relief in tears ; and after he had washed himself, to remove every trace of his emotion, he came back again and ordered them to prepare the meal.

Here was fresh matter to excite the wonder of Jacob's sons. For while a separate table was spread for them (since an Egyptian might not eat at the same table with foreigners, especially shepherds, such as these Hebrews were) they were all arranged in the order of their ages. Was it an accident, or did this man know their ages ? He seemed to feel himself especially drawn towards Benjamin ; for though they all had dishes sent to them from his table, yet Benjamin's share was always five times as large as that of any of the others, which was a great sign of favor. For the rest, their reception left nothing to be desired, and they drank — even to excess — with their host, and forgot all their cares.

Next morning they set out on their journey in good spirits. But what a mysterious country this Egypt was! What was the meaning of all that had befallen them, and what possessed this viceroy? They could not make it out, but "all's well that ends well," and the brothers, all eleven of them, went on their homeward way, carrying their corn with them. With all the greater weight did the blow dealt them by Joseph now fall upon them! He had ordered not only that their money should be hidden in their sacks once more, but that his own silver cup as well should be placed in that of Benjamin. Now they had not gone far on their way before they were overtaken by a band of horsemen, headed by the very man who had conducted them to Joseph's palace. They are accused, with bitter reproaches, of having stolen the cup from which their host is in the habit of drinking and of divining the future. In vain they protest that they are innocent. A thorough search must be made. So be it then; and let him in whose possession the cup is found be the Egyptian's slave! But however certain that none of them has stolen the cup, they feel uneasy enough, for so many strange things have happened to them. Reuben's sack is examined first. There lies the money in its mouth again, but no cup! The same with Simeon, with Levi, with Judah, and so on all through, till at last they come to Benjamin's sack, and there—oh horror!—by the money in the sack's mouth lies . . . the cup! They stand aghast. They tear their clothes. Before long they have put the corn upon the beasts again, and are all on their way back to the city.

Once more they stand before the Egyptian ruler, in that same house in which they had feasted with him the day before. They fall to the ground, with Judah at their head, but are met with the reproachful words, "What have you been doing? Did you not know that such a man as I am would discover your guilt?" Then Judah came forward as the representative of them all, and said, "What are we to say to my lord? We have nothing to bring forward in our defence. God is bringing your servants' trespass home to them. See, we are your slaves, all of us, just as much as he in whose possession the cup was found." "Not at all," was the reply. "I have no wish for that. The one in whose possession this cup was found must remain here as my slave, but the rest of you may go back in peace to your father." Then Judah spoke once more in the agony of his soul, and said, "Oh, sir, listen to my words, and be not angry; for you are as great as Pharaoh. When first we came here you asked us whether we still had a

father or another brother, and we answered that we could still rejoice in the life of our aged father, and that we had one more brother, still young, born to him in his old age, and that his only whole brother was dead, so that his father loved him more than us all. And then you asked us to bring him with us because you wished to see him, and though we stoutly declared that it could not be, because he was so young that he would die if he were parted from his father, yet you drove us to compliance by threatening that you would never let us come into your sight again without him. So when our father urged us to come here again to buy corn, and we insisted on taking the boy with us, he reminded us, weeping, of all that had taken place, how he had only had two sons by the mother of this boy, and how the elder had disappeared in such a way that he could not choose but think he had been torn to pieces, and he told us that it would be the death of him if the boy perished on the way. So if we go home without him, we shall make our gray-headed father go down with sorrow to the world below. And now, my lord, I have gone surety for him. Let me stay, then, instead of him, and let him go back with my brothers; for how could I ever go into my father's presence if the boy were no longer with us? I could not bear to look upon the anguish which would seize him."

Joseph could now hold out no longer. He hastily ordered his retinue to retire, and almost before they were alone he burst into tears and cried, "I am Joseph! Is my father yet alive?" His brothers stood riveted to the ground, and could not believe their ears. When they had all recovered themselves a little, Joseph made them come nearer and said: "I am indeed your brother, whom you sold as a slave to Egypt; but now do not mourn or be disturbed about that any more, for God sent me before you, as it were, to deliver you from the famine. Besides the two years that have gone there are still five years of famine coming, and God has led me here to protect you from dying of starvation, for you are to grow into a great nation. So it was not you, but God, that sent me here. He has made me the king's adviser, and the ruler over all his possessions and the governor of the whole of Egypt. Go then to our father with all speed and invite him in my name to come here and settle with all his belongings in the land of Goshen, near to me, and I will maintain him there for the five coming years. Surely none of you doubt that I am really he? Benjamin, my brother! surely you remember me? Tell my father, then, what honor I have come to in this land, and

bring him here with all speed." Then Joseph fell upon Benjamin's neck and kissed him, and Benjamin wept as he embraced him. He greeted with kisses and with tears the rest of his brothers too; until at last they found words again in which to speak to him.

Meanwhile the king had been informed of everything. The very fact that as soon as Joseph was left alone with these Hebrews he began to weep had excited attention in itself; and it soon became known that they were his brothers. The king confirmed the arrangements made by Joseph for his father's migration, and gave his brothers vehicles for their wives and children and provisions for the journey, telling 'hem that they need not trouble themselves about the furniture, but might leave it behind them without any anxiety, as they should have full command of the wealth of Egypt.

When Joseph took leave of his brothers he gave them each a complete suit of festal garments, presented Benjamin with a large sum of money and five robes of state, and sent his father ten asses laden with precious Egyptian wares and ten she-asses laden with necessaries of life.

Now, when Jacob's sons came back to their father and said to him, "Joseph is still alive and is governor of the whole of Egypt," he was utterly amazed and could not believe it was true. But when they had told him all Joseph's words, and when he had seen the chariots that he had sent him, he came to himself again, and his overflowing heart found relief in the joyful cry, "It is too much! Joseph my son, still living! Let me go and see him before I die!"

The story of Joseph often reminds us of a telling drama or a thrilling romance. For it works powerfully upon the feelings, and has a certain fascination throughout, while its life and movement keep the attention constantly fixed, and an unexpected and happy conclusion brings the story to an end. The pleasure that children take in listening to it shows the skill of the authors. I speak of *authors* (in the plural) because this portion, like what has gone before, is put together from the work of two writers. But if once children's feelings are worked upon so that they can live with the heroes of a story, or, still better, so that they can cry with them too, they let many defects pass unnoticed, and are not at all troubled by improbabilities or even impossibilities. Nay, still worse, even their moral perceptions are sometimes lulled to sleep when their imagination is taken captive by a telling and fascinating

story. Both these facts are strikingly exemplified in the favorable reception given by children to the story of Joseph.

No thoughtful person can long remain in doubt as to the historical or unhistorical character of what is here related. For we cannot possibly look upon a story as historical when sundry dreams, regarded as divine revelations, appear in it, and its development hinges to a large extent upon these dreams and their fulfilment. But we have spoken of this already. Now let us examine the portion of the narrative that we have dealt with in this chapter. The representation here given is impossibility itself.

Only think for a moment of these points.

The famine was foretold seven years before it began, and during the whole interval the king did everything that could be done to lighten the misery that was to come. Yet no one else in Egypt or elsewhere appears to have taken any precautions, though there was nothing to prevent every one's knowing all about it. Moreover, the whole world suffers from the famine, and is obliged to go to Egypt for corn. This is necessarily involved in the story; for why else should Jacob's sons have chosen Egypt for their second as well as their first purchase of corn? Is such a state of things credible in real life? Again, Jacob sends ten of his sons, each with his own ass, to buy corn. One cannot help asking why he did not send one son at the head of a caravan? What little provision was laid in in this way, however, cannot have gone far toward supporting the whole family, especially, if, as we are told, part of it had to be used as fodder for the beasts on the way. And yet the story tells us distinctly that each one of Jacob's sons took his own sack with him upon his own ass; else how could it be said that the cup was hidden, and afterwards found, in Benjamin's special sack? In Egypt things are managed after a somewhat homely fashion. Joseph sells corn to all the world in person. This is almost impossible to imagine, but it is distinctly the meaning of the story; for if Jacob's sons could have managed to obtain corn from any one else, they would certainly have done so on their second journey, since it was not to obtain Simeon's release, but simply to escape dying of hunger, that they returned to Egypt and came once more into Joseph's presence. It would appear from the story that there were no merchants in Egypt, and that no creature could carry corn to Canaan without buying it from the viceroy in person. Finally, as already observed in another connection,¹ the representation of Benjamin as a

¹ See p. 102.

boy whose life would be in danger if he were separated from his father, hardly agrees with another piece of information according to which he was at this very time the father of ten sons.

It would hardly be worth while to stay to inquire expressly whether Joseph's conduct will bear testing, had not his character often been described as noble, and even as one of the the most exalted to be found in the Old Testament. But since our moral perception may easily suffer from such perverted judgments, we must enter an emphatic protest against this excessive praise of him. Joseph as a boy, repeating a dream in which his own exaltation is foretold, twice over, and telling his father tales about his brothers, is surely no one's ideal; but the brutal chastisement inflicted on him by his brothers seems at least to have had the effect of taking down his conceit. At any rate, when in Egypt he is the model of a faithful and pious slave, and his answer to Potiphar's wife — "How should I do such wickedness and sin against God?" — is full of nobility and earnestness. But his conduct towards his brothers, which is the main point after all, is anything but generous, and shows that he took an unfeeling and spiteful pleasure in annoying them. He conceals the fact that he recognizes them at once, and knowingly and purposely brings a false accusation against them; he puts them in prison three days — keeps Simeon back — compels his brother Benjamin, whom he is said to have loved tenderly, to undertake a journey which his father fears may be fatal to him — disturbs and alarms his brothers on two occasions by means of the money which they find mysteriously returned into their sacks — relieves them from their anxiety by his friendly reception, only to make them still more uneasy about the cup that is found in Benjamin's sack of corn — and, most inexcusable of all, entirely overlooks the great and bitter sorrow that his conduct inflicts upon his gray-headed father. In the story it all turns out well, but, supposing it to be true, "more by good luck than good conduct."

Though the writers intended their Joseph for a sketch of a model son and brother, they have not been successful. Joseph certainly seems very tender-hearted, and weeps when he sees his brothers on the first occasion, and again when he meets Benjamin afterwards; but for all that he is hard-hearted enough systematically in cold blood to punish them for the suffering they inflicted on him. It is sometimes thought that his conduct may be defended by supposing that his object was to see

whether his brothers would behave any better towards Benjamin than they had done towards himself; but we must remember, in the first place, that no such object is hinted at by a single word in the story; and, in the second place, that it does not make out a better case for Joseph after all. Has a man a right to test his neighbor's disposition by putting him to the torture? Is that unassuming and amiable conduct? Surely not.

There is one point in the story which is only a minor feature, but which must not be overlooked in forming an estimate of Joseph's person. We are told of a divining cup used by him. The kind of divination here indicated was known to various peoples of antiquity, and was conducted as follows: Little bits of gold or silver were thrown into a cup full of water, and sometimes precious stones, with certain characters carved upon them, were added. From the figures found in the water, by the reflection of these objects, those skilled in the art made out the future. Others did something the same with melted wax, and read the events of the future from the combinations of the little pieces. This kind of divination was well known in Egypt, and apparently in Israel too; for the writer of the legend of Joseph finds it quite unnecessary to explain the nature of the cup to his readers, nor does he utter a single word of disapproval of its use. Indeed, any such disapprobation was not in the spirit of his age. We shall presently have occasion to notice more than once, that though sorcery was opposed by some of the most advanced Israelites, until at last it was forbidden in the Law, yet the sorcerers, wizards, and necromancers played a great part in the national life of Israel, by the side of the seers, dreamers, priests, and prophets. The prophets especially were given to meddling with these arts. In our story, this trait in Joseph's character agrees very well with his power of reading the future in his dreams and interpreting the visions of others.

Nothing is further from the intention of the writers, however, than to cast a slur upon Joseph's character. On the contrary, they desired to give him the place of honor and to sketch him as ruling over his brothers and as rescuing Egypt, or rather all the world. But in pursuing this object they make the extraordinary favor with which he was regarded by Yahweh far more conspicuous than any nobility or exaltation of his own character. For instance, when we are told that Potiphar's house was blessed for Joseph's sake we think of the natural consequence of the industry and care of a faithful servant

making order and prosperity supreme in Potiphar's house and lands. But the writer does not tell us this, and, indeed, he did not mean it. He calls Joseph "a man in whose hands everything succeeded because Yahweh helped him, and whom Potiphar set over all he had because he saw that Yahweh was with him."¹ In the same way Joseph becomes lord of Egypt, and saves his brothers from the famine, because his god had willed it so.² Now, when we speak of God's blessing and God's help we think especially of the blissful fruits of virtue and faith; but this divine blessing was not connected with piety in the same way to the mind of the ancient Israelites. Yahweh had his favorites and they were blessed in consequence of the protection of their god, while those whom he hated he blinded and tempted to folly, and so brought to destruction. They would say, "he who is blessed by Yahweh acts wisely and well" rather than "he who acts wisely and well is blessed by Yahweh."

In this they were at one with all antiquity, as we can easily understand, for the ancient conception of the character of the deity, as we have already seen repeatedly, was that of a nature-god. In the sun, the wind, the rain, the thunderstorm, and other favorable or destructive phenomena of nature, the ancients saw the hand of the gods. And so they ascribed no righteousness to their gods, for the sun never troubles himself about the virtue or vice of man, and the lightning strikes good and bad without distinction. They had no difficulty, therefore, in regarding their gods as capricious. They were wise, — but their wisdom was that of the power that no one could resist; they dealt according to right — but their right was might.

Yea truly I know that it is so;
 How should a man be held just before God?
 If he sees good to contend with him,
 He cannot answer him one to a thousand.
 Wise of heart as he is and fearful in might,
 Who has opposed him and has not suffered?
 Who removes the mountains before they know it,
 And in his wrath overthrows them, &c.

The poem from which these lines are taken³ dates from a period at which a more exalted idea of the nature of God had already found a place in many minds by the side of the old one, yet here, and all through the poem, the strongest proof of God's justice is his omnipotence.

Among the prophets of the eighth century before Christ⁴

¹ Genesis xxxix. 2-6.

³ Job. ix. 2-6.

² Genesis xlv. 8.

⁴ See p. 25.

there was a living conviction that Yahweh was a righteous god who rewarded the good and punished the wicked, and thus the way was prepared for the recognition of the truth that the real happiness of men depends on conditions of their inner life. But the leaven of the old nature-worship could not be expelled at once, and prosperity and adversity were still looked upon as tokens of the favor or the displeasure of God. But since prosperity does not fall to the lot of the virtuous alone, nor disaster to that of the wicked, the want of agreement between goodness and prosperity always remained a source of painful doubt; and piety was thought to consist chiefly in the confident belief that Yahweh would really give what was good to those whom he loved. This belief, as we shall presently see, more than once decided the practical line of action taken by the people, and we find utterance given to it in some of the most beautiful of the psalms of the Israelites. We may close this chapter with one of them.¹

Blessed is he who abides under the protection of the Most High,

Who passes the night in the shadow of the Almighty,
Who says to Yahweh, "My refuge and fortress,

The god upon whom I trust!"

For he shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler,

And from the terrible pestilence;

With his pinions shall he cover thee,

And under his wings shalt thou find a refuge,

His faith is a shield and an armor.

Thou shalt not fear for the terror by night,

Nor for the arrow that flieth by day:

Nor for the pestilence creeping round in the darkness,

Nor the plague that wasteth at noonday.

At thy side shall a thousand fall,

Ten thousand at thy right hand,

But it shall not come to thee.

But thou shalt see with thine eyes

And behold the reward of the wicked.

Because thou hast called Yahweh thy refuge,

And hast made the Most High thy dwelling,

Evil shall not come nigh unto thee.

Nor disaster draw near thy tent.

For he shall give his angels charge over thee

To protect thee in all thy ways.

They shall bear thee up in their hands,

That thou dash not thy foot on a stone.

Thou shalt tread on the roaring beast and the adder,

And trample upon the lion and dragon.

Because he trusts in me I will deliver him,

I will exalt him, because he knows my name.

When he calls upon me I will answer him,

In time of need I will be with him.

I will deliver him and will give him honor.

I will lengthen his life till he be satisfied,

And will make him to see my salvation.

¹ Psalm xci.

These verses require little or no explanation. In the last few lines it appears that Yahweh is introduced as speaking. One word, however, on lines ten and eleven, in which mention is made of a terror by night and an arrow that flies by day. The meaning of the arrow is obvious. It is the symbol of a sunbeam, to the influence of which the origin of the pestilence was attributed in ancient times. The "terror by night," therefore, is some other cause of sickness that was supposed to be active at night. The idea contained in these lines, therefore, is exactly the same as that of the two next. This is very common in Hebrew poems; for they seldom or never have any measure or rhyme, but are distinguished from prose, in outward form, by the repetition of the same thought in different words two or three times in succession. This may well seem strange to us, for we are accustomed to rhyme and rhythm, or at any rate the latter, in all our verses. Yet neither the one nor the other is by any means inseparable from poetical language. The peculiarity of poetry is that in it a man who is inspired by some passion, whether noble or the reverse, gives expression to his feelings; and the more artificial the form in which he does so the smaller the chance of the substance being really poetical. But when a man, in a highly wrought frame of mind, is driven by pressure from within to utter what is going on in his heart and to pour out his soul in words, nothing is more natural than for him to repeat the same thing in different forms two or even three times over; for passion never stints its words. This repetition by which the second member of a sentence fills in the first, even a third being sometimes added, is called "parallelism." In the poem just quoted almost every couplet or triplet is an example of what has been said.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JACOB IN EGYPT.

GEN. XLVI.—I.

THE arrival of Jacob, or Israel, in Egypt—his settlement in the land of Goshen—his adoption of Joseph's sons as his own, immediately before his death—his burial in the land of Canaan—Joseph's continued protection of his

brothers and all their belongings after his father's death, till he himself paid the last debt of nature — such are the events recorded in the remaining chapters of Genesis. The narrative is not very interesting, and it is easy to see why; for it is put together from various sources — at least three narrators, who agree with each other in the main points, but are here and there at variance, having had a hand in it. This has naturally given rise to repetitions and confusions. We will first run over the narrative as briefly as possible, and then dwell upon one or two special points.

Jacob departed with all speed for Egypt. As he passed through Beersheba, on his way, he made an offering to the god of his father Isaac, who had always lived there; and in a vision by night he received a renewed assurance of God's protection. His heavenly guide would be with him in Egypt too, and Joseph should close his eyes. The company now migrating to Egypt, seventy in number, reached Goshen without interruption, and there Joseph, informed of the arrival of his kinsmen by Judah, who had gone on before them, came in his chariot to meet them. "Now that I have seen you once again, I can die in peace!" cried his father, overcome with joy.

Joseph promised his kinsmen that he would tell the king that they had come, and advised them, when questioned by him as to their occupation, to tell him at once that they were shepherds, and therefore wished to live in the land of Goshen. For the disgust in which the Egyptians held all shepherds and goatherds made it desirable that they should settle in some border district, the population of which was not pure Egyptian, and was rather more accustomed to intercourse with strangers. Five of Joseph's brothers waited on the king, who heard them graciously and granted their request. Jacob, too, was brought into his presence, and blessed him with a patriarch's authority. When questioned by the king as to his age, he answered that he was a hundred and thirty, but he could not help adding a remark that showed no great contentment with his lot, namely, that his ancestors had reached a much greater age, and that his life had been full of trouble.

An enviable lot was that of Israel's sons in the land of Goshen, or Ramses. For, during the continued famine in Egypt, they were supported by Joseph, while the native Egyptians were compelled to make heavier and heavier sacrifices to keep themselves and their families alive. In the

very first year of the famine the Egyptians spent all their money and even gave up their cattle in exchange for the necessities of life; and in the second year they sold themselves and their land to the king. Thus the prince became absolute master of the whole of Egypt. He made ample use of his power, and commanded that henceforth a tax of one-fifth of the produce of the land should flow into the royal coffers. The priests alone kept possession of their land, for they had a sufficient supply of food given them for nothing.

The Israelites meanwhile had greatly increased in numbers. Seventeen years after his removal to Egypt Jacob felt that his end was drawing near. He died in Joseph's arms, after having made all necessary dispositions as to his own burial and the future of his sons. Joseph commanded his servants, the physicians, to embalm his father's body in the most costly manner. This preparation occupied forty days, after which the Egyptians went into public mourning for seventy days for the father of their viceroy. Then Joseph, who could not appear before the king in person while still in mourning, asked leave through his courtiers to go and bury his father in his own grave in Canaan, as he himself had wished. As soon as he had received permission, he went with all his father's sons and grandsons and a great host of Egyptians to Canaan. At a certain place called "the plain of thorns," on the other side of the Jordan, they stayed their course and spent a week in lamentations, from which circumstance the place was afterwards called by the inhabitants Abel-mizraim, that is *lamentation of Egypt*. Then Jacob was buried by his sons.

Now that their father was dead Joseph's brothers began to fear that he would pay them back for their evil deeds of long ago, so they said to him in the greatest anxiety: "Our father told us, before he died, to implore you to forgive the sins of your brothers, the worshippers of your father's god." On hearing these words Joseph burst into tears, and said, as they fell at his feet with every sign of absolute submission, "Fear nothing! Am I in the place of God? Though you plotted evil against me, yet God has turned it to good, to rescue a great people, as has actually come to pass. You have nothing to fear. I shall preserve your lives and the lives of your little children." With such words he comforted them.

Joseph lived to a hundred and ten and saw his grandchildren's children. When he felt that his end was drawing

near, he called his kinsmen to him and made them swear that when their god brought them back to the land that he had promised to their fathers, they would take his bones there with them. In order to be able to fulfil this promise they embalmed his body and kept it in Egypt.

In the account just given we have barely mentioned the dispositions made by Jacob on behalf of his sons; but in the original narrative they occupy two whole chapters. Three times we read of prophetic blessings pronounced by the patriarch on all his sons or on Joseph's children, and these accounts are derived from three different writers.

According to one of them, as Jacob lay on his death-bed he called his sons to his side to foretell their future lot to them. A poem is put into his mouth¹ on this occasion in which he speaks of all the twelve sons. Some of them, however, receive but a very short and uninteresting sentence. Thus Zebulun is informed that he will live by the sea-shore, and Dan that he will rule his tribe just like one of his brothers. So too Gad, Asher, Naphtali and Benjamin have each to be content with a single line. Far more bitter was the lot of others, who received a curse instead of a blessing. Thus Reuben is degraded from his place as first-born, Levi and Simeon are told that they will be scattered up and down in Israel, and Issachar must hear the prophecy that he will become tributary to strangers. But the patriarch dwells longer upon Judah and Joseph, and pours out a profusion of blessings upon their heads. We have already observed, in another connection,² that under the form of a prophecy by Jacob as to the future of his sons, the actual condition of the Israelite tribes is celebrated in this poem, which takes us into the period of the Judges, or still later.

It should be noticed that in this poem Joseph still appears as a tribe, by the side of the rest. It is otherwise in the account of the last days of Jacob given by the "Book of Origins." There we are told³ that when Joseph visited Jacob on his death-bed, his father told him how God Almighty had appeared to him in Luz and had promised him a numerous posterity and the possession of Canaan. "And now," continued the patriarch, "your two sons, who were born before I came to Egypt, I adopt as my own. Ephraim and Manasseh shall take rank with Reuben and Simeon. If you have other children they shall be counted yours, but their descendants

¹ Genesis xlix.

² See p. 102.

³ Genesis xlviii. 3-6.

shall be assigned to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh." This legend places us in a period at which each of these two tribes was (or had been) as powerful as any of the rest, nay stronger than several of their brethren; and it agrees with a representation, to be found in the book of Joshua, of the manner in which the land of Canaan was divided amongst the tribes. We shall deal with this matter presently.

There is another account¹ older than that of the "Book of Origins," according to which Jacob, feeble and almost blind, received a visit on his deathbed from Joseph and his two sons. "Who are those?" asked the patriarch, pointing to the two boys. "The children whom God has given me," was the reply. "Let me bless them!" said Jacob. Deeply moved, he kissed and embraced them, and said to Joseph: "See, I long despaired of ever seeing you yourself again, and now I see your children too!" Joseph removed the boys from their place between their grandfather's knees, and bowed down to the earth in reverence. Then he led his sons to his father again, and placed them so that when the old man stretched out his hands he would naturally lay his right hand on the head of the elder, Manasseh, and his left on the younger, Ephraim. But when Jacob stretched out his hands he crossed them, and so laid his right hand on Ephraim's head. He did so, not by mistake but on purpose; for when Joseph wished to alter the position of his hands he would not allow it. "No, my son!" said the old man, "I know well enough what I am doing. Manasseh, too, shall be the father of a great tribe, but his younger brother shall be mightier than he." Then he blessed them with the words: "May you be such an example of prosperity that the richest blessing in Israel may run: God make you like Ephraim and Manasseh!" Thus did he place Ephraim above Manasseh. This is the chief object of the story, and it takes us to a time when the tribe of Manasseh, that had been the mightiest in North Israel at first, was overshadowed by that of the Ephraimites.

We see from several slight traits in these stories that all the writers quite lose sight of the patriarchs as individuals, and only think of the tribes themselves. Thus Joseph's sons, who are spoken of as "lads," stand between their grandfather's knees, and he blesses them. Yet they were born before Jacob came into Egypt, and he had spent seventeen years in that country before he died. The same forgetfulness of the fact that time never stands still, and that little children grow big,

¹ Genesis xlviii. 8-22.

is shown by the writer who makes Joseph still his brothers' anxiety after Jacob's death by the words: "Fear not; I will take care of you and your little children."¹ The remarks made on a previous occasion² apply to the whole of the story of Joseph. The representation made to us is not that of a number of tribes migrating to Egypt, but that of a family, consisting of a father and eleven sons, with their wives and children — seventy souls; a family which, leaving the furniture behind, could move to Egypt in a few wagons sent for the purpose by the king.³ A childlike and homely representation, but one that is quite at variance with history.

We must touch upon one more detail, and then we will pass on to an examination of the country to which Jacob and his family had come. The "Book of Origins," the writer of which, as we have seen,⁴ took a great interest in the cave of Machpelah, tells us at full length here too how Jacob himself was buried there.⁵ It may be doubted, however, whether this statement agrees with the oldest tradition about Jacob's last resting-place. For Joseph sends word to the king that his father wishes to be laid in the grave that he himself had made,⁶ and this cannot refer to the cave of Machpelah, which Abraham had bought from the Hethites. Now, between the two accounts of the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh,⁷ the following sentence⁸ is very oddly inserted: "When I came from Padan Aram, Rachel died in the land of Canaan, while I was still some way from Ephrath; and I buried her there."⁹ This verse is out of place, and probably belongs to the account of Jacob's last wishes,¹⁰ which, with this addition, would run: "Bury me not in Egypt, but take my body hence, and lay it in the grave that I have made; for, when I came from Padan Aram, Rachel died near Ephrath, and I buried her there." Then Joseph answered: "I will do as you desire." If this conjecture is well founded, then, according to the oldest account, Rachel's grave, south of Bethel,¹¹ was Jacob's grave as well. The writer of the "Book of Origins" thought it more suitable, in some way, that Jacob should be buried at Hebron, and accordingly said that he was.

This story draws our attention to Egypt, for it gives us several pieces of information, which are not without interest,

¹ Genesis i. 21.

⁴ See pp. 153, 154.

⁶ Genesis i. 5.

⁸ Genesis xlviii. 7.

¹⁰ Genesis xlvii. 30.

² See p. 102.

⁶ Genesis xlix. 29-32, i. 12, 13.

⁷ Genesis xlviii. 3-6 and 8-22.

⁹ See p. 194.

¹¹ Compare pp. 196, 197.

about the condition of that country. In the first place, that all shepherds and goatherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, so that Joseph, the Egyptian, could not eat at the same table with the Hebrews, and the sons of Israel had to live in a border district. In the next place, that the king was the absolute master of the land, and that all its inhabitants were his slaves,¹ while the fifth part of the harvest fell to his share, except in the case of land belonging to the priests. The story gives us an explanation of this state of things which, if true, makes the defence of Joseph's conduct a hopeless task. For the king must have got all the corn by which he supported Egypt and "all the world" for seven years, either for nothing or for a very low price, from his subjects. Ought he then to have sold it at so high a price in the time of want that all the Egyptians were stripped of everything they possessed, and were compelled within two years to give themselves up as slaves? This is no more right than — possible!

Let us glance for a moment at the country and the people in question.

In the north-east corner of Africa, bounded on the west by the great desert of Sahara, and on the north by the Mediterranean Sea, and separated from Arabia on the east by the Red Sea and the peninsula of Sinai, lies Egypt, the valley of the mighty Nile. This stupendous river, even before it has left the highlands of Abyssinia and entered Egypt proper, is already more than three thousand feet in width. The valley fertilized by the Nile and wrested, as it were, from the sands of the desert, is on an average about eight miles broad. On the west it is protected by a range of hills from the all-engulfing sands of the Sahara and the terrible blasts of the desert wind, while it is cut off on the east also by the range of crags and sand-hills that runs along the shore of the Red Sea.

All Egypt is supported by the Nile. Every year, soon after midsummer, when the snow melts on the tops of the mountains among which both streams of the Nile (the Blue and the White Nile) take their rise, and there is a heavy fall of rain, the Lower Nile gradually rises in its bed. Towards the end of July it overflows its banks and floods the whole valley up to the foot of the hills that enclose it, till by the end of September it stands more than twenty feet above the lowest water-mark. Then the river sinks again as slowly as

¹ Genesis xlvii 21, after an amended version.

it has risen, and after covering all the land for four months it is once more confined within its banks again. In consequence of its gradual rise and fall, the water leaves a layer of rich mud behind it all over Egypt, and the air is pleasantly tempered during the hottest season of the year by the extraordinary increase in the expanse of water. It hardly ever rains in Egypt, except in the northern portion, the so-called Delta, which is cut up by the numerous branches into which the Nile is here divided as it flows through its seven mouths into the sea. The nearness of the Mediterranean Sea sometimes causes a fall of rain in this district.

This country was called by its inhabitants "Chemi," that is, *the black*, because of the color of its soil, which stood off darkly from the glittering white of the downs and the yellow of the plains of sand by which it was surrounded. The name "Egypt" was given to the country by the Greeks; and we find a corruption of this word in the name of "Copts," given to the Christian population of the country.

All the northern coast of Africa, as well as the whole valley of the Nile up to the Abyssinian mountains, was inhabited by peoples whose complexion, language, and customs formed a sharp contrast to those of the Negroes who possessed the greater part of Africa. A branch of their language still survives in that of the Berbers. Chief among them all in cultivation and knowledge was the people that dwelt on the banks of the lower Nile, and founded one of the most ancient of the civilized states of the world.

Our knowledge of Egyptian history goes back to a very high antiquity, though little more than lists of kings have come down to us from the earliest times. More than forty centuries before Christ there was a regular state in Egypt, and arts and sciences flourished there.¹ Indeed the country was well calculated to make its inhabitants thoughtful and energetic. For, though it was very fruitful, it required careful cultivation. The yearly overflowing of the Nile made it necessary to take many precautions for the protection of flocks and other possessions from the water; to observe the period at which the stream rose and fell; to collect the provisions required for the support of man and beast for months together, while the land was transformed as it were into a sea; to build boats and pass a great deal of time on the water; and accurately to fix, measure, and mark out the boundaries of the fields, to avoid constant disputes about them

¹ See p. 66.

As the population increased, it gradually became necessary to find artificial means of bringing the fertilizing water to the land that stood too high for it to reach of itself, to rid the marshy districts of their excessive supply, and to prevent the water in general from running off too soon, so as to secure as great a deposit of mud as possible.

Thus the Egyptians were raised, alike by the advantages and disadvantages attached to the nature of their soil, into a thoughtful and industrious people.

Love of freedom, however, was certainly not one of the qualities by which they were distinguished, at any rate in the times of which the memory has come down to us. The oldest monuments of the Egyptians bear witness to their servile disposition. At the head of the nation stood the king, or Pharaoh; for this is a title, and not a proper name, as might be supposed from certain passages in the Old Testament.¹ The meaning of the word is uncertain. It is generally taken to mean "the king," while some translate it "the son of Ra" (an Egyptian god), and others "the gate." This last explanation is not so out of the way as it sounds. Thus, ever since the time of Osman (about 1300 A.D.) the government of the Turkish Empire has been called "the Sublime Porte," or simply "the Porte," that is, *the gate*. This name was first given to the principal gate of the palace, and was afterwards transferred to the power which issued its orders through this gate. If "Pharaoh" is correctly translated *the gate*, the word does not properly apply to the person of the monarch, but to the government. It is natural enough, however, that the name should have been applied to the prince himself. For Egypt was a country whose king could say with Louis XIV., the most royal of modern princes: "I am the state." On the Egyptian monuments, accordingly, we see not only laborers and soldiers, but generals, governors, and even priests lying prone upon the ground, bowed down to the dust, in the presence of the ruler. In the beginning of things, so the priests taught, the gods had ruled upon the earth, but they had handed over their jurisdiction entirely to the kings, who were not only called the sons of the gods, but the very gods of the country themselves. They bear the names of "the sun that is given to the world," "the lifegiver," or "the mighty Horus," while the queen is called "the mighty Isis;" Horus being the name of an Egyp-

¹ Genesis. xli. 46. Exodus vi. 11, &c.

tian god, and Isis that of a goddess. On the monuments, too, we often find representations of the kings sacrificing to their ancestors, and of the gods serving them. One of the Egyptian princes (Amenophis III., about 1500 B.C.) went so far as to raise a temple for the worship of himself.

Where royalty was regarded in such a light, the authority of the kings must have been unlimited; and a proof that it really was so may be found in the gigantic works they executed; for they could never have carried them out unless they had had free command of the labor of their subjects. Hundreds of thousands of laborers had to toil year after year not only upon canals, from which the people at least derived some benefit, or temples to the building of which their piety may have contributed, but also upon the magnificent palaces and the gigantic pyramids, which only served to immortalize the names of princes, and furnish them with dwellings in their lives and mausoleums after their death. Sometimes the laborers perished by thousands from exhaustion and insufficient food; but what price was too high to pay for the glory of an Egyptian prince?

It follows naturally from the unlimited character of the royal authority that the Pharaoh was really the sole proprietor of the land; for since he had absolute command of the very lives of his subjects, how much more must he have had power over their possessions! This was more or less characteristic of all eastern countries. But in Egypt the rights of the princes with regard to the soil and its produce were more accurately defined than elsewhere, and so attracted the attention of the foreigners who visited the country. The accounts they give, however, do not agree with one another. Our writer tells us, for instance, that all the land belonged by law to the king, who let it to his subjects for the payment of one-fifth of the yield, while none but the priests possessed land of their own. A certain Greek writer on the other hand tells us that the land was divided into three parts, of which one belonged to the king, one to the priests, and one to the soldiers. Another says that King Ramses the Great, of whom we shall have more to say presently, had the whole country divided into equal squares and gave one of them to each Egyptian.

Whether the account of the Israelite or that of the first Greek writer is the true one, in either case the state of things described must have arisen gradually. It is impossible to believe that within the space of a few years a free people became

a nation of slaves and that their land passed out of the hands of the people into those of the king. That the inhabitants were suddenly compelled by want to put all their goods and their very bodies at the king's disposal, is just as inconceivable as that once upon a time a prince divided the country into square fields of equal size and gave each of his subjects one of them. And yet there must be some reason why the king's rights over the land were so much more accurately regulated in Egypt than elsewhere. This reason is not difficult to find. The state, that is, the king, could not fail to gain great power in Egypt, from the fact that a regular and settled government was a pressing necessity there not only on extraordinary occasions, but at all times. For as we have seen already, the fertility of the soil, the welfare of the country, and the peaceable disposition of the citizens towards each other, all depended upon the manner in which the overflowings of the Nile were regulated and the boundaries of the fields marked out. It could not be left to the citizens themselves to make provision for all this. The matter must be taken in hand by the prince himself, who soon gained enormous power by this control of the public works. The feeling, then, of the pressing necessity of co-operation and unity had been stamped upon the Egyptians by their peculiar circumstances from the most ancient times. Thus the two primeval kingdoms—that of Memphis in Lower and of Thebes in Upper Egypt—were united together as early as the year 2300 B.C., and the king was consequently called “the lord of both the countries.” One of these kings, Amenemha III., called Moeris by the Greeks, had a lake of enormous dimensions dug out near Memphis. A canal conducted a supply of water from the Nile into this lake, where it could be collected and retained when the flood was so high that there was danger of marshes being formed. It was allowed to run off again when the river did not rise as high as usual, and the flood was therefore slight. This artificial sea existed for centuries. At last the works were neglected by a careless government, and the water inside broke through and formed a natural sea near the present Fayum.

Now the construction and keeping up of such works as these, the necessity of testing the condition of the river, and opening and closing the sluices at the right time, so as to regulate the supply of water in the stream, all this not only gave the kings a great deal of power generally, but also gave them a special right over the land, the fertility of which was,

to a large extent, dependent upon their care. If we take the story of Joseph, then, in a typical rather than a literal sense, it is perfectly true. The prince who knew how to lay by in time of plenty, so as to have a supply ready for times of want, might well be called Saphnat-Paneah, or deliverer of the country, and no one in Egypt must "raise hand or foot" against his will. It was but right that he should deal with his subjects just as the general interest required, and that they should always have to pay a heavy tribute; for was not he who had command of the waters of the Nile the "life-waker" of the people?

According to our Israelite narrator, the priests of Egypt enjoyed many privileges. They were supported by supplies sent them directly from the king, so that they had no occasion to sell their lands. This sounds simple enough; but the real state of things cannot, of course, be so easily described. For in Egypt, as in every other ancient country, there was a motley mixture of various religions. The Egyptian gods and goddesses were numerous, and their temples, great and small, covered the land. Now one god, and now another, rose to the highest honor, as the preference of the king or some other circumstance dictated; and with the greater or smaller amount of honor that fell to the lot of any deity, the income of the priests, of course, rose and fell; but, generally speaking, they were not only free from the cares of want, but lived in abundance, and exercised a great deal of power, for the Egyptians were a very superstitious people, and nothing is more profitable to a priesthood than this.

According to the story in Genesis, Joseph is taken into the priestly caste; for the fine linen garment in which he is clothed forms the costume of the priests, who were never allowed to dress themselves in anything but linen. Moreover, he marries the daughter of the priest of On. At the same time the distinctive mark of royalty, the golden necklace is hung upon his neck, and he is placed in the same rank as the royal princes, for he rides in the king's second chariot, and every one has to kneel down before him. These two sets of distinctions go very well together, for in Egypt the king was also the high priest. Every other Egyptian had to approach the gods through a mediator, but the king had not.

It appears from what has been said already that the writer of the legend of Joseph was pretty well acquainted with some of the conditions and ideas of Egyptian life; and he shows

the same familiarity with them in his remark that shepherds and goatherds are an abomination to the Egyptians, that Joseph the Egyptian might not eat at the same table with the Hebrews, and that the border land of Goshen was assigned to them as their dwelling-place. But we should be quite mistaken if we were to suppose from his words that the Egyptians possessed no sheep or goats, or that the keepers of these animals were held in dishonor among them; for this was by no means the case. Our knowledge of Egyptian life is principally drawn from the pictures upon the pyramids and the walls of palaces and temples; and in these pictures we often find flocks of small cattle both at the stall and at pasture; and, indeed, the story of Joseph itself speaks of them.¹ Ancient historians tell us that the Egyptian shepherds were very clever at their trade, and, amongst other accomplishments, showed great skill in the treatment of their sick beasts. In some districts we even find sheep and goats used for sacrifices.

The Egyptians, then, did not hold all shepherds and goatherds in abomination, but they had a rooted aversion to the foreign shepherd tribes that hung upon the north-eastern boundary of their country pasturing sheep and goats. Dislike of all foreigners was remarkably intense in Egypt, but it was more especially against these special tribes that the hatred of the native population was directed. This hatred was not unfounded; for about the year 2100 B.C. the whole kingdom of Memphis fell into the power of certain tribes of Syrian shepherds. They had pushed into the country unexpectedly, and, after having conquered it without much difficulty, had maintained themselves there for more than four centuries. They were called the Hyksos, that is, the *shepherd kings*. At last, about the year 1660 B.C., Upper Egypt rose against them, under the leadership of King Amosis, and succeeded in regaining its freedom; but Lower Egypt long remained in their power. On the eastern bank of the Nile the Hyksos had built themselves a fortified camp, in which they placed their possessions in safety, and from which they ruled the Delta. At last King Thutmosis undertook the siege of this fortress, but he was obliged to consent to a treaty by which the Hyksos, with a force of two hundred and forty thousand fighting men, went off to Syria. The site of this camp was called Avaris [that is, *Hebrews* (?)], and afterwards Pelusium [that is, *Philistines* (?)]. By the year 1580 B.C. Egypt was once more free. So, at least, several scholars have read the old monu-

¹ Genesis xlvii. 17.

ments of Egypt; but much of all this is uncertain, and other scholars dispute the justice of this view of the history. It is a fact, however, that the land was oppressed for a considerable time by tribes of Arab shepherds.

It was not unnatural that after this the Egyptians should feel the strongest aversion to all foreigners, and especially to the shepherd tribes that came from the desert of Arabia. The ancestors of the people of Israel were soon to feel this hatred to their cost, as we shall presently see.



CHAPTER XXIX.

RETROSPECT.

AT the end of our First Book we may well pause for a moment, for it would not be surprising were the picture beginning to swim before the eyes of many of my readers, and were they somewhat at a loss to give a reasonable account of what they have been reading. All these legends that place us in such a strange world, and are sometimes at variance with each other, and sometimes so marvellously woven together that it is almost impossible to keep hold of the thread that is to lead us out of the labyrinth, — all these legends begin at last to get so inextricably confused that we find it impossible to take a general view of them at all. How utterly different the final impression one retains as a child, when, with no deep thought on the matter, and content with any kind of solution of the difficulties that arise, one drinks in the stories of the first human generations and of the patriarchs, — delighting in them, more because they feed the imagination and work upon the feelings than because they are good for the heart or head!

Let us cast a glance backward then, that, while each of the stories still speaks for itself, we may take a general view of the whole.

The first point that excites our attention is the extraordinary manner in which the book of Genesis is put together! We cannot help asking, "How could sensible men by any possibility write such a book?" For what is it that we have observed? That this book is made up of portions of at least three works. First of all, to begin with the latest, there was a "Book of Origins," from which, however, but few of the

stories were borrowed. The first account of the creation and Adam's family register formed a part of it. And it also contained an account of the deluge and of God's covenant with the rescued persons, followed by a family register from Noah down to Abraham. But there was not much about the patriarchs in it. The migration of Terah to Canaan, the covenant of God Almighty (El Shaddai) with Abraham, the institution of circumcision, the birth of Isaac, the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, a summary of Ishmael's descendants, the birth of Esau and Jacob, a short account of Jacob's stay with Laban and the mention of the separation of Isaac's two sons, one of whom went to Seir while the other stayed in Canaan, a list of Esau's descendants, the migration of Jacob and his family to Egypt, the adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh by their grandfather, as his own children, and the burial of the latter at Hebron, — this is almost all. It is little more than a short epitome of the contents of the traditions current during the writer's lifetime, and does but serve as the introduction to a rather extensive work; for, though we have already gone through Genesis, we have not taken our leave of the "Book of Origins" yet. On the contrary, we have still to examine its most important sections. Not only are some of the biblical accounts of Moses borrowed from this book, but we shall also find an elaborate system of Israelite law in it, together with a description of the Mosaic religion, according to the writer's idea of it. His review of the fortunes of the generations before Moses is a very suitable introduction to the rest, for he shows us how preparations for the Mosaic religion were gradually made; how God revealed himself to the early generations, not as Yahweh, but as "God" or "God-almighty;" and how certain commandments, such as the abstinence from blood and the circumcision, had been given to Israel already, before God made his law completely known by Moses. We shall return to this subject in our Fourth Book.

If we remove from the book of Genesis all the stories drawn from the "Book of Origins," and leave out of consideration the alterations introduced by the Redactor (that is, the man who made up a single whole out of the older works), we have still a collection of legends which were written by at least two authors, whose accounts, especially in the stories of Jacob and Joseph, are often opposed to one another, but yet are so woven together that it is exceedingly difficult to separate them and read each of them straight through by itself. One writer, whose hand we

can trace all through the book, from the story of Paradise down to Joseph's death, ascribes Mosaic usages quite freely to pre-Mosaic antiquity, whereas another never lets these early generations speak of Yahweh or offer sacrifices, but on the other hand represents them as raising anointed stones, a practice which the patriarchs never followed, according to the former writer. There are many reasons for suspecting that this writer, who avoids the name of Yahweh (he is sometimes called *the older Elohist*, because, like the later "Book of Origins," he always speaks of *Elohim*, "God"), was an Ephraimite, while the other (the Yahwist) lived in Judah. We shall meet with both these writers again in our Second Book.

We have now given a slight sketch of the way in which Genesis was probably put together. I say "probably," for I have made no attempt, either here or in speaking of the separate stories, to conceal the fact that it is very difficult to arrive at certainty upon every point. No doubt my readers have sometimes become quite perplexed in listening to these legends so strangely fused together and worked up into a single whole, and now and then the scholars who are trying to separate the whole into its parts feel just the same confusion. Since the middle of the last century, when a French physician published a book to show that Genesis is made up of different fragments, many Biblical scholars have devoted their powers to this question, and though great progress has been made already, we are not at the end of our labors yet.

Many of my readers may be ready to cry out at this point, "How could the Redactor of Genesis possibly go to work in such an extraordinary manner? Why did he so often retain the very words of the old documents, even when they contradicted each other?" No doubt it is strange;—so strange indeed that we can quite understand the ridicule which some people throw upon the idea that the book of Genesis was really produced in this manner. And yet this opinion is no mere idle theory, but is forced upon us by the work itself; for the repetitions and contradictions it contains cannot be explained in any other way. To take a single example, no one who reads the first chapters of Genesis in an unprejudiced spirit can fail to see that two accounts of the creation stand over against each other there; and in the sequel too, we have numerous examples, from the history of Jacob for instance, that speak unmistakably enough. It certainly does show a want of thought

on the part of the Redactor, but his case by no means stands alone. We shall notice a similar phenomenon in other books of the Old Testament, especially in Exodus, Samuel, and Kings. Moreover, the students of other branches of Oriental Literature tell us of the same thing. The Arabian historians go to work in the same way. There is an old chronicle, for instance, called the chronicle of Tabari, which is nothing but a collection of traditions, strung together without the least pretence of criticism, full of repetitions, contradictions, and impossibilities. Other writers have drawn from this work; that is to say they have given us the same narrative but have altered a little here and there, removed some of the contradictions and omitted some of the most hopelessly improbable stories; but have also inserted words of a far later date. Lastly, one writer, of somewhat higher culture, who has a definite plan, and may be compared in this respect to the writer of the "Book of Origins," uses only so much of the traditionary matter as he requires for his purpose, and makes it into a single whole. But in most cases there is a total absence of all criticism.

Where facts speak we must yield to them, even if we cannot explain them. However strange it may seem, then, we must admit that Genesis, like many other books of the Bible, was put together in this extraordinary manner.

Of the origin and the earliest history of the Israelites, and the tribes related to them, we know, in spite of all the stories furnished us by the book of Genesis, sadly too little. Before Moses, indeed, the Israelites had no history, properly so called.¹ All that we know of their fortunes, and of those of the people with whom they were brought into contact, comes to this: —

A number of Semitic tribes of Arphaxad began, in primeval times, to cross the river Euphrates, and passing onward towards the south-west, pushed into the district that lies between the Mediterranean Sea, the Euphrates, the Persian Gulf, and Egypt. The greater portion of these wandering hordes, the Joktanites, passed into Arabia. Here they gradually established themselves; but we have no means of knowing whom they found already living there. As to the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, west of the Jordan, and the district on the east bank of this river, we have, on the other hand, reason to believe that it was inhabited about sixteen

¹ See pp. 97-99.

BOOK II.

FROM MOSES TO DAVID.

CHAPTER I.

THE YOUTH OF MOSES.

Ex. I. 1.-II. 22.

AT the head of Israel's history stands the mighty figure of Moses. He lived in times when his people were as yet in a state of barbarism, and for many centuries afterwards no historian appeared amongst them; so it is not surprising that we know but little of his life. Legend plays a greater part than history in the accounts which we possess of him, and it is impossible to give a sketch of his life and character which we can confidently declare to be true. But Israel never lost the memory of the man who was considered the spiritual father of his people. A grateful posterity named him — and to a large extent with justice — the founder of Israel's national existence and of the worship of Yahweh. As such, then, he may claim a place of honor amongst the men whose lives have moulded the history of the world.

The book of Exodus opens with an account of his birth and early life, which runs as follows: —

The youth of Moses fell in evil days, for his people were in great distress, on account of the fear with which they were regarded by the Egyptian king. Nor was the monarch's alarm without good cause, for after the death of Joseph and his generation, the posterity of Jacob multiplied beyond measure, so that they filled the land. Now the king under whom Joseph had served as viceroy was dead, and his successor, who knew nothing of Joseph's services to Egypt, looked upon this increase in the number of the Hebrews with great anxiety. So

Who knows how many of the forefathers of the Hebrews who pastured their flocks in Goshen about 1400 B.C. may have belonged to the former oppressors of Egypt? The Hebrews themselves, however, had preserved no recollection of anything of the kind. This much alone is certain, that the social condition of the land between the Euphrates and Egypt fourteen centuries before Christ was in a veritable chaos. All kinds of Semitic tribes clashed together there, and fought for a settled home against each other and the fierce tribes of older inhabitants. It was a struggle for life. From some of these tribes, then settled in the land of Goshen, the people of Israel sprang.

The history of Israel, then, begins with Moses. Before his time there did indeed exist certain uncultivated shepherd-tribes, capable, as the result showed, of great things; but it was impossible to see what would become of them. Moses, by his mighty personality, moulded these rude tribes into something higher, and laid the foundations of a national existence amongst them, while stamping the impress of his own spirit upon their union. But "one sows and another reaps." He who lays the foundations of a national existence does not live to see the nation. Not years, but centuries must pass away before the national unity was really established, and from the Hebrew shepherds that inhabited the land of Goshen fourteen centuries before Christ, a nation had been formed with its own special character and its own special mission. This only came about in the age of David, and his accession to the throne, therefore, is a turning-point in the history of Israel.

In describing this second period we would gladly stand entirely upon historical ground, but it is impossible that our wish to do so should be fulfilled. We shall still meet with a host of legends, and with regard to the fortunes of Moses and his contemporaries, for instance, we shall have to content ourselves with the knowledge of one or two particulars. But the main lines of Israelite history are clear, many facts are established, and, most important of all, several of the chief actors in the history are known to us as individuals. From the darkness then we are coming into the twilight. We can distinguish several great personalities clearly. And, when we look closely, we gradually see a most intensely interesting spectacle rising more and more distinctly into view; — it is the birth of a nation!

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he said to his advisers: "See how numerous these tribes have grown. Nay, they are more powerful than we are ourselves. We must take steps to prevent their increasing still more; or else, when war breaks out, they will take the side of our enemies, and at last, after turning their arms against us, leave our country altogether." So the Egyptians began systematically to oppress the Israelites. All kinds of toil were forced upon them. For instance, they were compelled to build two cities, Pithom and Ramses, in Goshen, the district in which most of them lived. A hateful task! For the sole object of these fortresses was to keep them down, and to prevent their kindred tribes of the desert from coming to their succour. They were compelled to perform other kinds of servile work as well, and in some places heavy labor in the fields was required of them. Thus the Egyptians oppressed them out of fear; but the more they oppressed them the more rapidly did they multiply.

Then the king bethought him of another and more cruel plan. He ordered the Hebrew nurses to kill all the male children as soon as they were born. But the nurses—all honor to them! God gave them a numerous posterity as a reward! may the names of Siphrah and Puah never be forgotten by the sons of Israel!—the nurses would not lend a hand to the king in the execution of this treacherous design, so the project of the tyrant came to nothing.

Next came a still more fearful decree. The Egyptians received orders to slay the children of the Hebrews. The girls they might suffer to live, but the boys must be thrown without pity into the Nile.

It was in this time of misery that a woman of the tribe of Levi—another writer tells us that her name was Jochebed—whose husband belonged to the same tribe, brought a son into the world. She could not bear to think of it being killed, it was such a splendid child. It was true she ran fearful risks by keeping it concealed, but for three months she persevered. Then some way the secret oozed out, and still striving to do what could be done towards rescuing her child, she wove a basket of papyrus, made it as water-tight as she could, laid her little baby in it, and then put it among the bulrushes on the banks of the river. Who could tell? God had power to save the little one! His sister—she is called Miriam elsewhere—was to stand some way off, but to keep her eye upon the basket with such a precious treasure in it, to see what would become of it.

She had not been watching long when, behold! the king's daughter, with all her train of slaves, came to bathe in the Nile. It so happened that the basket among the bulrushes caught her eye, and she sent one of her attendants to fetch it; and when they opened it they saw the child lying there and wailing bitterly. The tender-hearted princess was moved with pity, and exclaimed: "Surely it must be some Hebrew child." Then Miriam came up and said: "Shall I find you a Hebrew nurse to suckle it for you?" And when the princess showed by her consent that she intended to keep the child alive, Miriam hastened to her mother with the glorious news. We may think how joyfully the mother obeyed the summons of the king's daughter.

What a strange scene it was! There lay the baby crying for food, and his mother, yearning all the while to lay him to her breast, stood by as if she were a stranger, without daring to betray how much better her right to the child was than the princess's! "Will you take this little one with you and suckle it? I will pay you if you will," said the princess. How Jochebed longed to cry out to her: "The gods of my people and the gods of your fathers reward you for taking pity on this slave-child!" But she must restrain herself. She agreed to the wages offered, and took her own child with her, as if she were an hireling. So Moses was brought up in the house of his parents during his early years, and his first impressions were derived from amongst his own people.

But when he grew older and could do without the first care of a mother, Jochebed had to take him to the king's daughter again. She did it with a bleeding heart. What would become of him now! No doubt the princess would take good care of him and have him well taught. The great Egyptian lady could do everything for him far better than his own mother could have done. But there was one great danger. Would not the child, with his courtly education, learn to despise his own people! Would he not become an Egyptian, every inch of him! Would not his position make him forget his origin? She feared it would be so.

The princess did not do her good work by halves. When the boy was brought to her she called him Moses, *i.e.*, *the drawn*, "for," she said, "I have *drawn* him out of the water;" and she did not bring him up as a slave, but as if he were her own son. So it seemed likely enough that he would forget his Hebrew origin, or would feel ashamed whenever it came into his mind.

But it was not so. The voice of nature cried aloud within him, and he was too noble to deny his kinsmen. In spite of his Egyptian education, in spite of the contempt with which his countrymen were regarded by those amongst whom he lived, in spite of his own high rank, he was still a Hebrew at heart. And so he was deeply troubled by the sad condition of his own people. His blood would boil in his veins when he heard at court how they sported with their lives; how thousands of them were driven to the most exhausting toil—the building of pyramids, palaces, temples, or fortresses; how the news that this or that number of them had again perished from heat and weariness, thirst and hunger, was received at court with perfect indifference, and only raised a question as to the best way of bringing up another batch to take the places of those that had perished, without its being necessary to stop the work. And he shuddered to think how many of his kinsmen were banished, for resisting orders, to those stone quarries from which death was only a release.

He could not bear it long. Hardly had he grown up and begun to feel his strength, when the places where his kinsmen were driven to their servile tasks drew him more and more irresistibly to them. He saw them panting under their burdens; he heard the swish of the driver's lash as it fell upon them; he must stand by and see them fall to the ground in exhaustion, disease, and death—others at once taking their places only to meet the same fate at last. He heard them murmuring over their misery, cursing their oppressors, praying for deliverance. Should he not?—Nay! what could he do? It was utterly out of his power to release them; and were he to betray any symptom of all that was going on in his heart, it would simply bring him into the utmost danger, without doing them the smallest good. Yet, was not he too a Hebrew? By birth he was; but Egypt was a second fatherland, the princess a second mother to him. If he was patient, it might be that hereafter, when he had risen to power and distinction, he might take up the cause of his people and succeed in lightening their yoke. That would be much more sensible than to stand by them now. He must wait then. He must close his eyes to their misery and his ears to their cry.

But yet he felt himself drawn irresistibly to the scenes of the Hebrews' sufferings—dangerous spots for one in his present frame of mind. If he was really to be patient he must keep far away, or it would be impossible for him in the end

to hold himself in check. It was impossible. He is standing at a solitary spot, not far from one of the scenes of toil. A Hebrew, one of his kinsfolk, sits down there to rest a moment, for all his strength is gone. But one of the drivers has spied him out. "How the lazy rascal is dawdling! This is no time for resting. If he breaks down under his burden, it is but a small matter, for another can take his place. There is no stint of the villains. To your task there!" The lash is raised. It falls with a sharp, cruel sound. But it does not bite the exhausted slave more fiercely than the tender-hearted man who sees it, and has seen the like so often. All his prudence is scattered to the winds. His wealth, his honors, his prospects, are as nothing to him. He, too, is a Hebrew, and he feels the blow as if it had been laid upon himself. A glance to the right—a glance to the left. No one is in sight. His sword has leapt from its scabbard; a momentary gleam, and the Egyptian falls! No one has seen the deed except the rescued Hebrew, and surely he will not betray his deliverer. The corpse of the slaughtered man is hurriedly covered with sand.

A host of thoughts and questions crowded through the brain of Moses. If the Hebrews were all at one; if they rose together against their oppressors; if each of them did what he himself had done; could not they rescue themselves? If they would listen to him, and put themselves under his guidance, might he not succeed in—? His heart beats high at the thought. He feels that he is called to some great task.

But a bitter disappointment awaits him. On the following day he is once more at the same spot. Again he witnesses a sight that grieves him. Two of his fellow-tribesmen are quarrelling with each other. At any rate this must not go on. Unity alone gives strength. He goes at once to the one who is evidently in the wrong, and asks: "Why are you striking him?" But what is his dismay on hearing the answer: "Well! What business is it of yours? Who has made you our judge and leader? Perhaps you mean to kill me as you did the Egyptian!" What! Was his deed already known? The man he had delivered had told all about it, and yet it had not been the signal of revolt to his tribesmen. Were they ungrateful, then? Had they no love of freedom?

Alas! Moses knew little of the heart of a slave. Hereafter he was destined to learn only too much of it.

He soon discovered that news of his bold deed had reached the ears of the king, and that orders had been given for him to be seized and put to death ; so he took flight at once, and passed through the peninsula of Sinai to Midian. The inhabitants of this region were related to the Hebrews, so he hoped to find a dwelling-place amongst them.

Fortune favored him ; for as he was sitting by the well of the district, the seven daughters of Reuel, the priest of the Midianites, came to water their flocks ; but just at the same moment some of the neighboring shepherds came up to drive them away. Then the same chivalrous instinct which had led Moses to take the part of his oppressed tribesmen urged him to defend these sorely harassed maidens. The selfish shepherds soon saw how bold a champion the priest's daughters had found, and kept their distance, while Moses watered the maidens' flocks. It was not the first time that the girls had had to suffer from the violence of the other owners of the well ; nay, it was such a common occurrence that Reuel was quite surprised to see his daughters back so soon. When they told him all that had taken place, he reproved them for having been so inhospitable as not to ask the Egyptian home, and hastened to make up for their neglect.

With Reuel Moses found no mere resting-place for the day, but another home ; and when he had married Zipporah (one of Reuel's daughters) he felt himself united to his new surroundings by the tenderest ties.

It is an undoubted fact that the ancestors of the Israelites were oppressed by the Egyptians ; and it is but natural, therefore, that our first inquiries should be : How long did this period of oppression last ? and, When did it cease ? We may look for light in two directions, and ask : What did the Israelites say about it ? and, Have the Egyptians preserved any recollections of it ? The answer is not easily given : The traditions of the Israelites differ widely from each other, and so deserve but little confidence. In one place¹ we are distinctly informed that the Israelites left Egypt four hundred and eighty years before the building of Solomon's Temple ; and elsewhere² that the slavery lasted four hundred years, and the whole sojourn in Egypt four hundred and thirty years. But then, again, there are other accounts, according to which the Israelites returned to Canaan as soon as the fourth generation after their settle-

¹ 1 Kings vi. 1.

² Genesis xv. 13. Exodus xii. 40.

ment in Egypt.¹ Now four hundred and eighty is obviously a round number, and stands for the lifetime of twelve generations, each generation being put at forty years, which is certainly too high. We have already² seen that the number four hundred and thirty was also obtained artificially. The narrative in Exodus implies that the oppression did not last long, for it began as soon as the generation of Joseph had passed away, and a king who had not known him sat upon the throne.³ It was in this king's reign that Moses was born, and under his successor⁴ that the Hebrews left Egypt. Moreover, it is in itself very unlikely that the slavery lasted long. Had it done so, it would have succeeded in its object, and completely broken the independent spirit of the Hebrews.

As to the Egyptian accounts, they are borrowed chiefly from the work of an Egyptian priest, called Manetho, who compiled a history of his people, from ancient authorities, about the year 250 B.C. The work itself is lost, but Josephus and others give us fragments of it. These extracts tell us something of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, and possibly, though this is very uncertain, of their departure from it. The opinions of the learned as to the succession of the Egyptian kings and the length of their reigns also rest to a large extent upon the same authority.

We have also gained some light from deciphering the inscriptions upon pyramids, palaces, obelisks, and temples; though it is only in the present century that scholars have taken this work in hand. In 1799, on the occasion of Napoleon's expedition against Egypt, a stone was discovered at Rosetta, upon which there was one inscription written in three languages, — the hieroglyphic character, the demotic or popular Egyptian character, and the Greek. This discovery laid the foundations of the art of deciphering the ancient inscriptions. Silvestre de Sacy made some progress, and since his time the two Champollions, Lepsius, Rosellini, Bunsen, and Brugsch, amongst others, have rendered valuable services upon this field of study. But although the hoary past of Egypt is being gradually unveiled by the labors of the learned, the task is surrounded by many difficulties, and the work proceeds but slowly.

It is no wonder, then, that with regard to the question we are now considering we find students of the subject disagreeing, and are therefore unable to lay down anything as certain.

¹ Genesis xv. 16; cf. p. 122. Exodus vi. 16-18, 20, &c.

² P. 66.

³ Exodus i. 8.

⁴ Exodus ii. 23.

But the following conclusion is constantly gaining a more and more unanimous support:—

When, about 1580 B.C., King Thutmosis III. had expelled the Hyksos from Egypt,¹ the country rapidly rose in prosperity and power. As the emancipation had proceeded from Upper Egypt, the Pharaohs chose Thebes, instead of Memphis, as their seat; and there they built their magnificent temples and palaces. They turned their weapons successfully against the inhabitants of the valley of the Higher Nile, and Amenophis III. (about 1500) built a temple to his own godhead there.² None of the kings, however, could rival the fame of Sethos and his son Ramses, the former of whom reigned for fifty-one years (1445–1394), and the latter for sixty-six (1394–1328). They triumphed in various wars over their enemies, amongst others the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, and raised many monuments of extraordinary magnificence. The number of their captives of war was so great that, as a Greek writer assures us, they had no need to exact servile labor from a single Egyptian. This king, Ramses II. (Miamun, as he is called in the inscriptions, or Sesostris, as the Greeks named him), was probably the oppressor of the Hebrew tribes who pastured their flocks in the land of Goshen. One of the cities which the Israelites were compelled to build was accordingly called Ramses.³ This Ramses the Great was succeeded by his son Menephthah, who reigned nineteen or twenty years; and it was in his reign, between the years 1328 and 1309 that is, that the Israelites departed from Egypt.

Here we may leave the matter for the present to return to the story of the youth of Moses, though we shall have to go back to the history of Egypt presently.

“The youth of Moses” is certainly not a correct title for this chapter, if it is true that the hero was eighty years old⁴ when he began to emancipate his people; for, in that case, even if we admit the statement of an early Christian writer,⁵ that he spent forty years with his father-in-law, still he was no longer in his youth when he fled to Midian. But this statement as to the age of Moses has a very suspicious look. We shall often find *forty* used as a round number to signify a longish period: and the story in Exodus says distinctly,⁶ “And it came to pass when Moses grew up that he went out

¹ See p. 235.

² Exodus i. 11.

³ Acts vii. 30.

⁴ See p. 232.

⁵ Exodus vii. 7.

⁶ Exodus ii. 11.

to look upon his brethren, and saw an Egyptian strike one of his kinsmen."

When we examine the story of the youth of Moses closely, we very soon see that it is a legend. Imagine a people so powerful as to excite the fear of the Egyptians, and yet only having two midwives, who were consequently in a position to check the increase of the whole race! It is as inconceivable as the order to drown all the male children. It is evident what gave occasion to the invention of the story. It was the belief that the birth of a great man must be marked by something extraordinary. The name Moses, too, which is derived from a Hebrew word, signifying "to draw," played an important part in the formation of the story. The writer fell into an obvious mistake in making the Egyptian princess, who surely did not speak Hebrew, give him this name. Attempts have therefore been made, even in ancient times, to show that the name of Moses is derived from two Egyptian words which mean "water" and "to draw;" but even if this were possible it would simply be an accidental coincidence, for it is evidently the Hebrew word to which our writer refers in his explanation of the name.

Although he gives us a detailed account of the early days of Moses, yet he never tells us the names of his parents. They were evidently unknown to tradition. The "Book of Origins,"¹ however, calls his father Amram, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, and his mother Jochebed, Amram's aunt, and a daughter of Levi.

Our legend contrasts favorably in many respects with the florid description of the youth of Moses which Josephus gives his readers. It is astonishing to see how much he has to tell us about it. The main features of his narrative are as follows: The Egyptian king, who made the Hebrews work as slaves because his own people were lazy and were jealous of the prosperity of these strangers, heard a prophecy that about that time a child would be born among the Hebrews who would humble the power of Egypt, deliver his own people, and be celebrated all over the world for his wonderful valor. In order to prevent its coming to pass, the king gave orders that all the Hebrew boys that were born should be drowned, and for fear the babies might be hidden by their parents he ordered that Egyptian midwives should attend the Hebrew women. Now when Amram's wife was expecting to become a mother, her husband prayed to God for help, and God told him that

¹ Exodus vi. 16, 18.

his child would be the promised deliverer. When the baby was born its parents hid it for three months; but then Amram began to be afraid that he might be found out, and that in that case both he himself and the child would be killed, and God's promise brought to nothing. So he thought it better to trust entirely to the promise rather than his own efforts to hide the child, for God would doubtless find means of making good his word.

This is a curious example of the way in which the determination to defend anybody's conduct, at all costs, leads a man into every kind of obliquity. What we call the result of fear becomes with Josephus the fruit of trust in God! It is surely nearer the mark to think it a proof of faith in the child's parents that they did venture to hide him for three months, and this is the view taken by a Christian writer of the Apostolic age.¹

But to return to the story of Josephus.

The parents of Moses now laid the child in a little chest made of papyrus, and let it float down the Nile while Miriam, their daughter, followed it along the bank to see where it would rest. Thus God showed how powerless is all the wisdom of man, and that they who selfishly attempt the destruction of others (referring, no doubt, to the king), fail in their efforts, while those, on the other hand, who run into danger in obedience to God's will, are rescued from it, even against all hope. For Thermouthis, the king's only child, found the little one, was delighted by its size and beauty, and determined to keep it alive. But it was in vain that the Egyptian women laid it to their breasts. It would not let them feed it. The princess and her attendants were at a loss what to do, but Miriam came up and said that the Egyptian women were but losing their labor, though perhaps the child would let a Hebrew woman feed it. On this Miriam was commissioned by the princess to go and find a Hebrew woman, and of course she brought her mother.

Now the Egyptians call water "mo," and one rescued "ises," so that Moses signifies "one rescued from the water." The boy grew up most wonderfully, excelling all around him both in mind and body. He was so beautiful that when he was three years old people stood still in the streets to look at him, and so fascinating that they could not take their eyes off him.

Thermouthis, who had no children of her own, adopted

¹ Hebrews xi. 23.

him, and presented him to her father, begging him to name him as his successor if she should not have a child herself. The king took the child in his arms, to please his daughter, pressed him to his bosom, and playfully set the crown upon his head. But Moses flung it to the ground and trampled on it. This seemed a bad omen, and just at that moment came in the very priest who had prophesied before that a boy would be born destined to rescue the Israelites to the cost of the Egyptians. He cried out, "O king! this is the child! Kill it on the spot." But Thermouthis managed to save him, and educated him with the greatest care, and had him taught all the sciences.

When Moses was grown up he rendered the Egyptians an important service. The Ethiopians had made an inroad upon them, and had penetrated as far as Memphis. The Egyptians were at their wits' end, and went to consult their gods, who told them to call in the help of the Hebrew, whereupon the king requested his daughter to send him Moses. She consented, after her father had taken an oath to do him no harm, and reproachfully asked the priests whether they were not ashamed of calling for the help of one against whose life they had plotted. Egyptians and Hebrews alike rejoiced, though for very different reasons, that Moses had been chosen as general; and he did not disappoint their expectations, but defeated the Ethiopians, and finally married Tharbis, the daughter of their king.

But when the Egyptians, repaying his service with ingratitude, endeavored to put him out of the way, he fled to Midian, where he was hospitably received by Reuel.

Some of these particulars about the birth and youth of Moses are evidently invented by Josephus himself, while others were already current amongst the people in his time. In the same way various additions to the Biblical story about Moses are to be found in other writers, both Christian and Jewish, after the beginning of our era.¹

A comparison of the story in Exodus with this account of the events by Josephus is altogether favorable to the former. Not only is it delightfully simple, while the other is gaudy and overloaded, but, singularly enough, while Josephus praises Moses extravagantly for his wonderful beauty, valor, and skill in warfare, delights to enlarge on his fame and power, and mentions the opportunities he enjoyed for gaining knowledge, he omits the one really noble feature in the character of Moses

¹ *E.g.*, Acts vii. 23.

as sketched in Exodus. For, according to Josephus, he has to flee simply because the king is afraid of him, not at all because he has taken the part of his unhappy tribesmen. Worldly men place a high value upon all that glitters, upon all earthly greatness. With men of a spiritual type, on the other hand, the highest privileges of such a nature do not weigh against one single deed of virtue. Worldly men, therefore delight in speaking of riches, beauty, and honor. Spiritual men dwell rather upon traits of moral grandeur. Josephus passes over both the courage of the midwives and the self-sacrifice of Moses. The writer of Exodus, on the other hand, only mentions the beauty of Moses in passing, and fixes our attention on his brilliant prospects only in so far as this was necessary, to show us how much he sacrificed for his people's sake. This proves that he knew the worth of moral greatness.

But are we to praise Moses for that deed of violence? Did he not commit a murder when he slew the Egyptian? and must we ever speak of such an action with approval? This question certainly never entered the head of the writer of Exodus. Murder was indeed considered a sin in Israel; but a human life was much less highly prized in ancient times than is now the case. At a time when it was considered the duty of the relative of a murdered man to exact vengeance for him with his own hand and slay his murderer, no one would dream of condemning a man for leaping to the rescue of his own flesh and blood and slaying a stranger. But to us, who have learned to value every human life so highly, the question does arise: Is the action of Moses in all respects worthy of approbation? And we cannot but answer: No; a murder is never to be commended! The end never justifies the means! Even if the noblest motives urge a man to strike another dead, yet, if his conscience be sound, he must sooner or later repent. A murder, even if no human judge can punish us; nay, even though half the world should rise up to thank us for it; a murder, committed in self-defence or to rescue a neighbor, still contaminates us and makes us unclean in the sight of God. But there are circumstances under which the noble impulses of the heart can only speak in deeds of violence or even bloodshed! The warrior who, burning with love for his fatherland, strikes down the foe, is stained in the sight of God; and, if he has a feeling heart, he shrinks from himself in after times when he thinks of what he has done. Yet he stands

far, far above the coward, caring for nothing but his own security, who sneaks away and keeps quiet, leaving his fatherland to its fate. In the same way, though we cannot commend Moses for the murder he committed, yet the feelings that inspired him at that moment do deserve the highest praise. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews dwells with fine perception upon this point when he says:¹ "By faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called a son of Pharaoh's daughter, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season."

Honor to the man who takes the part of the weak — who risks his own interests for those of his neighbor — who "endures as seeing the Invisible!"² While he loses all earthly reward and throws away a crown, he gains a glory greater than the treasures of Egypt.

CHAPTER II.

MOSES IN MIDIAN.

Ex. III. 1-IV. 28.

THE place which the Israelite biographers of Moses called "the land of Midian" lies, in all probability, south-east of Horeb, in the southern portion of the Sinaitic peninsula. Greek geographers, who visited these regions in the second century before Christ, found, on the shore of the Elanite gulf, a grove of palm-trees and a plentiful supply of water, valued all the more highly on account of the dryness of the country round. The office of priest at the sacred grove was filled by a man and woman, who were clothed in the hides of animals, ate the fruit of the palms, and slept in huts built upon the trunks of the trees, for fear of beasts of prey. They were consecrated to the priesthood for life, and knew by tradition that their ancestors had filled the same office time out of mind. A great feast was celebrated in the grove every five years, and on these occasions well-fed camels were sacrificed to the gods, and the frequenters of the festival took water home with them from the well, believing it to possess

¹ Hebrews xi. 24, 25.

² Hebrews xi. 27.

healing powers. To this very day there is a harbor in the neighborhood called "the harbor of the well," near which may still be seen a well and an old funereal monument which the Bedouins and sea-men hold in high honor, and to which they make all kinds of offerings. Here we imagine Reuel, "the priest of Midian," as he is always called, to have dwelt. The name Reuel, however, only occurs twice.¹ Everywhere else that of Jether or Jethro is substituted. Perhaps this was originally a title signifying "chief" or something of the kind, and has been taken for a proper name by mistake.

We are not told by the narrators in Exodus how long Moses dwelt in Midian; but they give us a detailed account of the close of his sojourn there. It runs as follows:—

Moses used to tend the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro, the priest of Midian; and once, when he was pasturing them near Horeb, the mountain of God, he witnessed a most extraordinary sight. He saw a bramble-bush all in flames, but however fiercely the fire burned, the sprays and leaves of the bush were not consumed. So strange a sight drew Moses to the spot, to try to find out how it was that the shrub was not destroyed; but, prepared as he was for something out of the common course of events, he was far from thinking of any such glorious revelation as he was actually to receive. For the fiery glow was nothing less than the token of Yahweh's presence; and when the deity perceived that Moses turned aside to the flame, he cried out to him: "Moses! Moses!" Filled with amazement and awe, Moses stood still, and, declaring his readiness to receive the message of the deity, answered: "Here am I!" "Come not nearer," was the command, "and take your sandals from off your feet; for the spot whereon you stand is holy ground."

With naked feet, Moses stood still to listen, and veiled his face in terror lest he should see the deity with whom he spoke. His heart trembled when he heard the words: "I am the god of your forefathers, the god of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob." He waited in reverential silence for what should follow, and Yahweh's voice was heard again: "I have seen the misery of my people that is in Egypt, and have heard its cry because it is oppressed. I know how great are its sufferings. Therefore I have come down to deliver it from the hand of the Egyptians, and to lead it to a good and ample land overflowing with milk and honey, the dwelling-place of the tribes of Canaan. Come, then, I have chosen you as

¹ Exodus ii. 18. Numbers x. 29.

my messenger to Pharaoh. Go! and deliver my people from Egypt."

Deeply conscious of his own weakness, Moses was amazed and bewildered by this command, and answered: "Lord! who am I that I should have power to do this thing?" But the answer came back: "I will be with you. When you have brought the people out of Egypt you shall worship me upon this same mountain. Such is the proof that it is I who send you."

Moses now began to familiarize himself with the trust that had been laid upon him, and to weigh its difficulties. "When I go to the Israelites," he said in reply to the deity that addressed him, "and declare that the god of their fathers has sent me to them, then they will say to me, 'what is the name of the god who spoke to you?'" Then God answered, "I am what I am. Tell the Israelites that Yahweh, the god of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, has sent you to them. By this name I will be addressed to all eternity. Go, then! call the elders of the people together, and tell them that Yahweh, the god of the patriarchs, has looked upon them, and upon all they have had to endure in Egypt. Promise them that you will deliver them from the oppression of Egypt, and lead them to the land of the Canaanites. And if they give heed to your words you must go together to the king of Egypt, and say to him that Yahweh, the god of the Hebrews, has met you, and that you desire to go three days' journey into the desert to make sacrifices to him. I know full well," continued Yahweh, "that the Egyptian king will not freely grant the request, but I shall afflict his land with many fearful plagues, which you will see, until he is forced to let you go. And then I shall make the Egyptians feel kindly towards my people, so as not to let them leave the land in poverty; for the Hebrew women must ask their neighbors for gold and silver cups and vessels, and for precious garments, and you must load your sons and daughters with them, and so plunder Egypt."

But Moses was not yet silenced. "Lord!" he said, "what must I do if the Israelites will not believe that Yahweh has revealed himself to me?" This difficulty, like the others, was removed by the deity. He commanded Moses to throw down upon the ground the shepherd's staff which he held in his hand, and then he changed it into a serpent, from which Moses fled in terror, but when he seized it by the tail it changed back again into a stick. Then Yahweh made him put his hand into his bosom, and when he drew it

out it was white as snow with leprosy, and afterwards it was restored to health again. If his tribesmen would not believe that the god of their fathers had appeared to him, he was to convince them by showing them these two wonders. If this was not enough, he was to pour some of the Nile water upon the bank, and it would turn to blood.

Still Moses had a difficulty. "Lord!" he said, "I have not the gift of speech; I never had it, and I have not received it by thy speaking to me." But this was of no account with Yahweh. "Who gave a mouth to man?" he asked the hesitating shepherd; "who makes men dumb or deaf? who causes them to see or to be blind? Is it not I, Yahweh? Go, then, I will be with you, and will teach you what you must say."

Moses had now no further difficulty to urge; but yet he shrank from the task—it was so hard. "Nay, Lord," he cried, "do but send some other!" Then Yahweh answered in a voice of anger: "Is not Aaron the Levite thy brother? I know that he is eloquent. He will come to meet you and will rejoice when he sees you. You must put the words into his mouth, and I will help you both, and I will tell you what to do. Aaron shall speak to the people for you, and serve as it were for your mouthpiece. Go! and take your magic staff with you."

Then Moses went to Jethro, and asked him to let him go back to Egypt, to see whether his relatives were still alive. When he had received permission he began his journey. On the way, Yahweh said to him: "Remember to do all the wonders, for which I have given you the power, in the presence of Pharaoh. But it will be all in vain, for I shall harden his heart, and he will refuse to let the people go. Then you must say to him: Thus says Yahweh—'Israel is my son, my firstborn. Let my son go, that he may serve me. If you refuse to do it, I will slay your eldest son.'"

Meanwhile Yahweh had appeared to Aaron also, and had commanded him to go out from Egypt to meet Moses in the desert. At the mount of God he met him, and joyfully embraced and greeted him. Moses told his brother what Yahweh had commanded him, and what wonders he could perform. Then they went to Egypt together.

It cannot be denied that this story is somewhat prolix, though, as given above, it has been freed from several repetitions which make the original still more so. It is obvious, from many passages in the story, that it has been put together from various sources; and this comes out with special clear-

ness towards the end, where, after Moses has already got leave from Jethro to return to Egypt, the following words, strangely enough, occur: "And Yahweh said to Moses in Midian, 'Go! return to Egypt. For all who sought your life are dead.' Then Moses returned to Egypt, taking his wife and his sons with him, upon an ass, with the staff of God in his hand." This is evidently part of a story in which Moses is first called to deliver Israel, when he is already in Egypt, as we afterwards read. In the early chapters in Exodus, in fact, besides the account taken from the "Book of Origins," which knows nothing of the abode of Moses in Midian,¹ we have two other stories agreeing in the main, yet differing from each other in special details, which have been completely mixed up together.

In one important point they disagree; for while the one calls Yahweh the god of the patriarchs, the other represents this name of God as being revealed to Moses on this occasion for the first time. We shall speak hereafter of the origin of the worship of Yahweh, and at present need only make a few remarks as to the pronunciation and signification of the name.² At first sight it seems incredible that the Israelites themselves should have forgotten how to pronounce the name of their god. In reality, however, it is very easily explained. In ancient times they only wrote the consonants of their words in inscriptions and books, and so expressed the name of God by the letters Y H W H. Now every Israelite knew quite well how to pronounce these letters; but after the captivity they began to entertain a superstitious fear of this holy name, and to avoid pronouncing it, until at last it was strictly forbidden to utter it. In reading Holy Scripture therefore they generally substituted *Adonai* "lord," but sometimes *Elohim* "god," for this name. Now when the Jewish scholars of a later age added the vowels to the text of the Bible, for fear the pronunciation of Hebrew should be gradually lost, they added the vowels of these words *Adonai* or *Elohim* to the consonants Y H W H, so that Yehowah or Yehowih appears to be written. As the first of these forms occurs by far the most frequently, the name Jehovah has come into use, — simply through the affectation of half-educated students, — though hardly a single translation of repute has committed the blunder.³

There is no Jewish tradition, therefore, as to the pronuncia-

¹ Exodus i. 1-12, ii. 23-25, vi. 1-24.

² See p. 18.

³ Perhaps our own "Authorized Version," in which "Jehovah" occurs a few times, is the only exception. See p. 18, note.

tion of the proper name of Israel's god. But at a time when the Israelites were still in the habit of pronouncing it, it was picked up by certain foreigners, and therefore occurs in a few Phœnician and Greek inscriptions. These inscriptions, together with the laws of the Hebrew language, show that something like *Yahweh* must have been the pronunciation of the name.

What is the meaning of the name? The writer of Exodus iii. 14, attempts an explanation, and finds the word "I am" in it; but the glimpses we get of the knowledge of languages possessed by the old Israelites inspire us with no great confidence in their derivations; for, as observed already,¹ the explanations of names which occur so frequently in Genesis, for example, are almost all wrong, and are evidently invented just to suit the sound. So, too, in this case the interpretation is in all probability a mistake. It is almost impossible for *Yahweh* to mean "I am" or even "he is," though the real explanation of the name is uncertain. There is a great deal to be said in favor of the translation "He makes to be" or "The Creator;" and it is much easier to believe that the ancient Israelites expressed this idea in the name of their god, rather than the philosophical conception "he who is." The use of such an exalted name appears especially incongruous in an age when as yet the recognition of God's unity was not even thought of.

In speaking of the legend of the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah, we noticed² the wonderful inconsistencies in the idea of *Yahweh* which the writer had formed. In some respects he was a very exalted being, but in others he stood but little above mankind. Just the same thing is apparent here, and very naturally, since it is probably the work of the same writer that we have before us. On the one hand, *Yahweh* is a mighty god. He makes man deaf and dumb, or he gives him the power of speech. He makes him blind, or causes him to see. He rules the powers of Nature and can help his servant, so that Pharaoh is compelled to let Israel, *Yahweh's* eldest son,³ depart. On the other hand, this same *Yahweh* reveals himself in a burning bramble-bush, which is, accordingly, regarded as his dwelling-place.⁴ Once, it is true, instead of mentioning *Yahweh*, the writer speaks of his angel,⁵ as if he meant that it was not the deity himself, but only one of his messengers, that was manifesting himself. But everywhere else *Yahweh* him-

¹ See p. 57.

³ Compare Hosea xi. 1.

⁵ Exodus iii. 2.

² See p. 137.

⁴ Deuteronomy xxxiii. 16.

self is introduced as speaking ; and Moses, too, veils his face so as not to see God. It is easier, however, to forgive the writer his narrow conception of Yahweh than the low standard of honor which he attributes to him. Here we have another proof that the ancient Israelites were not very particular about speaking the truth or keeping faith. Yahweh commands Moses to ask Pharaoh's leave for the Hebrews to go three days' journey into the desert to do honor to their god, while his real intention is to take them away from Egypt for good. At the same time he shows Moses how to plunder the land of bondage ; every Hebrew woman is to ask her neighbors to lend her gold, silver, and apparel, and Yahweh is to incline the Egyptians to treat the request favorably. Actions for which we have no names except lying and stealing are here attributed to Yahweh. We cannot be surprised, then, that the writer tells us, without a word of disapproval, how Moses deceived his father-in-law by telling him that his object in wishing to go to Egypt was to see whether his relatives were still alive.

The main purpose of the writer was to show us how Moses had been called by Yahweh to deliver Israel from Egypt, and the manner in which he carries it out shows that he understood what is meant by being called of God, and so had something of the spirit of a prophet in him. Let us distinguish clearly between the form and the substance of his story, that we may be able to attach its true value to what he tells us. The form — a long conversation between Yahweh and Moses — seems strange to us ; but it appears that the prophets and their pious contemporaries found nothing extraordinary, or, at least, nothing impossible, in it. It need hardly be said that good men in ancient times never really held such conversations, any more than we do so now ; but when they looked back upon their inward experience, the conflict between their carnal and their spiritual nature, or, in other words, between flesh and blood on the one hand and God's voice in their heart on the other, took this form, almost without their knowing it. Thus, where we should speak of sympathy and the sense of duty urging us to action, and of fear of men and slothfulness of spirit drawing us back from it, or of the vacillation caused by inward conflicts, an Israelite prophet would speak of a conversation between God on the one hand and the man who was chosen to fulfil some task of God on the other.

Let us endeavor, then, to realize the writer's thoughts about Moses in Midian.

An exile, fleeing for his life, he had found in the desert more than a place of refuge and security; he had found another home. Wife and children held him fast to Reuel's country. An occupation after his own heart, the honored and ancestral task of pasturing sheep, was open to him. Why then should he cast another thought towards that land of Egypt where his tribesmen were suffering, it is true, but only by their own fault, and where his brave deed had waked no echo? They were slaves indeed, but did they not deserve their fate? And yet his heart would burn within him when he thought of them. Were they to be left there for ever to groan beneath the yoke, until they sank exhausted by their toil? It could not, it should not be! But yet what a hopeless task to attempt their deliverance? In the first place the people themselves would have to be roused from their lethargy, the thirst for freedom awakened within them, courage to risk a rebellion stirred in their hearts, a host of difficulties overcome. And then the struggle with the ruler of Egypt would begin, for most certainly he would not let his slaves escape if he could help it. Who was there that could do all this? Who was appointed to undertake the task? "You yourself," said a voice within. But he drew back from the task in fear. He? No. It was utterly beyond his power. — But it was vain to excuse himself. The impulse that urged him on was too mighty for him, and all his difficulties were borne down by it at last. He perceived more and more clearly that it was a god who urged him on. Who was this god? How could he doubt that it was the god of his fathers, mightier than all others, Yahweh! In his name he would call upon the Hebrews to rise. *He* could bow the heads of the Egyptian gods. If the Hebrews would put their trust in Yahweh, then he both would and could deliver them out of the hand of Pharaoh.

Horeb was a holy mountain, where the gods appeared to men. Upon this sacred spot, this place of revelations, the last struggle took place in the mind of Moses. "Go," said the voice of God, "release Israel!" "What is thy name, O Lord of this mountain?" "My name is Yahweh. To me you shall offer worship here when you have rescued your people, and are on the way to the fertile Canaan." But will the Israelites be ready to hear me? Will not their spirit be crushed by oppression? — Yahweh will reveal his might to them. He can do wondrous things. — Am I the right man after all? I have no eloquence! — I must do it! Help will

come to me. Aaron will stand by me. — I dare not. — Yahweh will help me and teach me. I must. To work, then!

Resolved to undertake the giant task, Moses returned to his home. But none must know what was going on in his heart, and what far-spreading plans had come to maturity within him. For if they knew, would not those dear to him keep him back, or, at least, make the struggle harder for him? He had fought with himself, but he evaded the conflict with his friends. "Let me go to Egypt," he said to his father-in-law; "I long to know whether my relatives are still alive." Reuel let him go, never dreaming what dangerous schemes his son-in-law had framed.

On his journey the old difficulties came into his mind afresh. Pharaoh will oppose him, that at least is certain. So be it. He fears him not. But will he really succeed? will he deliver Israel? How! Will not Yahweh's might be too great for Pharaoh? Yes! He will compel him to give way. Force will be met by force. Courage, then! Yahweh is the strongest!

When he met his brother at Horeb, he told him his plans, and inspired him with courage to undertake the work. His doubts were vanquished. Full of faith Moses began his work.

Reader! do you know the meaning of this calling and this strife? If not, God grant that you may soon learn it! There are many men who never understand it. Sorrow is in the world, but they feel no impulse to relieve it. Sin spreads havoc round them, but they are fired by no indignation. Their life is altogether worldly, spiritually they are insensate and dead! But if you truly know and honor God, there is a work set apart for you individually — a work in delivering the wretched, in fighting against every kind of misery — a work in which you must defy the wicked world fearlessly as Moses faced Pharaoh. You will not be left in ignorance as to what this work may be.

When such a noble task invites you, and yet seems too hard for you, because of all the sacrifices it demands, you hesitate, and flesh and blood cry out against it, and you say, "I cannot, I dare not."

Alas! too often, when noble thoughts well up in a heart that is warm towards man and warm towards God, this "dare not" is the end.

Blessed are we if the good impulse is stronger within us than fear or sloth, so that the voice of God, "Thou must," is victorious in the mental strife!

CHAPTER III.

YAHWEH COMPELS PHARAOH TO LET ISRAEL GO.

Ex. IV. 29-XI. 10.

AFTER the necessary consultations — so says one of the oldest writers — the two noble brothers, whom Yahweh had chosen for the great work, went on their way from Horeb to Egypt. When they had reached their destination they called all the elders of the sons of Israel together, and in their presence performed the wonders which Yahweh had given them power to do. The staff became a serpent, and then turned back into a staff again; and Moses' hand became leprous, and then recovered its healthy hue. How could the people withhold their faith from men who gave such clear proofs that Yahweh had seen the misery of his people and had come to visit them! All that were present bowed down in reverence. The leaders could reckon on their support.

And now the perilous task was begun! Moses and Aaron went to the king to make the demand upon which so much depended. "Yahweh," they said, "the god of Israel, sends you this message: 'Let my people go, that they may hold a festival in my honor in the desert!'" These bold words caused the prince no little amazement and indignation.

"Who is Yahweh, that I should obey his command?" said he. "I know not such a god; and I will never let Israel go." Undaunted by this rough refusal, the valiant brothers answered: "Yahweh is the god of the Hebrews. He has appeared to us. Let us go three days' journey into the desert, then, and worship him there. If we do not, some plague of sickness or of war may befall us." But Egypt's ruler would not listen to them any longer, and exclaimed. "See how you make the people hate their tasks! Begone. Set to work again, instead of making your people idle."

So the first step which Moses and Aaron had taken on behalf of their people had not brought them any nearer to the end they so fervently desired. Nay, they even seemed to be further from it than ever; for, in a burst of passion, Pharaoh commanded the overseers of the Hebrews to give up providing the straw that the laborers had to mix with the clay in making bricks, and yet to require the same amount

of work from them as before. "They are lazy," he said, "they have too much time on their hands, and so they cry out, 'Let us hold a religious festival!' They must have more work given them, and then they will have enough to do without listening to nonsense of this kind."

The unhappy Hebrews, so sorely oppressed already, now learned that still heavier services were required of them. With bitter complaints, but urged on by fear of punishment, they spread all over Egypt in search of stubble, to serve instead of straw in the manufacture of the bricks. Meanwhile they were to make the same number of bricks as before. It could not be done. Their oppressors had demanded impossibilities of them. The first to suffer were the Hebrew overseers that the Egyptian drivers had set over their tribesmen, and made responsible for the work of those under them. It was not long before they felt the lash of their masters. Still they hoped that this iniquitous conduct was not approved of by the king, and so they appealed to him. But he dismissed them in bitter scorn. "You are a pack of sluggards," said the prince. "That's all that your 'sacrifices to Yahweh' mean. Work! I say, work! You shall have no straw given you, and you must bring up the full number of bricks." In bitterness of soul the Hebrew overseers left the palace. They were to go to their tribesmen and tell them that the cruel decree was irrevocable! At the entrance they found Moses and Aaron waiting to hear whether the statement of their grievances had been favorably received. Need we wonder that they looked upon the two brothers with no friendly eyes—that they spoke hard words to them, and reproached them with having caused the increase of their burdens? No; we need not be surprised, for people are generally inclined to consider the results of any efforts made to help them rather than the good intentions with which they are made; we need not be surprised, for when people are angry, or in trouble, or at a loss what to do, they are glad enough to have some one upon whom to vent their ill-temper. But, however easy to understand, their conduct was not right; and it was very hard for Moses to bear.

What a tumult there must have been in his heart! Were not the reproaches which these poor creatures launched against him, in their bitter disappointment, but too well justified? What good had all his agitation done them? None at all. Their yoke was even heavier than before. In doubt and sadness Moses turned to his god. "Yahweh," said he,

"what wilt thou do! Why is this people so tortured? Why have I been sent here? Ever since I went to Pharaoh, to speak to him in thy name, he has persecuted this people, and thou hast not delivered them." And Yahweh answered his complaint: "Now you shall see what I will do to Pharaoh; for he shall let the people depart with a high hand. Ay! he shall chase them out of his country. Go, to-morrow, early, to the king, as he comes out to examine the water-level in the river. Stand over against him on the bank of the stream, with your magic staff in your hand, and denounce my judgments upon him."

Obedient to the divine command, Moses appeared before the king, and said to him; "O prince! Yahweh, the god of the Hebrews, sent me to you before to command you to set his people free, that they might serve him in the desert. But you have persisted in your disobedience. Now Yahweh tells you by my mouth that you shall behold his might; for as soon as I strike the water of the Nile with this staff it will turn into blood." No sooner said than done. He struck the water with his staff, and, to the amazement of all beholders, it was turned into blood, so that it became undrinkable and the fish died in it. But the tyrant did not trouble himself about it in the least.

In seven days Moses was again commanded by Yahweh to punish the king for his obstinacy. A wave of the magic staff, and the land swarmed with frogs, until the very beds and baking troughs were polluted by them. The king was fairly frightened at last, and promised to give the people leave to hold the festival they desired, if only Moses would pray Yahweh to make this plague cease. Moses agreed, and allowed Pharaoh himself to fix the time at which the prayer should be offered; and, to make it quite clear that the plague was sent by Yahweh, the frogs were to disappear from the land at the time appointed, and only to remain in the Nile. "Do it to-morrow!" said the terrified prince. On the following day, when Moses called upon Yahweh, the creatures suddenly died by thousands, and the country was soon rid of them, except that an unbearable stench rose from the rotting bodies of the frogs that lay about in heaps everywhere. But as soon as the rod was taken from his back, Pharaoh forgot the flogging and broke his word, as, indeed, Yahweh had foretold would be the case.

Then followed another plague, of which the king was again forewarned. Innumerable hosts of flies annoyed the

Egyptians to such a degree that Pharaoh sent for Moses and Aaron once more. "Celebrate your festival here in this country," he said to them. "Impossible!" was the reply; "our religious usages are so utterly opposed to those of the Egyptians that they would stone us if they witnessed them. No; we must go three days' journey into the wilderness, as Yahweh has commanded us." "So be it, then," said the king, assenting to their request; "but you must not go too far. Now pray for me." Moses promised to do so, after giving the king a sharp warning that he had better not break his word again. At his prayer the plague ceased. But Pharaoh became obstinate once more.

This time Yahweh had shown clearly enough why he had sent the calamity; for the land of Goshen, where the Israelites dwelt, had been spared its visitation. This was again the case when he made Pharaoh feel his wrath afresh, by causing all the cattle of the Egyptians — oxen, horses, sheep, camels, and asses — to die of the pest on a certain day mentioned beforehand, whereas the Israelites did not lose a single head of cattle. The king saw all this well enough, but still he remained obstinate.

No better result attended a further visitation, by which, however, Pharaoh might well have been convinced that it was no other than Yahweh who was chastising him. For he had foretold it to him, and at the same time had expressly declared that he had power altogether to destroy both him and his people by the pestilence, but that he allowed them to exist in order that his might should be revealed.¹ When Moses waved his magic rod at the command of Yahweh, the whole land of Egypt, with the exception of Goshen, was visited by such fearful lightning, such terrible thunder, and such an all-destroying storm of hail, that every living creature out of doors was killed, and all the fruit trees and the crops that were above the ground destroyed. Several of Pharaoh's courtiers, who feared Yahweh, had secured their cattle and their slaves under shelter when they heard the catastrophe foretold, but the rest lost every thing. Once more Pharaoh entreated Moses to pray for him, but as soon as the frightful storm abated, he became obstinate again.

Moses and Aaron foretold a plague of locusts next, and then his advisers urged the king to let Israel go. So he sent for the agents of Yahweh's will, and asked them whom they intended to take with them to the festival. "All!" they re-

¹ Exodus ix. 15, after an amended version.

plied; "old and young, men and women, even the very cattle must go with us!" "Then," returned the prince in mockery, "may Yahweh bless you if I let you go! You mean mischief. If you want to hold a festival, your full-grown men may go, but no others." Having thus announced his decision, Pharaoh drove them from his presence; but full soon did he send for them again, for hardly had Moses stretched his staff over Egypt before an east wind had risen and filled the country with unheard-of swarms of locusts, that devoured everything that the hail had spared, till the land became utterly naked. "Pray for me!" cried the humbled prince; "I have sinned against Yahweh and against you." But as soon as Moses had complied with his request, and a west wind had carried all the locusts into the Red Sea, Yahweh hardened the king's heart, and all went on as before.

For three days Egypt — Goshen again excepted — was covered with a darkness so thick that people could not so much as see each other, and dare not leave their beds. This brought the oppressor of the Israelites so far to his senses that he proposed letting them all go if only they would leave their cattle. But even this proposal was rejected by Moses, on the ground that they must take animals for sacrifice with them, and that it was impossible to tell beforehand which beasts their god might desire as offerings. But Pharaoh refused to let Israel go upon any other conditions, and he drove Moses out from his presence, threatening that if ever he came back again he should be put to death. "So be it," said Moses, "I shall not see you again; for this very night Yahweh will go through Egypt, and at midnight he will slay all your firstborn, from the heir to your throne down to the son of the humblest slave-girl, and the firstborn of the cattle too. Then shall there rise a wail from Egypt such as was never heard before and shall never be heard again. Meanwhile not a hair on the head of an Israelite shall be touched, that it may be clearly known that Israel and Egypt are not alike to Yahweh. And after that, these your ministers of state shall come and bow down before me and implore us to depart. Then we shall go." With these wrathful words upon his lips, Moses left the palace.

What he foretold took place. But we shall speak of it in the following chapter.

Before examining more closely the portion of the legend of the plagues of Egypt with which we have so far been deal-

ing, we must place another version by its side. Readers who are familiar with the Biblical narratives will have missed certain traits in the account given above. Two of the well-known "ten plagues," for instance, are wanting. It is easy to guess the reason. Here, too, we have different accounts of what took place in Egypt—accounts which agree in some respects, but differ in others, and have been worked into a single whole by the compiler. Here, too, the three writers, whose hands are constantly detected in the narratives already discussed, may be traced, though we cannot say that the work of each has been preserved complete. The story we have just told is by the Elohist,¹ who gave us the detailed account of the calling of Moses at Horeb. Now let us take the version of the writer who made Moses leave Midian on being told by Yahweh that his persecutors were dead.² His story is as follows³:—

When Moses had reached Egypt, he was commanded by Yahweh to go into Pharaoh's presence, and ask him to let the Israelites go. Moses objected that he was slow of speech. But Yahweh set aside his difficulty by saying: "See, I make you as a god with regard to Pharaoh; you have only to order, to demand, to punish, to promise. Aaron, your brother, shall be as it were your prophet, and shall bear your messages and carry out your decisions. Let him begin by commanding Pharaoh to let the people go free. But I shall harden the king's heart, and reveal my might in Egypt by many signs and wonders, that the Egyptians may know that I, Yahweh, stretch out my hand over Egypt and bear Israel out of their midst." Then Moses and Aaron did according to the divine command.

Before the time when they were to go before Pharaoh, Yahweh spoke to them once more: "If," said he, "the king should ask you to show him a sign, then do you, Moses, command your brother to fling down his staff, and change it into a serpent." So when they were in the royal presence, Moses turned Aaron's staff into a serpent in the sight of the king and his servants. But Pharaoh, nothing daunted, sent for his magicians, and they performed the same miracle by means of their charms. So Pharaoh, even when Aaron's serpent ate up all the others, remained obstinate, and would not let Israel go free.

Then, at Yahweh's command, Moses told Aaron to stretch his wicked staff over all the waters of Egypt, and when he

¹ See p. 238.² See p. 258.³ Exodus vi. 26 ff.

did so all the water was turned into blood. But the Egyptian sorcerers did the same. So the king remained obstinate.

Yet again Aaron waved the magic staff over all the streams and wells of Egypt, and at once they teemed with frogs. But the magicians were not yet driven off the field. They could do this too.

It was in vain, however, that they tried to imitate the fourth miracle that Aaron wrought with his staff, in changing all the dust into vermin. Man and beast were covered with them, and the magicians themselves said to the king: "This is God's doing!" But Pharaoh was still obstinate.

The impotence of the Egyptian sorcerers was still more completely exposed when Moses and Aaron, in the king's presence, took up a few handfuls of ashes from a furnace and threw them into the air. These ashes produced a fearful eruption upon man and beast; and the magicians were not only unable to produce the same effect on others, but became its victims themselves. Still Yahweh hardened Pharaoh's heart, as he had said he would.

But the end was now close at hand. "Yet one more blow will I bring upon Pharaoh and upon Egypt," said Yahweh to Moses, "and then they will drive you out in hot haste. Now tell the Israelites to borrow gold, and silver, and costly apparel." They did so, and Yahweh made the Egyptians feel kindly towards the Israelites, while Moses, in particular, became very famous both at court and among the people.

There is still a third account taken from the "Book of Origins," interwoven with these two. But we shall deal with it in Chapter IV. We will now proceed to the comparison of the two stories we have given.

The main course of events is the same in both. It is of no great importance that eight plagues are enumerated in the first account, in addition to the miraculous conversion of the staff into a serpent and the momentary leprosy of Moses' hand, which were intended to ensure the faith of the Israelites; whereas the second mentions but five miracles, including the transformation of the staff. It is certainly not accidental that in the second narrative Aaron comes more to the front, and that it is his staff by which the wonders are performed; whereas, in the other, it is Moses himself who waves the magic rod, and offers prayers for the king. But even this is not the most characteristic difference.

There are two other points, however, which specially deserve our attention. They refer to the conduct of Moses, and to the meaning of the miracles.

The first story does not make any attempt to represent Moses, the messenger of Yahweh, as more noble or true to his word than the impious Pharaoh. It is simply a contest in which Moses, by his cunning and audacity in adhering to his pretence of only desiring leave to celebrate a religious festival, succeeds in outwitting Pharaoh; and the victory of Yahweh is not one in which truth triumphs over falsehood, but one in which the strongest and most cunning succeeds in getting his own way.

In the second story, on the other hand, Moses plays his game above-board from the first, and demands the complete liberation of his people. But although the second writer is better than the first in this respect, they both of them tell us, without a word of condemnation, how the Israelites at Yahweh's command took advantage of the bewildered state of the Egyptians, and the haste with which they were leaving the land, to borrow the goods of the native population, without the smallest intention of ever returning them. Both of them tell us, too, that Yahweh himself hardened Pharaoh's heart on purpose to have an opportunity of displaying his great power. Really, in a moral sense, the Yahweh of one writer is no more holy than that of the other.

In the second place, we must observe that the signification of the miracles by which Pharaoh is compelled to let Israel go, is very different in the two narratives. In the first, they are especially intended as punishments. Stress is laid upon the fearful nature of all that Moses foretells and does in Yahweh's name. The disasters by which Egypt is afflicted are even colored so highly as to betray the writer into occasional contradictions. For example, he makes all the cattle of the Egyptians die of the murrain; but they re-appear, to be killed by the hail; yet again, when the last plague comes Yahweh slays the firstborn of the beasts as well as of man. These disasters are intended, according to the first narrative, to move Pharaoh's heart and bring him to repentance. Their object is the same, according to the second, but they are to accomplish it in quite a different way; namely, by convincing the king that Yahweh is so mighty that all attempts at resistance are idle. In his account, therefore, the miracle of the staff is classed with the plagues, and the Egyptian sorcerers enter the lists against Yahweh's messengers. There is a genuine trial of strength between them. The Egyptians succeed in performing the first wonders, though even here Yahweh shows his mastery by enabling Aaron's serpent to eat up the others.

Gradually the Egyptians are driven off the field. First, they themselves exclaim that it is God's work they behold. Then they become victims of the plague. At last they disappear from the scene altogether. Thus whilst the first writer represents Yahweh as determined to make his power *felt*, it is the object of the second — though even he makes the miracles more and more painful in their effects — simply to *prove* that Yahweh is the god of gods. "The god of gods," I have said, rather than "the only god." For, observe, the writer by no means intends to represent these Egyptian sorcerers as impostors. Had it been so, he would utterly have failed in his object. No, they really were able to turn sticks into serpents, and water into blood, and to produce frogs; but Moses and Aaron were still more powerful, and the god of the Israelites, therefore, was stronger than the gods of the Egyptians.

We have spoken already of the superstitious idea that disasters reveal God's displeasure, and of the bad effect upon piety and morality which such a belief exerts,¹ and need not, therefore, dwell upon it here. Nor is it necessary to consider in detail how far these narratives remind us of natural phenomena which actually take place in Egypt. The writers appear to have been well acquainted with the country, and to have been aware that at certain seasons the water of the Nile has a blood-red appearance — that an alarming increase of frogs is not unfrequent — that the country is sometimes visited by a murrain among the cattle or a plague of locusts — and that a species of stinging fly and a painful skin disease, from time to time, afflict both man and beast. But all this does not take away the miraculous character of their stories. The very belief that these disasters succeeded each other at the command of Moses, and with the express object on the part of Yahweh of humiliating Pharaoh, is a mistake from which true piety can only suffer.

We must still dwell for a moment on the representations of the second story, which speaks of the conflict with the magicians, for it calls our attention to the belief in magic. In ancient times this belief was universal, and indeed it still exists, closely connected with the belief in soothsaying or fortune-telling, in the minds of uneducated people. People used to think that there were men and women who, by uttering certain forms of words, or by some other secret art, had power to influence the weather, for example, or the crops, or the health and life of man and beast; in a word, could do things which

¹ See p. 75 ff. 139.

surpassed the power of other men and could not be brought about by natural means. Certain men, in all ages, have really believed themselves to be magicians, while great numbers have simply taken advantage of the ignorance of those about them to make themselves pass for such. This belief is by no means confined to ancient times or uneducated people. Among Christians it even held its ground long after the Reformation of the sixteenth century, especially in the form of that belief in witches that has cost thousands upon thousands of lives.

Amongst the Israelites the magicians were known by very different names, the meaning of which is often uncertain, for they remained in use long after their origin was forgotten. From those names which we can explain, and from the accounts of magicians which we meet in the Israelite literature, we see that they were looked upon as men who muttered magic formulæ, charmed serpents, "excited the dragon" (*i. e.*, stirred up the constellation of that name to eat the sun or the moon), made a day unlucky by their imprecations,¹ and called the dead from the world below.

In ancient times magic was an object not only of fear, but also of reverence. A true messenger of Yahweh must show his credentials, so to speak, in the miracles which he performed, and tradition has chosen the character of a wonder-worker under which to glorify many a prophet. But while belief in the possibility of magic continued to exist, while, indeed, no one thought of disputing it, the thing itself fell into bad repute. People gradually discovered that they had been deceived in some of these wonder-workers. For even the worshippers of other gods than Israel's were sometimes able to do most marvellous things, and even to perform genuine miracles of which they had given due notice. Sometimes Yahweh put the love of his worshippers to the proof, by allowing an upholder of idolatry to perform a well authenticated miracle. Such a deed, then, could not in itself prove the truth of his preaching.² By degrees magic came to be pronounced a heathenish practice; the zealots of Yahweh opposed it with all their might, and every one who practised it was threatened by religious reformers and lawgivers with death.³ So the proof by miracle, which comes out so prominently in our story, was at last altogether rejected. But the great masses of the people still clung to it.

¹ Job iii. 8, after an amended version.

² Deuteronomy xiii. 1-5.

³ Exodus xxii. 18. Deuteronomy xviii. 10-11. Leviticus xix. 26, 31, xx

Many centuries after Christ, magic was still considered possible. But the Reformation of the sixteenth century gave a heavy blow to the superstition by denying the truth of a number of miraculous stories, especially those in which the saints of the Roman Catholic Church played a part. The belief in magic still survived, however; but just as ancient Israel held it to be heathenish, so the Protestants declared it to be the work of the Devil, who taught men the black art. Our increased knowledge of Nature has gradually undermined the belief in the possibility of miracles, and the time is not far distant when in the mind of every man, of any culture, all accounts of miracles will be banished together to their proper region — that of legend.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NIGHT OF DELIVERANCE.

Ex. XII. 1-XIII. 16.

“THIS night shall Yahweh put to death all the firstborn in Egypt.” Such had been the words of warning uttered by Moses to Pharaoh; and what he predicted had come to pass. That same night the king’s eldest son died suddenly in the royal palace, and even in the very prisons the eldest sons of the captives likewise died. In every home rose the wail for an eldest son or an eldest daughter, and at every stall the sheep or ox that was its mother’s firstling fell dead. In deep affliction the monarch rose from his bed, while every home in Egypt was filled with cries and sounds of woe. At once, without even waiting for the morning, he sent for Moses and Aaron to the palace. “Go! Go!” he cried to them. “Depart from me, you and your people. Serve Yahweh, as you said you must. Take your sheep and oxen with you too, as you desired. Depart, and bless me too!” The king’s ministers were still more urgent. They implored the Israelites to make the utmost speed, “else we shall all perish,” they cried. And the Israelites made such haste that they had no time to think of leaven, but put their dough, baking troughs and all, upon their shoulders, just wrapping them round in their upper garments.

So the Israelites departed that night from Ramses to Succoth, with all their cattle; and a great host of people, not really belonging to them, went along with them. The dough from which they prepared their food had never risen, and accordingly they ate unleavened cakes. So Moses said: "Remember this day upon which you have come out of Egypt, and Yahweh has led you thence with a high hand. In remembrance of it you must use no leaven upon this day of the month Abib on which you have come out from Egypt. When Yahweh shall have brought you into the rich land of Canaan, then you must observe this religious ordinance; seven days long in this month you must eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh celebrate a festival in honor of Yahweh. No barm, or anything that is leavened must be seen in your land during those days, and you must declare to your children, This serves as a remembrance of what Yahweh did for us when we left Egypt. To the end of time you must observe this law."¹

Surely, no elaborate proof is necessary to show us that this story leads us far away from the field of history. Only try to picture the scene. The death of the firstborn; Moses and Aaron summoned to the palace; the command given to depart; the emigration of a whole people—all in one single night! If we say nothing of the astounding number of six hundred thousand men, since it is another writer who furnishes it,² and on the same grounds pass over the circumstance that it was just at that very moment that the Israelites asked their neighbors to lend them the gold and silver vessels and the garments,³ yet, even according to this writer, the Israelites occupied a whole district of their own, and were a decidedly numerous people. Such quick movements, therefore, are inconceivable. But yet we cannot allow them a longer time, for it is just this extreme rapidity upon which the story insists as the reason why all the Israelites had to eat bread that had not risen the next day.

The origin of this feature of the legend is easily explained. The true connection of things has been exactly reversed in the story. Here the custom of eating unleavened bread once a year in the month Abib is derived from the haste the Israelites had to make in leaving Egypt; but the truth is that the feast of unleavened bread was established in some way quite independent of this emigration, and that our

¹ Exodus xii. 29-34, 37-39, xiii. 3-10.

² Exodus xii. 37.

³ Exodus xii. 35, 36.

writer is here attempting to give an explanation of the custom, the real origin of which he did not know. Elsewhere,¹ the unleavened bread, which is not very palatable, is called bread of affliction, as if it were intended to commemorate the misery which Israel suffered in Egypt. This, however, would be very inappropriate to a feast of deliverance.

The "feast of unleavened bread" was one of the most ancient of the Israelite festivals, and was celebrated in the month Abib or Nisan, about our April. The real explanation of the use of unleavened bread, from which the festival derived its name, was probably as follows: As soon as the leaven works in flour, it ferments, that is to say, it begins to decompose. Now in ancient times everything in which the smallest trace of decomposition could be discovered was regarded, not only in Israel but elsewhere, as, to a certain extent, unclean. Unleavened bread was holy bread, fit for the priests. The use of it, therefore, might express the idea that the Israelites were a nation of priests, called to holiness. Originally, the feast of unleavened bread was a festival of the husbandmen, at which a sacrifice from the first-fruits of the harvest was made to Yahweh.

The second ancient writer, whose account is woven into a single whole with the one of which we have just spoken, also mentions the last plague, the death of the firstborn. But he does not lay so much stress upon the haste with which the Israelites left the country, though he too mentions it. He also tells us of Moses' orders to the Israelites to borrow all manner of valuables from the Egyptians.² But he fixes our chief attention upon the death of the firstborn, since he desires to explain a religious usage of the Israelites by it. Accordingly, he makes Moses issue the following commandment, in the name of Yahweh:³ "Consecrate all your firstborn to Yahweh! The first youngling dropped by a clean beast, whether ox, sheep, or goat, you must sacrifice to him. The young of an unclean beast—an ass, for example—must be redeemed by a lamb, or else got rid of. And in place of your eldest son or eldest daughter, too, a sacrificial beast must be offered."

The origin of this custom, which is extremely ancient, and probably even dates from a time before that of Moses, is not difficult to explain, after all that we have said of the character of the old Israelite gods, Yahweh among the rest.

¹ Deuteronomy xvi. 3.

² Exodus xiii. 1, 2, 11-16.

³ Exodus xi. 1-3.

If they were revered principally as stern beings, nothing is more natural than that their worshippers should seek to win their favor by a great and bloody sacrifice, and so should consecrate to them the firstborn of man and beast, as being the strongest and best.

No doubt the death of the firstborn, or at any rate of Pharaoh's son,¹ formed a part of the most ancient traditions as to the emigration of Israel from Egypt; and we may see from the works of these writers how each took advantage of it in a different way. The one explains from the horror of this event the hot haste with which the Israelites were driven out, and thence again the custom of eating unleavened bread. The other finds in it the explanation of the Israelite's duty to consecrate his firstborn to Yahweh. Still ampler use was made of it, however, as we shall see, by the latest author, the writer of the "Book of Origins."

In the "Book of Origins" the story of the doings of Moses in Egypt was preceded by no account of his calling in Midian. It began as follows:² God said to Moses, "I am Yahweh. To the patriarchs I appeared as God Almighty, but under my name Yahweh I did not reveal myself to them. I also made a compact with them, by which I promised them Canaan, the land in which they sojourned as strangers, for an inheritance. Now I have turned my ear to the wailings of the sons of Israel, whom the Egyptians are oppressing, and I have bethought me of my compact. Tell the Israelites, therefore, that I, Yahweh, will free them from the yoke of the Egyptians, and deliver them with a high hand; and that, moreover, I have chosen them as my people, my own possession, and I will be their god, to bring them into the land that I have promised by oath to their fathers." Moses repeated these words to the people, but they were too completely crushed by slavery to listen to him. It was no wonder, then, that when Yahweh told Moses to command Pharaoh, in his name, to set Israel free, he hesitated and cried: "See, even the Israelites themselves would not listen to me! How then can I expect Pharaoh to hear me? Besides, I am slow of speech." But Yahweh repeated his command.

Here the narrative is broken by a list³ of certain Israelite families of the tribes of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, in which that of Levi occupies the chief place, and the whole is closed by an account of the descent of Moses and Aaron, whom

¹ Exodus iv. 23.

² Exodus vi. 2 ff.

³ Exodus vi. 13-26.

the writer represents as eighty and eighty-three years old respectively, when they spoke to Pharaoh.¹

Here followed originally an account—probably a short one—of the judgments which Yahweh brought upon Pharaoh without effect. This was dropped by the Redactor, because he had taken up the more detailed accounts of the same events furnished by the older writers. Then came the last plague, the death of the firstborn, which gave occasion for a long digression on the celebration of the Passover.

We shall return hereafter to some of the special features of this story, more particularly to Yahweh's express declaration that hitherto he had only revealed himself as God Almighty, and to the unbelief of the Israelites. At present we must speak of the Passover. The account given of it is as follows:²—

At Yahweh's command, Moses ordered every head of a family to get himself a lamb, one year old, and of the male sex, on the tenth day of the month Abib, with which the year commenced, to keep this lamb till the fourteenth, and then to slaughter it in the evening. Since the whole lamb had to be eaten, two families might join together if the members of one were too few to finish it. We may notice in passing that the Jews of a later time reckoned that one lamb would do for more than ten, but not so many as twenty persons. The lamb was to be roasted whole—entrails and all—and eaten with bitter herbs and unleavened bread. What was left when all who joined the festival were satisfied must be burned. In eating the meal they had to stand, with their outer clothing tucked up, their sandals on their feet, and their staves in their hands, as if they were in haste. This feast was called Pesach, that is *sparing*; because when Yahweh passed through Egypt in the night to slay all the firstborn, he would *spare* the Israelites. To make sure of this, they must put a streak of the lamb's blood upon the doorposts and thresholds of their houses. Wherever he saw this sign the angel of Yahweh would pass by the house. The week of unleavened bread began with this feast, and its first and last days were to be observed as days of rest. As for the strangers who were dwelling amongst the Israelites, all those who had submitted to circumcision, the token of the covenant, were to observe the Pesach.

We cannot fail to notice how badly this story agrees with that of the other writers, who make the Israelites leave

¹ Exodus vii. 7.

² Exodus xii. 1 ff.

Egypt in such haste that they have no time to let their bread rise. For here they are informed four days beforehand that they are to depart on the night of the fourteenth, and are commanded to have no leaven in their houses at the time, so that the circumstance of their taking unleavened bread with them is anything but accidental, as the other writers make it.

The history of the Jewish feast of Pesach is far from certain. Probably it was an old Israelite new-year's feast, and this may be the meaning of the name Pesach, which is best translated by "transition," and has given rise, by a misunderstanding, to our name "Passover." This feast, with all its usages, which were in anything but harmony with the pure worship of Yahweh, seems to have been faithfully and zealously observed by most of the Israelites, especially the adherents of the heathen party. It fell at about the same time of year as the strictly Israelite feast of unleavened bread, and since the champions of the Mosaic principles saw no chance of getting rid of this feast of Pesach, which was such a thorn in their sides, they found a place for it in the worship of Yahweh, and connected it with the feast of unleavened bread. This explanation, indeed, is only conjectural, but it is certain that the most ancient laws deal with the feast of unleavened bread alone,¹ and that the earliest regulations of the Passover only date from the time of King Josiah.² Even they make no mention of a paschal lamb as yet, but allow the Israelites to offer "sheep and oxen" on the occasion. The first trustworthy accounts of the actual celebration of a Passover likewise place it in the reign of Josiah.³

The narrative we are now considering dates from the first century after the Babylonian captivity, and contains the oldest description of the details of the feast. The regulation that the Israelites were to eat the lamb as if they were standing ready to start on a hurried journey, certainly was not borrowed by the writer from the existing usage, but was supplied by himself to bring into prominence the meaning he attached to the feast. The same may be said of the command about streaking the doorposts with blood. But such practices are not easily impressed upon a people, and as far as we know the precepts were never observed. The Bible contains no further regulations concerning the feast, except with refer-

¹ Exodus xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18. Deuteronomy xvi. 16.

² Deuteronomy xvi. 1, 2, 5.

³ 2 Kings xxiii. 21, 22.

ence to the so-called little Passover which was to be held on the fourteenth day of the second month by those who had been prevented from celebrating it on the fourteenth of Nisan.¹ The Rabbis, of course, have made a number of special rules about the various observances.

The Passover has become the great feast of the Jews, and is always zealously observed. It is but natural that it should be so. The observances connected with it have struck deep roots through the unbroken usage of centuries; for nothing has such desperate tenacity of life as ancient customs. Even when no longer understood they are obstinately retained. After the captivity, no one really knew what was the origin of that roasted lamb and those bitter herbs, any more than we do now; but as long as the Temple stood, in the forecourt of which the lamb was to be slaughtered, so long was the custom kept up. Then it fell into disuse; for the old law laid down so distinctly that the paschal lamb must not be eaten just anywhere that happened, but at Jerusalem alone,² that it was impossible to overlook this point. Still, the Passover itself was observed as the festival of the nation's birth. Under the hands of reformers the ancient feasts of the harvest and the new-year had become for Israel days of commemoration of Yahweh's goodness, and as such they were still kept up. This change of the old festivals from the ploughman's and reaper's feasts to days of national commemoration, is a mark of progress; for though it is a matter of interest to every man that he is entering upon a new year, or sees a good harvest ripening, yet it is of far greater importance to a people to keep in mind its origin and the most important facts of its past history. It exerts an exalting, hallowing influence over it.

Yahweh released Israel from Egypt! It was this that the Jews remembered with such thankful joy during the centuries in which his people were for the most part in a state of deep humiliation. "Why was Israel made a nation at the time we are commemorating? What does Yahweh require of us? Why are we the chosen ones of the Almighty, so insignificant and rejected? What is to become of us? What is this people's destiny?" Such questions forced themselves upon the minds of thoughtful men during the festivities and usages with which these memories were connected, and filled them with earnest thoughts.

It could not but have a good effect upon the faithful Jew

¹ Numbers ix. 1-14.

² Deuteronomy xvi. 2, 5, 6.

when, at the celebration of the Passover, he joined in singing the great Hallel, *i.e.*, Psalms cxiii.-cxviii., with all its depth and joy of religious feeling. Listen, for instance, to the song with which it opens:—

Halleluyah! (*i.e.*, praise Yahweh),
 Ye servants of Yahweh praise,
 Ay, praise ye Yahweh's name!
 Blessed be Yahweh's name
 Henceforth, for ever and ever!
 From the east unto the west
 Let Yahweh's name be praised!
 Exalted above all peoples is Yahweh,
 His glory is higher than heaven!
 Who is like Yahweh, our god,
 Who is enthroned on high?
 Who looks down from above
 Upon all things in heaven and earth!
 Who raises the poor from the dust,
 And lifts up the needy from the mire!
 Sets him by the side of the nobles
 Among the great ones of his people!
 And makes a childless woman
 A joyful mother of sons!
 Halleluyah!

CHAPTER V.

THE EXODUS.

Ex. XIII 17-XV. 21.

IN the last chapter we spoke of the religious usages in which the Israelites celebrated the memory of their forefathers' deliverance from Egypt. But we have not yet quite done with the old legends that tell us about the deliverance itself. A few more words, however, will suffice.

Instead of going straight from the land of Goshen in a north-easterly direction towards Canaan, the Israelites turned south, and came to the northern extremity of the so-called Red Sea. Meanwhile Yahweh had once more hardened Pharaoh's heart; so he set out with an army in pursuit of his runaway slaves, and hemmed them in between the sea and his own troops. But Yahweh, cleaving the waters of the gulf, led them across its bed to the other side in safety; and when the Egyptians boldly followed them along this wondrous pathway, he made them pay for their rashness by destroying them

amid the returning waves, and not a single man was left alive. Full of triumph in their escape, the rescued Israelites raised the song: "Sing to the glory of Yahweh! for he is great. The horse and his rider he dashes into the sea!"

Here, again, the account is made up from two old legends that give us different representations of the event in many particulars. According to the one, God led his people southwards into the desert, instead of straight to Canaan, because otherwise they would have come into immediate collision with the Philistines, and fear of this warlike tribe might have made them desire to turn back to Egypt;¹ whereas the other narrator says that Yahweh deliberately led the Israelites from Ramses to Succoth,² thence to Etham, thence to Pi-Hachiroth, on the western shore of the sea, with the very dishonorable purpose of tempting Pharaoh to pursue the Israelites, since they appeared to have lost themselves. This would give Yahweh one more opportunity of showing by Pharaoh's destruction how mighty he, the god of Israel, was.³ This writer also tells us of a special sign of the divine presence; namely, a column of fire by night and a column of smoke by day, which went in front of the army and showed it the way to go.⁴ Now when Israel was passing through the Red Sea, this column placed itself behind the people and gave them light, while its dark side was turned upon the Egyptians, so that the two armies never came to close quarters all the night.⁵ This idea apparently owes its origin to the ancient custom of carrying a fire before a caravan or an army in the desert. By night it sent up a clear flame, and by day it was supplied with such fuel as would form a column of smoke. It would, therefore, be a kind of ensign which every one could always see. The other narrator has not a word of this. According to one legend Israel went out "with uplifted hand," that is, in our military language, "with flying colors;"⁶ according to the other they fled, and when they saw Pharaoh's troops drawing near were greatly terrified, until Moses quieted their fears.⁷ One story makes a strong east wind dry the sea;⁸ the other says that Moses dried it with a wave of his magic staff.⁹ According to the one the hymn of triumph was sung by Moses' sister, Miriam the prophetess, who led the girls in the festal dance, timbrel in hand, and was the first to raise the alternating or responsive song;¹⁰ the other puts into the

¹ Exodus xiii. 17.

⁴ Exodus xiii. 20-22.

⁷ Exodus xiv. 10-14.

² Exodus xii. 37.

⁵ Exodus xiv. 19, 20.

⁸ Exodus xiv. 21.

¹⁰ Exodus xv. 20, 21.

³ Exodus xiv. 1-4.

⁶ Exodus xiv. 8.

⁹ Exodus xiv. 15-18.

mouth of Moses and all Israel an elaborate song of praise,¹ which could not possibly have been composed until some time after the passage of the Red Sea, since it speaks of the conquest of Canaan as of something already accomplished.²

The so-called Red Sea or "Sea of Rushes," through which the Israelites are said to have passed, is now connected by the Suez Canal with the Mediterranean, and appears in early times to have extended further north than it does at present. This Red Sea is subject to a violent ebb and flow of the tide, and more than one traveller has informed us that a little north of Suez it is possible to wade across the gulf at low water, not indeed dry-footed, but yet without danger. It is remarkable that the tide rises and falls very suddenly there. These peculiarities of the place have probably given rise to the formation of our legends, but they cannot make the story credible as it now stands. For it is no ordinary ebb, with the succeeding flood, of which it tells us, but a miracle, worked, according to one of the narrators, by the staff of Moses; and it is expressly said that the water stood up like a wall right and left of the Israelites as they passed through, and that it rushed back into its bed at the command of Moses.

Instead of dwelling any longer upon these points, we will now see what the Egyptian tradition has to tell us of this "Exodus" or *going out* of the Israelites which has given its name to the second book of the Bible.

Manetho,³ then, tells us the following story:—King Amenophis desired the privilege, which had been granted to one of his predecessors, of seeing the gods. One of the priests told him that there would be no difficulty about it if he would cleanse Egypt of all who were unclean or leprous. In order to comply with this condition, the prince assembled eighty thousand of those unhappy men, and condemned them to work as slaves in the stone quarries east of the Nile. But amongst them were certain priests, who, as such, were favorites of the gods. So the priest who had told the king the condition upon which his wish might be accomplished, began to be afraid that the gods would take the part of their servants, and accordingly punish him. He was so terrified that he put an end to his own life, having first sent the king a written prophecy that these lepers, assisted by foreigners, would rule over Egypt thirteen years. At the request of the unhappy convicts in the stone quarries, the king released

¹ Exodus xv.

² Exodus xv. 13.

³ See p. 248.

them from their painful toil, and let them dwell in the city of Avaris, which had been built by the Hyksos. Then Osarsiph, a priest of Heliopolis, put himself at their head, gave them laws which violated all the customs of the Egyptians, and with the aid of the remnant of the Hyksos conquered Egypt. Their rule was terrible beyond description; but after thirteen years they were driven out by the king's son, Sethos or Ramses by name, and pursued to the borders of Syria. This priest afterwards took the name of Moses.

If this last piece of information were taken from the ancient traditions there would be no kind of doubt as to this being the Egyptian account of the Exodus of the Israelites. But this is not the case. The concluding words in which we are told that Osarsiph afterwards called himself Moses, simply give us the opinion of Manetho himself, who believed that the lepers of the old tradition were no other than the Israelites. This story has very few features in common with that in the Bible; and doubtless there were other occasions upon which tribes of shepherds left Egypt with or without the consent of the inhabitants. The Philistines, amongst others, probably came from Egypt,¹ and accordingly some scholars have found in the Egyptian story a reminiscence of the emigration of this warlike tribe. The enemies of the Jews took advantage of the story to represent them as descendants of leprous Egyptians, and for this reason Josephus does his very best to throw doubt upon its truthfulness. It is very difficult to come to any decided conclusion; for, after all, the two traditions do agree very remarkably in some few points, as, for example, in saying that the tribes were expelled by the son and successor of the king who had oppressed them, and that there was a religious question at the root of the whole.

At the heart of these legends lies some such representation of what took place, as follows:—The Hebrews, who lived in the province of Goshen, were oppressed by Ramses II.; heavy burdens were laid upon them, and the cities of Ramses and Pithom were built partly to keep them in subjection and partly to protect the frontier against the Bedouins. As long as Ramses lived every attempt at a rising was in vain. But when he died and was followed by his son Menephthah a successful conspiracy, of which Moses and his brother were the soul, was formed by the sufferers. After several vain attempts, the object of the insurgents was ac-

¹ Genesis x. 14.

complished, and they threw off Pharaoh's yoke, inflicting a defeat upon him on the shores of the Red Sea, which deprived him of all hopes of keeping his slaves in his power. It is certainly true, moreover, that there was some new revelation of the nature of the deity, just before the effort on the part of these tribes to gain their freedom; for in ancient times it was generally a religious movement that stirred the life of a people and led to a political or social revolution. Perhaps, also, it is historically true that just at the time Egypt suffered a number of disasters, which discouraged the king and his people. and of which the Israelites took advantage to throw off the yoke, looking upon them as signs that their god, or rather their gods, were helping them, and that they were stronger than the gods of the Egyptians. It is also quite possible that the stories of the passage of the Red Sea preserve the memory of the Israelites having taken advantage of the ebb to cross a ford of the sea and having thus escaped, while the Egyptians were surprised by the flood as they hurried in pursuit of them.

But the whole of this history becomes unintelligible if we believe the statement that the sons of Israel numbered six hundred thousand men, when they left Egypt.¹ For if we add to this, not only the women and children but the "mixed multitude" as it is called, which was thought sufficiently numerous to be mentioned separately,² we shall reach a figure of about three millions. If this were so, it would not only be impossible to conceive of the whole people getting into order for their journey in one night, but even of their being oppressed in the manner stated in Exodus, or crossing the sea in a single night. To form some idea of all that would have been involved in this, we have only to remember that in 1812, when Napoleon crossed the river Niemen, it took his army of about two hundred and thirty thousand men three days and nights to cross the river, by three bridges, in close file. If we bear in mind that the Israelites would have about three times as many fighting men, encumbered, too, with all those women, children, and flocks, the impossibility of what we are told becomes obvious. In the same manner it is easy to say: "And Moses said to the Israelites: Rise up!" but where no telegraph was available, it would take one or two days for an order to break up to reach the furthest quarter of a camp in which there were about three million people. The sequel of the history, the

¹ Exodus xii. 37.

² Exodus xii. 38.

wandering in the desert, the fruitless efforts to gain a fatherland,—everything becomes equally inexplicable, or rather impossible, on the supposition that the Israelites were as numerous as is here stated.

Where does this enormous figure come from? Probably some writer used it in the first instance as a round number, to signify a great multitude; but the writer of the "Book of Origins" means it seriously and literally, and gives us, on one occasion, the number of six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty men over twenty;¹ and, on another, that of six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty,² besides the Levites, who were twenty-two thousand strong.³ Moreover, he goes so far as to tell us how many men belonged to each of the tribes.⁴ But although such detailed statements give the narrative an air of truth, they are in fact utterly untrustworthy, and perhaps rest upon calculations just as artificial as the estimate of the time which the Israelites spent in Egypt.⁵ How strong the Israelites really were we cannot tell; but when we think how much difficulty they had in conquering Canaan, and that they only partially succeeded after all, we shall be more inclined to agree with the writers who say that they were but few in number,⁶ than with those who declare that they were countless as the stars of heaven.⁷ In fact we shall probably be rather above than below the mark if we put their army at sixty thousand instead of six hundred thousand.

The deliverance from Egypt, of course, brought great glory to Yahweh, the god in whose name Moses had acted. Let us put ourselves, as well as we can, in the position of the people of an age when belief in many gods was universal! The Israelites worshipped a number of gods; but they did not all pay homage to the same. On the contrary, every tribe, every clan, every family, had its own god or its own gods, and they bore a more or less exalted character according to the degree of the spiritual elevation of their worshippers. Many a one had his own special gods, upon whose favor or disfavor he believed his lot to depend. One worshipped stones and such lifeless objects; another worshipped an animal; one the heavenly bodies; another a tree or a mountain. But did all the "sons of Israel" call upon the same deity as their

¹ Numbers i. 45, 46. ² Numbers xxvi. 51. ³ Numbers iii. 14-39.

⁴ Numbers i. ii.

⁵ See p. 65.

⁶ Exodus xxiii. 27-30. Deuteronomy vii. 7, &c. ⁷ Deuteronomy i. 10.

national god, and the guardian of their tribal federation? This is a question which could only be answered with certainty if we knew how closely the sons of Israel were united together in Egypt. If there was any god whom they worshipped in common, there is no doubt that they called him El-shaddai. Now in the conception of Moses Yahweh was exalted above all gods. Probably he was the god of his own tribe or clan. Indeed this would be almost certain if we could accept it as a fact¹ that his mother's name was Jochebed (or Yo-chebed), for the first syllable of this name is an abbreviation of "Yahweh." As it is, however, the whole question is doubtful. But wherever this worship came from, however ancient or recent this name of the god may have been, it is certain that Moses came forward as the envoy of Yahweh. Thus every defeat of the Israelites, every failure in the plans of their bold leader, seemed a proof of the weakness of his god. The triumph of the Hebrews, on the contrary, and the disasters which came upon Pharaoh and Egypt, were proofs of his great power. He had made the gods of Egypt feel the strength of his arm,² and was therefore the mightiest of gods, the El-shaddai. He in whose name Moses had acted became the object of the adoration of the people which owed to Moses its redemption from slavery. Although another Israelite makes the worship of Yahweh date from the times of Enos,³ and tells us that he was adored by the patriarchs as their god, it is a well-established and easily-explained fact that Yahweh was Israel's god "from the land of Egypt," as Hosea expresses it.⁴ Not that he was the only god of the Israelites — for he had to share the honors of worship with others for centuries afterwards — but he was the special national god. So, when the Red Sea parted the Hebrews from their pursuers, the foundation was laid for the worship of a single god, whose glory was to be maintained in spite of all opposition, the conception of whose nature was to be purified ever more and more, who was to number some of the greatest men that have ever lived amongst his worshippers, in whom pre-Christian antiquity might find its boast, and from the service of whom Christianity itself was to be developed.

"Yahweh is the mightiest of gods!" Such was the shout of some thousands of uncouth warriors who had just wrenched their necks, with danger and difficulty, from beneath the yoke

¹ See p. 250.

³ Genesis iv. 26.

² Numbers xxxiii. 4.

⁴ Hosea xiii. 4.

of slavery ; and now, when twenty-three centuries have passed, millions of men still raise, in many tongues, the temple songs which his worshippers composed in honor of him as centuries went by ; and, changing the name of Yahweh for Lord or Eternal, still sing the song : ¹—

Shout to the glory of Yahweh, O thou whole earth !

Serve Yahweh with gladness,

Come before his presence with rejoicing !

Declare that Yahweh is God :

He has made us, and we are his ; ²

His people are we, the flock of his pasture.

Go into his temple-gates with offerings of thanksgiving—

Into his forecourts with songs of praise.

Thank him, bless his name.

For Yahweh is good, his mercy is everlasting,

And his truth endures from generation to generation.



CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE RED SEA TO MOUNT HOREB.

Ex. XV. 22-XVII.

WHEN the Israelites had crossed the Red Sea — so all the old traditions tell us — they turned south-east to the neighborhood of Horeb. The passage referred to at the head of our chapter does not mention all the resting-places that are given elsewhere,³ but of such as it does record the traditions have something definite to tell us. These accounts are far from forming a compact whole, and are evidently drawn from very different sources. Whenever it is worth while to point out the differences between them, we shall do so.

From the shores of the Red Sea Moses led the people to the desert of Shur, which they reached in three days, and where they suffered for want of water. At last they found a well at Marah, but its waters were bitter, as is indicated by the name, which signifies “bitterness.” When the people, parched with thirst, murmured against their leader and asked him for water, Moses turned to his god ; and Yahweh did not leave him in perplexity, but showed him a piece of wood, which he had only to throw into the well to make the water drinkable. When the truth of Yahweh’s word had been proved, it served to confirm the authority of Moses, and he

¹ Psalm c. ² After an amended version. ³ Numbers xxxiii. 8-15

made use of it to impress the commands of his god upon the hearts of his people, promising that if they would listen faithfully to Yahweh's commandments the diseases with which the Egyptians were afflicted should not visit them, for "Yahweh was their physician." From Marah the Israelites went on to Elim, where they found twelve wells and seventy palm trees.

This description agrees pretty closely with the actual condition of the western coast of the peninsula. Three days' journey from the Red Sea, on the regular route to Sinai, the traveller who has looked in vain for water all the way still finds a bitter well, which the Arabs call Hawara, *i.e.* "destruction," because they believe the bitter water to be hurtful. The Bedouins are not acquainted with any kind of wood that can sweeten the water, though this remedy is often enough applied to bitter waters elsewhere. A few hours' journey south of this well is still to be found one of the best-watered spots in the whole peninsula, with seven wells and a grove of date trees.

From Elim the Israelites passed, on their way to Sinai, into the desert of Sin. When they had reached this place, on the fifteenth day of the second month after the exodus, discontent broke out in the camp again, for the provisions began to fail. "Why couldn't you let us alone to die in Egypt?" cried the people to their leaders. "There we sat by the flesh-pots and had bread enough to eat. And now you have brought us here to die of hunger." But Moses and Aaron answered them: "This evening you shall learn that no other than Yahweh has led you out of Egypt, and tomorrow in the morning you shall see his glory; for he has heard your murmurings. It is not against us, but against him that you murmur. Who are we that you should murmur against us?" Full of hope, and half ashamed of their complaints, the Israelites turned their faces to the desert, towards Mount Sinai, and behold! the divine glory displayed itself in the pillar of cloud, the visible token of Yahweh's presence: he had not forgotten them.

No, Yahweh had not forgotten them; as they were soon to learn. For in the evening there came countless flocks of quails that settled in the midst of the camp, and seemed completely to cover it, so that the people had only to put out their hands to seize them; and in the morning a thick dew surrounded the camp, and, when it cleared off, left the plain covered with innumerable grains of a certain unknown substance. When they saw this, the Israelites said: "What

(man) is that?" So they called it "man" or manna. "See now," said Moses, "the bread that Yahweh has sent you; he gives it you upon this condition, that each one gather a *gomer* (that is the tenth of an *ephah*) for every person in his tent." The Israelites obeyed. Now some of them gathered more than others, and yet when they came to measure it, it was found that each had just a *gomer*. They could not preserve any of it; for what they did not eat went bad in the night. All that was left upon the ground, too, quickly disappeared, for as soon as the air grew warm it melted away. But it fell again every morning. It was round, white, and sweet as honey. On the sixth day they found that what they had gathered was twice as much as it had been before, and Moses told them that this was specially ordained by Yahweh to enable them to keep the Sabbath holy. They need not be afraid of keeping half of what they had gathered on Friday morning till the next day, for it would not go bad. It would be useless to go out to look for the heavenly bread on the day of rest, for none would fall. Some of the Israelites discovered to their shame that this was true, for they came back empty-handed after a vain endeavor to find the manna upon the Sabbath; and, moreover, were chastised by Moses for persistently refusing to obey the commandments of Yahweh and for breaking the Sabbath. Aaron was further commanded to keep a *gomer* of manna in an earthen vessel as a memorial for posterity. He did so, and put it in front of the ark.

The portions of the story that speaks of hallowing the Sabbath and the preservation of a pot of manna,¹ are of much more recent date than the rest. Of the quails, which are here only mentioned in passing, we have another and more detailed account, of which we shall speak presently. The stories of the extraordinary abundance of these birds and of the manna-dew are alike borrowed from real phenomena of Nature. Innumerable flocks of quails are often seen in Arabia, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Italy, and not unfrequently they fall to the ground by thousands from sheer exhaustion, or at least can be caught without difficulty. Manna is a substance well known in Southern Europe and central Asia, and is used by apothecaries. It is a sticky, sweet-tasting sap, that flows in June and July, from the bark of several trees, especially that of a species of tamarisk. At night it is liquid, but it thickens towards morning. After sunrise it melts, and is then more

¹ Exodus xvi. 4, 5, 22-26.

difficult to collect. The ancients believed it to fall from the air, as honey also was sometimes supposed to do; and there are certain facts which seem to prove that the manna juice is really suspended and carried away in a finely-divided condition by the air, and then deposited, in damp weather, as a sweet dew. It may sometimes be useful as a medicine, but if used as the chief article of food it would be most injurious.

From the desert of Sin they proceeded further east, at the command of Yahweh, until at Rephidim, the plain to the north of Horeb, the people suffered again from want of water. In bitterness of soul they turned upon Moses with the cry: "Give us water!" Perplexed and indignant Moses answered: "Why do you strive against me? Why do you put Yahweh's willingness to such a test?" — "You have but led us out of Egypt to kill us, with our children and our cattle," cried the multitude. — "O Yahweh!" said Israel's leader, praying to his god, "what am I to do with this people? They are not far from stoning me to death!" And Yahweh answered: "Stand before them in the way, with some of the elders of Israel, and take the staff with which you smote the Nile in your hand. See, I will go before you and stand there at the rock of Horeb. As soon as you strike this rock, there shall come out of it water enough to quench the thirst of the people." Moses did as Yahweh had told him, in the sight of the elders of Israel, and the desired result took place. He called the place Massah and Meribah — that is, *Temptation* and *Strife* — because the Israelites had striven with him there and had tempted their god or put him to the proof, saying: "Let us see now whether Yahweh is really in our midst or not."

There is only one other passage¹ in which we are told of Moses striking a rock at the command of Yahweh, and making water flow from it; but the love of exaggeration is so universal that we cannot be surprised to find the poet of one of the Psalms, which commemorates Yahweh's glorious deeds,² magnifying what is here narrated as follows:—

He split the rocks in the desert,
And gave them to drink in abundance, with floods;
He made streams come out of the rock
And waters run down in rivers.

But while we can easily forgive a poet for being a little high-flown, we are not so well pleased to find the Jewish scribes, in no poetical outbursts, but in sober, argumentative prose, talking nonsense about a rock that followed the camp

¹ Numbers xx. 11.

² Psalm lxxviii. 15, 16, compare Psalm cxiv. 8.

of the Israelites wherever it went, and kept them constantly supplied with water; and it certainly is not very satisfactory to find such a man as the apostle Paul taking these ridiculous stories to be true, and looking for a hidden meaning in them.¹

Had the story a spiritual meaning originally? It is difficult to give any positive answer. It is remarkable that in this passage Horeb is called the "mountain of God," which Moses ascended, as we shall see, to receive revelations from Yahweh, and that Yahweh himself stands upon the rock from which the water is to spring. The prediction of no less than three prophets of the time of the captivity,² that a stream should flow from the temple of Yahweh, seems to be related in some way to the description just given. Can this stream of living water, a priceless boon to an Eastern, represent the teaching of Yahweh? However this may be, the account given in Exodus is distinctly meant to tell us of a miracle by which Yahweh sought to prove to the Israelites that he was with them.

The same lesson was to be learned by them from the manner in which they gained a victory (still at Rephidim) over the wandering robber-tribe of the Amalekites. When these marauders fell upon the Israelites, Moses commanded Joshua to take the field against them with a few picked troops, while he himself went on the following day, staff in hand, to stand on the summit of a hill. Joshua obeyed, and Moses ascended the hill, accompanied by Aaron, and a certain Hur, who reappears once or twice in the ancient traditions³ as a companion of Moses. It soon became clear that the victory did not depend upon the warriors engaged in the battle, but upon Moses, for whenever he raised the wondrous staff on high, the Israelites had the advantage, but no sooner did he drop the hand in which he held the staff than the Amalekites became too strong for them. Moses, of course, did all that was possible to secure the victory for his people, but at last his arms became so weary that he could bear it no longer. Then his companions came to his assistance, brought a stone upon which he could sit down, and supported his arms, one upon each side. So Moses was able to keep his hands uplifted until evening, and Joshua was enabled to defeat the Amalekites. After the successful termination of the contest, Yahweh said to Moses:

¹ 1 Corinthians x. 4.

² Joel iii. 18; Ezekiel xlvii. 1 ff.; Zechariah xiii. 1, xiv. 8.

³ Exodus xxiv. 14, xxxi. 2.

"Write this in a book for a memorial, and let Joshua surely know that I will root out the memory of Amalek from under the sun." Then Moses built an altar, which he called "Yahweh, my banner;" and sang, —

"The hand on the banner¹ of Yahweh!
War of Yahweh against Amalek,
From generation to generation!"

Israel murmuring in the desert is a striking type of discontent. Hardly released from the most fearful slavery, Israel not only complains of its present, but actually exalts its past to the skies, and hungers after the flesh-pots of Egypt, forgetting all the misery it had had to endure there. Just so the discontented always praise "the good old times," while they see nothing but the dark side of the present, and have no courage to meet the future. But it was not the object of the ancient legend to represent the forefathers of the people in an unfavorable light. To display the greatness of Yahweh, to glorify his endless goodness to his people, to exalt his infinite power over nature and over man, — this was its chief aim. Israel, in its discontent, had constantly put Yahweh to the test; but he had always come out triumphantly. The writer of Deuteronomy² admirably expresses the meaning of the oldest legends, in the words, "He fed you with manna, which neither you nor your fathers had known, to teach you that man lives not by bread alone, but by all that Yahweh may provide." "Beware," such is the warning he puts into the mouth of Moses.³ "Beware, when you are prosperous and have become rich, that you forget not in your pride Yahweh, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage, and led you through the desert, the great and terrible wilderness, full of serpents, dragons, and scorpions, the parched and waterless region; Yahweh, who made water spring out of the flint rock, who fed you with manna in the desert, to humble you and try you and do good to you at last. May you never say: 'My own power and the might of my own hand has got me these possessions,' but may you ever be mindful that it was Yahweh who made you thus prosperous, so as to establish the covenant that he had sworn to your fathers."

It is not by its own efforts, but by Yahweh's help, that Israel is blessed; not only each individual, but the whole nation, is absolutely dependent upon him; to trust in him without reserve is the surest way to prosperity; such — as we

¹ Exodus xvii. 16, after an amended version.

² Deuteronomy viii. 3.

³ Vv. 11-18.

have already hinted¹ and shall afterwards show at greater length — was one of the leading thoughts of the Israelite prophets in the last centuries before the captivity. Their conception of the nature of God's help was often one-sided to the last degree, and brought Israel to many an utterly false conclusion. Trust in Yahweh often led to great mistakes. "It is not by natural means, it is not by bread earned in the common way, it is not by our own care and toil, it is not by working heartily together, it is by Yahweh's help alone that we enjoy our blessings" — such a belief, seriously maintained and believed, must, on many important occasions, have tended to make the Israelites leave things to take their own course, while they themselves neglected all precautions and became utterly reckless. But for all that, their unreserved confidence in Yahweh proved a mighty source of strength to the pious sons of Israel in many a time of depression. It kept them firm, and enabled them to triumph in the midst of terrible temptations. In the Psalms of the Israelites we find the most impressive outpourings of their trust in Yahweh. Some of these we have already seen,² but will now take one more, in which the contrast pointed out above, between self-help and trust in Yahweh, comes out very distinctly :³ —

Rejoice to the glory of Yahweh, ye righteous!

It becomes the upright to praise him.

Praise Yahweh with the harp,

Exalt him with the lute!

Sing him a new song,

Make the strings thrill with a strong and joyful sound

For the commandment of Yahweh is good,

His deeds are faithful.

Justice and righteousness he loves.

The earth is full of Yahweh's goodness.

By Yahweh's word was the heaven made,

The heavenly host by the breath of his mouth.

He piles up the waters of the sea like sheaves,

He lays up streams in treasure-houses.

Fear before Yahweh, all the earth!

Stand in awe of him, all inhabitants of the world!

For he speaks, and it is there;

He commands, and it stands fast.

Yahweh destroys the counsel of the heathen,

And brings the plans of the peoples to nought.

But Yahweh's decree stands fast for ever,

The thoughts of his heart to all generations.

Blessed is the people whose god is Yahweh,

Whom he hath chosen for his inheritance!

Yahweh looks down from heaven;

He beholds all the children of men.

From the place where he dwells he looks

¹ See p. 25.

² See pp. 210, 222.

³ Psalm xxxiii.

Upon all the dwellers on earth.
 He formed their hearts,
 And looks upon all their doings.
 A king does not triumph by the strength of his army,
 Or a hero escape by the greatness of his might.
 The horsemen are spoiled of their victory,
 Their might defends them not from defeat.
 Behold, Yahweh's eye is on them that serve him,
 On them that hope in his grace.
 He delivers their soul from death,
 Their life in the time of famine.
 We wait upon Yahweh;
 Our help and our shield is he.
 For in him our heart rejoices,
 We trust in his holy name.
 May thy grace, O Yahweh, be with us,
 Because our trust is in thee!

The same thought is still more clearly expressed in the following lines taken from another song:¹—

Some trust in chariots and some in horses,
 But we in the name of Yahweh, our god.
 They are brought down and fallen,
 But we are risen and stand upright.

CHAPTER VII.

MOSES REPRESENTS YAHWEH.

Ex. XIX., XX. 18-26; XXIV. 1. 9-11; XXXIII. 7-11; Num. XII.

THE peninsula in which, according to the narratives just given, the Israelites pursued their journey from Egypt, is usually known as the Peninsula of Sinai. Geographers call it Arabia Petræa, which is generally translated *Stony Arabia*, but really means that part of Arabia in which *Petra*, the capital of the Edomites, is situated. The southern portion of this peninsula is covered by a mountain range that falls into two groups, the most western of which is known as Serbal and the other as Sinai. The former has been held sacred from the earliest ages, as its very name, which means "the mountain of Bel," sufficiently indicates. North of this mountain, along the shores of the Red Sea, run a number of valleys, one of which is called "the written valley,"² on account of the number of inscriptions cut upon its rocky

¹ Psalm xx. 7, 8.

² See Map II.

walls by the pilgrims on their way to Serbal. To this very day, though the inhabitants of the neighborhood are followers of Mohammed, they venerate Mount Serbal as a consecrated spot. Sinai is a loftier group, and consists chiefly of three mountains. The one to the north is called Horeb, that to the east the Mount of Moses, that to the south-west the Mount of Saint Catherine, after the Roman Catholic saint of that name. In the books of the Old Testament the name of Serbal is not found. Those of Sinai and Horeb occur, indeed, often enough; but it is exceedingly difficult to make out the relation in which they were supposed to stand to each other. It is evident not only that the writers had never visited these mountains themselves, but that they had formed no clear conception of the places of which they were speaking; for they sometimes mention "the mountain of God" as if there were but one mountain in the southern portion of the Sinaitic peninsula that could be so described; and yet the one speaks of Sinai, where the other (the Deuteronomist) speaks of Horeb. But the desert in which the mountains lay is always called the desert of Sinai.

It is but natural that travellers in the East should have felt a deep interest both in Sinai and Serbal, and that many of them should have scaled these mountains in hopes of discovering, if possible, the scene of the wonders recorded in Exodus. As long as the whole narrative was accepted as historical, of course these places had an irresistible hold on the imagination; and, even now, though we can trace the influence of unhistorical legends in the story, and are driven to admit that it is quite impossible to recover the details of all that took place among these mountains, yet we know that the alliances formed, the resolutions made, the revelations communicated, and the laws issued there, were of the utmost importance, and, in short, that Horeb played a prominent part in the education of Israel.

We may now go on to the examination of certain old accounts of these events. As usual, they are interwoven one with another, but we shall give them each by itself, and without the additions afterwards made to it. The first, then, runs as follows: ¹—

From Rephidim the Israelites journeyed to the desert of Sinai. When they had pitched their camp there Moses went up to the seat of God, the summit of Mount Horeb.

¹ Exodus xix. 2a, 3a, 9a, 13b, 14, 17, 19; xxiv. 1, 9-11; xxxiii. 7-11; Numbers xii.

There Yahweh said to him: "I will come to you in a cloud of smoke, so that the people may hear when I speak to you, and may always believe your words henceforth. When the sound of the trumpet ceases, they must ascend the mountain." As soon as he had heard these words, Moses went down the mountain to the camp again, and prepared the people, by a religious consecration, to meet Yahweh; ordering them, amongst other things, to wash all their clothes. When the Israelites had been thus purified, Moses led them to meet the deity, and drew them up at the foot of the mountain. Then a terrific trumpet-blast was heard, and Moses spoke to God, and he answered him with an audible voice.

Then Yahweh told Moses to come up to his dwelling-place, together with Aaron and his sons Nadab and Abihu, and seventy elders of Israel. The others were to worship from a distance, while Moses was to draw near to Yahweh alone. Those who were thus privileged above the rest made use of the permission given them, and actually saw the god of Israel, under whose feet was stretched a pavement as of sapphires, clear and transparent as the heavens themselves. He did them no harm in any way, but treated them as his guests, and they joined in a meal and rejoiced in his presence.

When the people had witnessed the conversation held between Moses and Yahweh, at the foot of Mount Horeb, they were convinced that Yahweh had really chosen Moses to represent him, and they observed with awe how their god held constant intercourse with him. For Moses had pitched a tent at a considerable distance outside the camp, and called it the "tent of conference," because it was there that he "conferred" with Yahweh. So any one who wanted to consult the oracle had to go to this tent; and when Moses came there the Israelites stood at the entrance of their tents and gazed after him in reverence, until he entered the consecrated dwelling. Their awe-struck wonder was not groundless, for no sooner had Moses disappeared behind the curtain than the pillar of cloud came down and stood before the entrance of the tent. Yahweh was speaking to Moses! No wonder that when the people saw it a tremor of sacred awe passed over them, and they threw themselves down upon the earth, each one before his tent! Yes! Yahweh was speaking to Moses, face to face, as a man speaks to his friend. After that Moses came back to the camp, while his faithful servant, Joshua, the son of Nun, remained in the tent.

Even Moses' sister, Miriam, was made to see, on one

occasion that Yahweh had indeed chosen Moses to represent him, and was prepared to support his servant's dignity. Miriam and Aaron were indignant with Moses for having married an Ethiopian wife. It was a constant source of irritation to them, and made it all the harder for them to acquiesce in the extraordinary privileges which he enjoyed. "What!" said they, "Is Yahweh to speak through Moses only, and not through us? How he lords it over us!" Now Moses was gentle beyond description, so he let them say all this without a protest. But not so Yahweh. He suddenly commanded them, "Go to the tent of conference, you three — Moses, Aaron, and Miriam;" and as soon as they had obeyed, the pillar of cloud came down and Yahweh placed himself, as was his wont, at the entrance. Then he called Aaron and Miriam outside the tent, and said in a voice of anger: "Listen to me! If a prophet of Yahweh rises among you, I reveal myself to him in a vision or a dream. But with my servant Moses, whom I have placed over all I have, it is otherwise. With him I speak mouth to mouth. I give him no dark answers to his questions, but he sees the form of Yahweh clearly. Had you no fear of speaking against my servant Moses?" So, for once, Aaron and Miriam had had one of those interviews with Yahweh at the entrance of the tent which had made them so envious of their brother. But, alas! it would have been better for them had it been withheld; for Yahweh had spoken to them in wrath, and hardly had he ended before the pillar of cloud rose up once more, leaving the brother and sister who had been thus rebuked gazing in dumb bewilderment one upon the other. Then a great horror fell upon them, for Miriam was white as snow with leprosy, and must be condemned to live outside the camp in a state of life-in-death, while every one would shrink from her as from something unclean. Thus enduring the agony of a thousand deaths, she must drag out her wretched existence year after year. Bewildered and terrified Aaron turned to Moses, the brother he had so deeply injured, and cried imploringly: "Oh, master! deal not with us as our folly and our sin deserve. Look upon her! Leave her not in this pitiable plight." His appeal to the forgiving spirit of Moses was not in vain, for he threw himself to the earth and prayed, "O Yahweh, do but heal her!" His god could not resist his supplication. He was willing to restore Miriam, but yet could not allow her to escape altogether unpunished. "Sup-

pose," he said, "her father had spit in her face because she had disobeyed him, would she not have been unclean, and compelled to keep away from every one for seven days? Let her be treated as a leper then for seven days, and after that she shall be healed." They did as Yahweh had said; and since the Israelites had already broken up from Sinai when this took place, they had to halt and delay their journey seven days. Then Miriam was restored.

These stories embrace some of the most ancient traditions of the Israelites concerning the sojourn of their ancestors in the desert. In some cases their brevity makes them obscure. The statement, for instance, that Moses had married an Ethiopian wife comes upon us as a surprise, for it cannot be Zipporah who is meant, since she was a Midianite, and therefore a descendant of Abraham.¹ As for Miriam, the old legends have nothing more to tell us of her, except that she led the Israelites in raising a song of triumph (being Aaron's sister and a prophetess, it is added²), and that she died.³ In the legend of the childhood of Moses, a sister who watched the basket is mentioned, but the name of Miriam does not occur. The little that is told of her hardly explains the importance attached to her by the prophet Micah, who says, when speaking of Israel's deliverance from Egypt,⁴ "I, Yahweh, sent Moses, Aaron, and Miriam before you;" but she probably filled a more prominent place in the popular traditions than she does in those that have been put into writing and handed down to us.

In one respect the review just given leaves a different impression from that produced by simply reading the narrative in Exodus as it stands—drawn as it has been from various sources, and more than once remodelled—I mean with regard to the events that took place at Sinai. Another legend runs as follows:⁵—

In the third month after their escape from Egypt, the Israelites came to the desert of Sinai and encamped over against the mountain. Then Yahweh called to Moses from the top of the mountain and said: "Say to the house of Jacob, 'You have seen how I have chastised Egypt, and taken you up as on the wings of an eagle and brought you here. And now if you will hear me and keep my commandments, you above all peoples shall be my peculiar possession,

¹ Genesis xxv. 2.

² Exodus xv. 20.

³ Numbers xx. 1.

⁴ Micah vi. 4.

⁵ Exodus xix. 1, 2b, 3b-8, 10-13a 16, 18, 18; xx. 18-28.

for all the earth is mine. You shall be my kingdom of priests and a holy people.' Speak these words to them."

In obedience to this command, Moses called the elders of Israel together and communicated the words of God to them, and they declared with one voice: "All that Yahweh has said we will do." When Moses brought this answer to his god, he ordered him to sanctify the people for two days, in order that they might be ready on the third day to see Yahweh, who would then come down upon Sinai in the sight of all Israel. Moreover, Moses was to warn the people, on pain of death, not to ascend the mountain, or even to touch it. Man or beast transgressing this command must be stoned to death or shot through with arrows. Moses faithfully reported all this to the people. On the third day, accordingly, early in the morning, fear and terror fell upon the people in the camp, for heavy peals of thunder rolled and fierce lightning flashed all round about, and a dark cloud settled upon the mountain, while the echoing sound of a mighty trumpet filled the air. All Sinai smoked like a furnace, and Yahweh came down in a glow of fire, and the Israelites trembled when they saw it. The peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, the sound of the trumpet and the clouds of smoke, went on with no abatement till the people fled in terror, and only dared to stand still at a distance. Then they said to Moses: "Do you speak to us! We will hearken to you. But let not God speak to us any more, or we shall perish!" "Fear not," answered Moses, "God has come to try you, that you may fear him and may not sin." But the people kept standing afar off, while Moses went up into the darkness which was the abode of the deity. There he received certain commandments to give to the people.

The digression¹ about fencing round the mountain to prevent the people from ascending it is hardly consistent with the account of the terror which laid hold of them, and is a later addition to the narrative. A more important point to notice is that neither in this account nor in the one previously given is there the least indication that Yahweh on this occasion proclaimed with his own mouth the code of the "ten commandments." This conception is indeed found in Deuteronomy,² and even in the book of Exodus in its present form; but it is evident that it was not a part of the most ancient legends. In the first of these Yahweh himself says³ that he will come down in the pillar of cloud in order

¹ Exodus xix. 20-25.

² Deuteronomy v.

³ Exodus xix. 9.

that the Israelites may believe in Moses, when they have seen that Yahweh speaks with him. In the second the same object is actually accomplished, though not announced, beforehand; for the people flee in terror, and say to Moses, "Let not Yahweh speak to us or we shall die. Do you speak to us!" It was not till after this that Moses went up to the abode of Yahweh.¹

The various legends of which we have spoken illustrate the different ideas which the Israelites formed of their god, Yahweh, at different periods. The representations according to which he reveals himself in the pillar of cloud, speaks to Moses in the hearing of the multitude, converses with him face to face, and is even seen by Aaron and his sons and by seventy elders, are more ancient than those in which he descends upon Sinai as a consuming fire, begirt with thunder and lightning. To this latter narrative, with the commandments given to Moses by Yahweh, we shall recur at greater length in another connection. We shall then have to speak of the covenant made between Yahweh and Israel, of the apostasy of the people which followed it, and of Yahweh's appearance to Moses.² At present we will only speak of the object of all the legends we have given. It is the same in every case, viz., to point to Moses as the representative of Yahweh.

The Israelites of after centuries looked upon Moses as their great lawgiver, the deliverer and leader of his people, the founder of the whole social and religious life of the sons of Israel; but at the same time they did not suppose him to have thought out for himself, or to have drawn from his own inward experience, the truths which he taught his contemporaries, and which they handed down to posterity. They believed, on the other hand, that he owed them to a special revelation from his god. It was upon this belief that his authority was made to rest. If he had invented these religious laws and social regulations himself, it would have been open to others to dispute their justice or authority. But it was not so. Yahweh had spoken to him, face to face, in the darkness on the mountain, and in the pillar of cloud before the tent. His contemporaries had actually heard how God spoke to him. The people had witnessed the descent of Yahweh in thunder and lightning. Three-and-seventy of

¹ Exodus xx. 18-21.

² Exodus xxiv. 3-8; xxxi. 18-xxxiii. 6, 19-xxxiv. 35.

the most distinguished and trustworthy of the Israelites had even seen the god of Israel with their own eyes. Nay, for weeks, months, years in succession, all who dwelt in the camp had looked on with awe as the pillar of cloud placed itself in front of the tent of conference. Unbounded confidence must be placed in Moses, therefore, and everything which he had commanded must be accepted as God's word, just as it stood.

No one who has any knowledge of antiquity will be surprised at this, for similar beliefs were very common. All peoples who had issued from a condition of barbarism and acquired regular political institutions, more or less elaborate laws, an established worship, and maxims of morality, attributed all this — their birth as a nation, so to speak — to one or more great men, all of whom, without exception, were supposed to have received their knowledge from some deity. Whence did Zarathustra (Zoroaster), the prophet of the Persians, derive his religion? According to the belief of his followers, and the doctrines of their sacred writings, it was from Ahuramazda (Ormuzd) the god of light. Why did the Egyptians represent the god Thoth with a writing-tablet and a pencil in his hand, and honor him especially as the god of the priests? — Because he was “the lord of the divine word,” the fountain of all wisdom, from whose inspiration the priests, who were the scholars, the lawgivers, and the religious teachers of the people, derived all their wisdom. Was not Minos, the lawgiver of the Cretans, the friend of Zeus, the highest of the gods? Nay, was he not even his son, and did he not ascend to the sacred cave on Mount Dicte to bring down the laws which his god had placed there for him? From whom did the Spartan lawgiver, Lycurgus, himself say that he had obtained his laws? — From no other than the god Apollo. The Roman legend, too, in honoring Numa Pompilius as the people's instructor, at the same time ascribed all his wisdom to his intercourse with the nymph Egeria. It was the same elsewhere; and to take one more example — this from later times — Mohammed not only believed himself to have been called immediately by God to be the prophet of the Arabs, but declared that he had received every page of the Koran from the hand of the angel Gabriel.

The ancients would hardly have ascribed such a superhuman origin to the laws and doctrines of the founders of their religions unless they had already believed that their gods did from time

to time directly reveal themselves to special individuals. This belief, however, they held most firmly. Feeling their own weakness, knowing how little knowledge there was of God and of divine things in their own souls, they drew a sharp line between that which came from man and that which came from the deity. From man proceeded all that was perverse, unclean, and sinful; while all that was true and pure had its origin above. There was constant need, therefore, of direct revelation from the higher powers; and this need was satisfied amongst nations of the most diverse character by oracles and witchcraft, and amongst the Israelites especially by the preaching of the prophets, who were bound above all things not to utter what seemed good to their own hearts, but to deliver what Yahweh taught them. Since the ancients, then, were not only keenly alive to the need of immediate revelations, but also believed that they were as a fact constantly vouchsafed to men, it is not surprising that they should look upon all that their greatest religious teachers and lawgivers had done for posterity as the fruit of such intercourse with the gods.

The question whether the founders of religions themselves shared these beliefs and imagined themselves to stand in immediate communication with their god need not be answered at present, as we shall have abundant opportunity of dealing with the subject when we come to speak of the prophets. At present we need only point out the insecurity of a religious or political institution which is made to rest upon these supernatural revelations. As long as every one runs in the old groove, repeats what others have said, and holds by everything that has once got established, the danger is not perceived. But as soon as any one tries to give himself an account of his beliefs and actions, he feels the ground sink beneath his feet. Why did the Israelite worship Yahweh as the god of his people? Why did he obey his laws? Because Yahweh had spoken to Moses. But how did he know that this was a fact? By the old traditions which bore witness to his holding converse with Moses in a pillar of cloud, and to his having been seen by Aaron and his companions. But a cultivated Israelite of the ninth century before Christ could no longer believe this. His idea of the nature of Yahweh was too sublime to admit of such a thought; for no one could see him with impunity, but whosoever looked upon him died. Under the influence of this new conviction arose another conception, according to which Yahweh revealed himself in thunder and lightning, and the people, in terror lest they should be destroyed, and

convinced that it was indeed Yahweh, entreated Moses to interpret the commandments of God to them. Afterwards, even this representation ceased to be satisfactory. The divine origin of the most important Mosaic ordinances, the ten commandments, must be still better guaranteed. Thus rose the account of Deuteronomy, in which Yahweh proclaims the ten commandments with an audible voice, so that all Israel heard it. Hence it is that three mutually exclusive representations came into circulation, all of which have been preserved, placed side by side, and worked up into a single narrative. But all this could furnish no basis for the faith of any thoughtful man. Nor could contact with a worshipper of some other god fail to stimulate reflection. The Israelite in the Babylonian captivity, who spoke on religious subjects with a worshipper of Ahuramazda, must have had his ideas strangely confused. "Yahweh spoke to Moses," said one. "Ahuramazda taught Zarathustra," said the other. Either there must be more than one god, then, which the cultivated Judæan of the sixth century before Christ no longer believed, or else the Persians were the followers of a deceiver. One or other of these alternatives must be accepted. This was a fruitful source of intolerance; and if the Judæan afterwards thought the whole matter out, and became aware of the inconsistencies in the tradition, his religion was completely undermined, and he was in great danger of falling into unbelief. Many a one in earlier and later times, and even in our own days, has lost his faith in this way.

Let us beware, then, of resting our religious convictions upon supernatural revelations! "But was not Moses sent by God?" it may be asked. Undoubtedly he was. "Did not God reveal a certain measure of truth to him?" Assuredly he did. Moses was one of those "children of the promise"¹ whom mankind has to thank for its religious progress. Amongst all peoples and in all ages there have been and still are such men. But though the revelation which falls to their lot may be higher than that of others to whom they serve as guides, yet it is not different in kind, it is not supernatural. That which is true and good commends itself, by its own excellence, to the reason and conscience of every one who unites the power of perceiving the truth to a love of the truth when perceived, and who strives after purity of heart. By this means each one of us may receive revelations from God.

¹ See pp. 142, 143.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FORTY YEARS WANDERING.

DEUT. I. 1-II. 1.

WE are now acquainted with the first and with part of the second book of the Pentateuch.¹ The rest of the book of Exodus is taken up partly by a few narratives, of which we shall speak hereafter, and a short code of laws; but chiefly by the description of a sanctuary, commonly called the tabernacle; that is, "the tent." This tabernacle, however, never really existed except in the imagination of the writer of the "Book of Origins," who gives us a detailed account of its shape and measurements, as well as the materials of which, he says, it was made. The third book, which is called Leviticus, after the priestly tribe of the Levites, embraces a number of religious laws of very various dates, chiefly, however, from the first centuries after the captivity. They deal more especially with the regulation of the forms of worship. The fourth book is called Numbers, from the great quantity of figures which occur in it, especially in the early chapters, where the writer of the "Book of Origins" gives us a representation, which he had invented and worked out himself, of the camp of the Israelites, and the numerical strength of each tribe. The book also contains sundry laws and certain narratives, of which we shall have occasion to speak elsewhere. The fifth book of the Pentateuch is Deuteronomy, most of which was written in the time of Josiah, and formed the basis of his reformation.² In it Moses is represented as addressing the Israelites, shortly before the conquest of Canaan, and impressing Yahweh's commandments upon them. Hence the name Deuteronomy, which means "Repetition of the Law."

The names of these five books are taken from the Latin translation of the Bible, which the Roman Catholic Church recognizes as the official and only pure version of the Scriptures. It is commonly called the "Vulgate;" i.e., "the generally spread." The "Vulgate," in its turn, borrowed these titles from the Greek translation.

In the form in which we now possess the book of Deuteronomy, the legislation is preceded by an introduction, in

¹ See p. 42.² See p. 26.

which the writer reviews, under the person of Moses, all that took place between Yahweh's revelation at Horeb and Israel's entrance into the promised land. He only takes up such portions of the current accounts of this period as appear to him of peculiar interest, and places all he tells us in the special light of his own conception of history. Amongst other things he gives us the following:—

When the Israelites had remained long enough at Horeb, they broke up their camp at the command of Yahweh, and journeyed northwards, through the desert, along Mount Seir, in order to take possession of Canaan, the land which their god had promised to their fathers. When they were ready for the journey, Moses complained that he could not permanently look after all the people, and urged the Israelites to select leaders for the tribes, clans, and smaller divisions. This plan was highly approved of, and Moses carried it out in the name of the people. He exhorted the judges to pronounce impartial sentences, remembering that their utterance was a decision of God, and to refer the most difficult causes to him. He then issued a number of additional commandments, and after that they broke up their camp.

Journeying through the wilderness from Horeb eleven days, they came to Kadesh-Barnea, on the southern boundary of Canaan. "Rise up, now!" cried Moses to them, "behold the land of promise! Fear nothing, for Yahweh has given it to you." But the Israelites came to him as one man and said: "Let us be cautious, and send spies first. For we must learn which way we must take and what cities we shall come to." Moses gave his consent, and the voice of prudence was obeyed; but, alas! it was but the first timid indication of want of faith in Yahweh's almighty help, the prelude to an absolute refusal to hearken to his decrees!

Twelve men, one from each tribe, were sent to reconnoitre the land. They penetrated as far as to Hebron, surveyed everything carefully, and even brought specimens of the fruits of the country back with them, and gave an account of what they had seen. In many respects their report was most favorable. It was a glorious country that Yahweh had destined for his people. But could they conquer it? A mighty people dwelt there, more powerful than Israel; and their great cities were rendered yet more formidable by their massive walls and gates. Nay, worse than all, a race of giants, the Anakites, dwelt there. When the people heard this their hearts sank within them, and cries of woe rang

through the camp. "Yahweh hates us," they exclaimed. "He has brought us out of Egypt to give us into the hands of the Amorites, that they may slay us. What are we to do?" In vain did Moses endeavor to calm the panic-stricken people. All his attempts to revive their faith in Yahweh's power were fruitless. "Remember," he said, "all that took place in Egypt! Did not Yahweh, your god, fight for you? And in the desert was he not like a father to you, taking up his child in his arms and carrying him over every dangerous place? Did he not show you the way, and find you a place to encamp in every evening? Did he not go before you by night in a pillar of flame and by day in a pillar of cloud? Why do you not trust him, then?" It was of no avail. The people were overcome with terror. They would listen neither to Moses nor to Caleb, the only one of the spies who urged them to be of good courage. They refused to attack the land of Canaan.

Then Yahweh was full of anger, and swore: "Not one of this wicked generation, except Caleb, shall enter the good land that I have promised to their fathers. Even you, O Moses, shall die in the desert, for the sin of your people. Bid Joshua be of good cheer, for he shall bring Israel into Canaan. As for you, O Israel, since you will not go forward, turn back into the desert to the Red Sea again." Humbled by these words of reproof, and fearing what might follow, the people came to themselves again. They confessed their fault, and declared that they were ready to obey the commands of Yahweh and to set out at once. Nay, in their fickleness, they were even now girding on their weapons. But it was too late. Yahweh said to Moses: "Forbid them to set out, for they will be defeated now, since I am not with them." But just as they had before refused to make ready for the battle, so now they refused to draw back, and full of empty confidence they rushed upon the nearest city. But their rashness cost them dear, for the Amorites drove them back, and surrounding the fugitives on every side, like swarms of bees pursuing a foe, made them pay a heavy price for their folly. This event took place at Zephath, afterwards called Hormah.

Humbled and dejected they returned to the camp, but Yahweh gave them no consolation. For a long time they remained at Kedesh, and no divine direction was vouchsafed to them. At last they were told to return southwards on the way by which they had come, along Mount Seir, then north-

wards again, then back once more, and so on, backwards and forwards long, long years in succession.

This account of the journey of the spies and of the unsuccessful attack upon Zephath is based upon another legend in which the same thing is described, and of which we shall have to speak hereafter. It is found in another part of the Bible,¹ interwoven with narratives of later origin, and makes Caleb, who is only mentioned incidentally in Deuteronomy, much more prominent. We have remarked more than once already that the Israelites never wrote history simply to preserve the memory of the past, but that all their narratives had some special object — whether edifying, religious, or political. So in the present instance the writer's convictions shine clearly enough through his narrative. His spirit is evidently akin to that of the great prophets who preached in Judah from the eighth century onwards. "Whoever trusts in Yahweh is helped by him." Of that he was certain. So Israel, having reached the boundaries of Canaan, had only to fall upon it. The people had so little faith as to desire to send spies in advance; but such a plan would never have occurred to Moses himself. Our writer does not stay to inquire whether Israel's fear of the Canaanites was well founded; and though he says that the Israelites were as many in number as the stars of heaven,² yet elsewhere, in the same book, he declares that the Canaanites were far stronger than Israel.³ But he does not take this into account here; for Yahweh, the consuming fire, went before them and would destroy their foes.⁴ They had no reason, then, to fear.

If this is the spirit of the narrative we can easily understand the object with which it was written. The thoughtful Israelite who had faith in Yahweh must often have been perplexed by the question: "Why did our ancestors wander about so long in the desert before they found a dwelling-place in Canaan?" Of course we may be content with the simple answer: "Either because they had no wish to bid adieu to their wandering life, or else — which is nearer the truth — because they saw no chance of conquering any country." But such an answer was by no means satisfactory to the Israelitish believer; for Yahweh, the supreme god, had promised Canaan to the patriarchs; and the Israelites therefore came out of Egypt with the express purpose of taking pos-

¹ Numbers xiii. and xiv.

² Deuteronomy i. 10.

³ Deuteronomy ix. 1, 2.

⁴ Deuteronomy ix. 3.

session of it. Why did they not enter it at once? Was not Yahweh powerful enough to enable them to do so? Such a supposition would be blasphemous. Had he broken his oath, then? Impossible! There was only one conceivable explanation, and that was that the people had sinned. Nor had any sin ever given rise to so much evil as had been produced by want of faith and trust in Yahweh's might and the cowardice that resulted from it. This sin, then, must have caused the delay. The writer's chief object was to bring all this clearly to light; and that is why he insists so strongly that when once Yahweh had declared that Israel must wander in the desert till a new generation had risen up, any further attempt to penetrate into Canaan was useless and even criminal.

Thus the writer of Deuteronomy placed the past before his readers in the peculiar light shed upon it by his own beliefs. It is our task to endeavor to recover what actually took place, in the full conviction that in the long run the truth will serve to glorify God better than the most beautifully colored fiction.

First of all, then, we must ask what length of time elapsed between the exodus from Egypt and the conquest of Canaan. The prophet Amos¹ is the first who says that Yahweh led Israel in the desert for forty years; but in doing so he does not mean to make an accurate statement of the length of time, but only to signify in general terms that it was a long period, lasting through a whole generation. This round number² was afterwards taken literally, and it was supposed that forty years to a day elapsed between the exodus from Egypt and the passage into Canaan.³ If this "forty," however, is only a round number, we may suppose the actual period of wandering to have been rather more or rather less; and there is one circumstance which pleads for the supposition that it was rather over than under. For Ramses III., one of the successors of the Egyptian king Menephthah, under whose reign the Israelites obtained their freedom, made war upon the inhabitants of Canaan; yet the Hebrews or Israelites do not occur amongst the tribes he overthrew, as enumerated in the inscriptions on his monuments, nor have the Israelites themselves preserved any recollection of these wars. We may be sure, therefore, that at that time they had not yet settled in Canaan. Now this expedition took place between 1280 and 1260, and since the Israelites left Egypt about 1320, we

¹ Amos ii. 10, v. 25.

² See p. 249.

³ Joshua v. 6, 10.

may suppose that they spent about half a century in the desert.

Half a century in the desert! The story has often been called incredible, and, indeed, it really is utterly inconceivable if we adopt the usual representation of the affair: Even if we put the numbers of the Israelites far below those given by the "Book of Origins," nay, even if we accept as history the stories of the dew of manna, and the shower of quails and the waters flowing from rocks, — it is still impossible to accept the story, since the peninsula of Sinai was too small and barren to support the Israelites in addition to the other tribes who lived there. At any rate, their flocks would be able to find no pasture there. But we may understand "the desert" to include the great plains stretching east of Palestine, which we have already described,¹ and in that case there would be room enough in it.

If we are to suppose, however, that the Israelite tribes maintained themselves in these regions, we must once for all break with the representation of their life in the desert given us in the Pentateuch. According to its narratives the Israelites proceeded as a single army, marching in a certain fixed order, and resting in one general camp. These narratives represent them as a thoroughly well-organized people.

Let us look into some of the stories which present this picture to us.

We will first examine the beginning of the story with which we opened this chapter, and which we find at greater length elsewhere.² When the Israelites, we are told, had escaped from Egypt and reached Mount Horeb, Moses was rejoiced by a visit from his father-in-law, who came to bring him his wife, Zipporah, and her two sons, Gershom and Eliëzer. Jethro, delighted by all that Moses told him of the severity with which Yahweh had treated Egypt for Israel's sake, acknowledged that Yahweh was supreme above all gods, and offered a great sacrifice to him, inviting the leading Israelites to the feast which formed a part of it. Then, on the following day, he saw Moses at his work. From morning till night he had to administer justice. "How is this?" asked Jethro in surprise. "I cannot help it," answered Moses; "every one comes to me for oracles. Whatever difficulty they have to settle they bring it before me. They call upon me to decide all their differences, and

¹ See pp. 128, 129.

² Exodus xviii., compare Deuteronomy i. 9-18 (see p. 305).

to make known the commandments of God." But his father-in-law thought this most foolish, for Moses, he thought, would never be able to support the work. It was far too heavy for one man. "Attend to my advice," he said, "and may God be with you! Be their mediator with God. Speak of their interests with him; and, on the other hand, make known his will to the Israelites. All this really is necessary. But select men of understanding, who fear God, who will behave honestly and not allow themselves to be bribed, and make them heads of thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens. Let them administer justice as a rule, and only submit the more difficult cases to your decision. In this way they can easily lighten your burden. If you do this, God will give you strength to continue your work, and the people will reach the place of their destination." Moses accepted this sensible advice, and gave effect to it at once. Then Jethro returned home.

This narrative obviously treats the Israelites on their arrival at Horeb as a well-organized and duly subdivided nation, with an established government, enjoying the blessings of a regular administration of justice and capable of advancing or halting as a single man.

Nor does the writer of the "Book of Origins" allow us to doubt for a moment that this was really his idea of the march of the Israelites. For he carefully enumerates all the places at which they halted,¹ gives in elaborate detail² the numbers of each tribe, the bearers of the banner of each, and the order in which they were ranged round the tabernacle. Nay, he even mentions the signal to be sounded on the sacred trumpets, at which the various tribes were to commence their march.³ The larger we suppose the army of the Israelites, the more absurd does this representation appear; especially when we remember that the women and children marched with the men capable of bearing arms, and that they had to take all their possessions and all their flocks with them. And this for forty years!

We shall probably not be far wrong if we suppose the course of events to have been something as follows: When the tribes had shaken off the yoke of Egypt, they tried to make good their escape. The greater part of them apparently turned southwards at first, then northwards from Sinai to the boundaries of Canaan. There they were repulsed and

¹ Numbers xxxiii. 1-49.

² Numbers i. and ii.

³ Numbers x. 1-8.

turned south again along the mountains of Edom, after which they entered the Eastern desert by the only pass which leads to Arabia Deserta, namely, that of Elath. And where next? Wherever they could find a subsistence! Some kept wandering about in the peninsula of Sinai. Some settled on the southern boundaries of Canaan or the western boundaries of Seir, and entered into alliances with the native peoples. Some wandered to the east, as far as the Euphrates; others to the south, and who knows where they may have found a dwelling-place at last? others to the north, till they came upon the land of Moab. But although it was impossible for any of the tribes to remain near together, on account of the pasturage they required for their flocks, yet some of them kept up a close connection with each other. They stood by each other, took common counsel, and allowed themselves to be led by Moses. Such, we may suppose, was the life of the refugees from Egypt for about half a century.

One word more. What an extraordinary and impossible representation both of Yahweh and of the people the narratives of the Pentateuch give us! On account of a fit of despondency which comes over the Israelites, Yahweh changes his plan. He had intended to bring them into Canaan, but now he will not let them enter it. They must die in the desert. In a still later account than that of Deuteronomy, this is taken so literally that all the Israelites who were above twenty years of age when they left Egypt, with the sole exception of Caleb and Joshua, are made to die.¹ So Israel wandered from north to south and from south to north, backwards and forwards along the mountains of Edom, for eight and thirty years. Nothing happens during all this time. Not a single word is said about it. The people simply wandered up and down and — died out. Is such a thing conceivable? Not even bands of ascetics, whose self-inflicted penance has utterly deadened and stupefied them, have ever supported such a purposeless existence, such a veritable hell on earth. Can any one imagine a rough and warlike people enduring it for a single week? or feeling so much reverence and fear for the god whom they had only learned to serve a year ago as to submit to such an unbearable chastisement? It is vain to attempt to justify what we are told was God's action by supposing that he did it in order to humble and educate the Israelites, for a generation growing up amid such surroundings could not but be feeble and enervated. Surely

¹ Numbers xiv. 29, 30.

the true means of preparation for our work of life lies in attempting to find our own way, in advancing in spite of error, gaining wisdom through loss and shame, learning to see with our own eyes, and in joy and sorrow, in careful work and anxious thought, ever moving forward.

Such was really the education of the Israelites too. Instead of dreaming of a promised land, they looked round for the finest country they could master. No bread fell down from heaven for their food, and they found it toilsome work to seek out pasturage for their flocks, trying meanwhile to make allies of the inhabitants of the desert, such as the Midianites, that they might be their "eyes" or guides.¹

God's glory in the guidance of Israel is not revealed in a people kept in leading strings and compelled to turn this way or that by physical expedients, but in the growth through the ages of so much that was glorious and noble out of those rude tribes seeking a fatherland.



CHAPTER IX.

THE WORK OF MOSES.

DEUT. V. 6-21; EX. XX. 2-17; NUM. X. 33-36.

IT is due to Moses in the first instance that the uncivilized hordes that wandered through the Arabian deserts in the thirteenth century before Christ, and afterwards conquered Canaan, finally produced such noble results. We must therefore form as clear a conception of his work as possible, and must not allow ourselves to be misled by the Jewish tradition which ascribes to his hand the whole of the priestly legislation contained in the Pentateuch. In reality, it would be nearer the truth to call it the work of Ezra. The prophet Malachi,² who lived after the captivity, is the first to use the expression "law of Moses," and the only claim of the Jewish legislation to this title is derived from the fact that the religion it defined and regulated so minutely was originally founded by Moses. The worship of Yahweh, with "the Ten Commandments" as its fundamental code, is the chief legacy which Moses left his people.

¹ Numbers x. 29-32.

² Malachi iv. 4.

Let us begin, then, by examining this code.

The ordinary expression "*Ten Commandments*" is hardly correct, since the first of the ten — "I, Yahweh, am your god" — is not a commandment at all. In the Hebrew they are called "*the ten words*," for the expression *word* is often used in Hebrew, as it is in several modern languages, for a short sentence as well as for a single word. Unfortunately we have no similar expression in English, and shall therefore be obliged to retain the incorrect form, "*ten commandments*," except when we use the Greek word *Decálogos* or *Décálogue*. The Decalogue, then, occurs twice in the Bible, and, as the two versions differ in certain points, we see that we no longer have it in its original form. It is remarkable, too, that while many of the commandments, such as "Thou shalt do no murder," "Thou shalt not commit adultery," "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not bear false witness," are very short, others, on the contrary, especially those referring to the worship of images and the observance of the sabbath, are worked out at considerable length. The two versions of the ten commandments give different reasons for observing the holy day. According to the earlier version, that of Deuteronomy, the male and female slaves, as well as their masters, were to be exempt from work on the "sabbath" day (that is the day "of rest"), for the Israelites must think how they had once been slaves themselves in Egypt. Here, therefore, the commandment rests upon principles of humanity. According to Exodus, on the other hand, the Israelites must observe the day of rest because God created heaven and earth in six days and rested on the seventh. Here there is an obvious reference to the first account of the creation, which was part of the "*Book of Origins*." Now it seems highly improbable that this commandment, together with those about the worship of images and the honor due to parents, should from the first have been so elaborate, while the rest were so short; and we have every reason to suppose that they were all equally short originally, and that these elaborations are of later date.

How the commandments are to be divided and the number ten retained, is a question of the greatest difficulty.

The precept against covetousness has long been divided into two; the first words, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house," being counted as the ninth, and "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his land, nor his male or female slave, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is

thy neighbor's," as the tenth commandment. The opening words of the code, "I, Yahweh, am your god," together with the prohibition of the service of other gods and the worship of images, are then thrown into one first commandment. This division is most unnatural; and if we admit that originally the last commandment was simply "Thou shalt not covet," it is no longer possible to split it into two. It would scarcely have been worth while to mention this arrangement of the ten commandments if it were not the one adopted by the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran Churches. It explains the fact that sometimes, especially in German books, the commandment as to the sabbath is called the third instead of the fourth, as with us; the commandment to honor father and mother the fourth instead of the fifth, and so on. But we need not dwell upon this point any longer.

There is no special difficulty in arranging and numbering the last eight commandments. The third is, "Take not the name of Yahweh deceitfully," that is, "take no false oath;" the fourth — to which we shall return presently — "Keep the day of rest holy;" the fifth enjoins respect not only for the father, but also for the mother, which is very remarkable when we consider the antiquity of the code; the sixth, seventh, and eighth forbid murder, adultery, and theft; the ninth teaches that less open attacks, by means of false witnesses before the judge, are equally hateful to Yahweh; while the tenth, which condemns covetousness, appears to be the fruit of a much higher moral development than that implied by the rest, for it condemns not only the evil deed but the ungenerous disposition.

This last commandment and perhaps some of the others may give rise to many questions, but at any rate there is no difficulty in counting them. This cannot be said of the two first, for even when we have dropped the long digression upon the worship of images, there are still three distinct sentences left, namely, "I, Yahweh, am thy god;" "Thou shalt have no other gods by my side;" and "Thou shalt not make any image of a god." How are we to escape from this difficulty? The division usually adopted in England follows Josephus and other ancient writers in taking the words "I, Yahweh, am thy god" as a sort of heading to the whole code rather than one of its clauses, and making the first commandment forbid the service of other gods, and the second the worship of images. The Jews, on the other hand, count "I am the Lord, thy god" as the first commandment; and are doubtless

right in so doing. This point was indeed the most important of all ; and had to be kept before the Israelites more emphatically than anything else. Those who regard it as a sort of heading or introduction go on the supposition that it would be taken as a matter of course, and did not need to be taught as something new, but simply to be brought to mind. But this idea is quite incorrect, for if there was one thing new in the ten commandments it was this recognition of Yahweh as the god who had redeemed Israel.¹

Our only course, then, is to make "Thou shalt have no other gods by my side, nor make any image of a god" the second commandment ; and this is what the Jews still do. But this is not *one* commandment. The worship of other gods besides Yahweh is something quite distinct from the worship of images. How is it that these two precepts have been fused together? When the Israelites had risen to the belief in one God who had created heaven and earth, and of whom no image could be made, they made no distinction between the worship of other gods and the worship of images ; and we need not be surprised, therefore, to find the two precepts treated as one in the versions of the ten commandments which we still possess. But in earlier times the distinction was still clearly felt, and the two commandments could not then have been run together. Probably one of them is a later addition to the other, but it is very difficult to say which. Most of the scholars who admit that we must make a choice between them, reject the commandment against the worship of images as not having been uttered by Moses. But there is just as much, or perhaps more, reason to suppose that the commandment forbidding the worship of other gods is of later date. This at least is certain, that, as far as we can make out, there was a party amongst the Israelites, dating from the time of Moses, that zealously opposed the use of images of gods, so that we are safe in saying that the school of Moses was characterized by its aversion to the worship of images. Whereas it is clear that, during the first centuries after Moses, no one ever thought of worshipping Yahweh alone, far less of denying the existence of all other gods. Indeed, this latter doctrine is not even taught in the commandment in its present form ; for the very prohibition to worship other gods is a tacit admission of their existence, or at any rate does not deny it. No doubt, however, the precept to worship only one god paved the way to the belief that there is but one.

¹ See pp. 285-287.

In the spirit of these ten commandments Moses labored among the sons of Israel; but in order to comprehend the true value of his work, we must examine the character of the tribes he had rescued from Egypt. They called themselves the sons of Israel, but we must not for a moment suppose that they were all of the same origin. Certain old Egyptian stories say that the ancestors of the Israelites were leprous or unclean Egyptians, and although this is certainly untrue, there is no doubt that a good deal of Egyptian blood flowed in the veins of some of them. The Israelite legends themselves point to the same conclusion, for they represent Joseph as married to a daughter of the priest of On,¹ which we may take as an indication that the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh were of mixed blood. We may draw similar conclusions from the story that Moses married an Ethiopian wife,² and the statement that a great "mixed multitude" came out with the sons of Israel.³

The Hebrews had intermarried not only with the Egyptians, but with other tribes related to themselves, such as the Midianites, — a fact to which the legend of the union of Moses and Zipporah refers;⁴ and we may take for granted that during the half century between the exodus and the conquest of Canaan, they mingled with the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites as well. We shall see presently that in later times, when the Israelites attached the greatest importance to purity of descent, they still found it impossible to deny that large sections of the tribes were made up entirely of strangers. We must be careful not to form too high an opinion of the social condition of these tribes. They were but a mingled group of nomadic shepherds. And yet there was a nucleus amongst them of kindred spirits, who had acted in concert in Egypt, with whose leaders Moses had brought about the insurrection, upon whose support he could rely in the desert, and who doubtless closely resembled each other in religious ideas and usages. These families called themselves "the sons of Israel," and the rest were led by fear or self-interest to group themselves round them with or without their leave. Thus various tribes were formed, the most important of them being Judah, "the house of Joseph," and "the sons of Reuben," together with Simeon and Levi.

Now these sons of Israel, with their allies; had gods and religious customs of their own; and we must try to ascertain

¹ Genesis xli. 45.

³ Exodus xii. 38; Numbers xi. 4.

² Numbers xii. 1.

⁴ Exodus ii. 21.

their general character in order to form a better idea of the kind of people among whom Moses had to work.

At the time of the exodus the Israelites were worshippers of many gods. This would not necessarily follow from the admission of some of their later writers¹ that it was so, were it not obvious from the whole course of their history. While some of them worshipped stones and other such fetiches,² others adored the powers of Nature. The lowest stage of Nature-worship is the adoration of the moon, traces of which may be found among many different nations. The waning of the moon till she disappeared altogether was witnessed by them with amazement and alarm, and her reappearance greeted with festivities and acclamations of joy. This was the case among the Israelites too, and from the earliest times the feast of the new moon was held in high honor by them. It appears that the very name given to the desert of Sin and the mount of Sinai signifies the moon-god; and, if so, then one of the Canaanite tribes, that of the Sinites, derives its name from the same deity.

Probably not only the feast of the new moon but the celebration of the sabbath existed before the time of Moses. The origin of this usage cannot be explained with certainty. The week of seven days is not found elsewhere except among the Egyptians, and even there no day of rest was observed. It is quite possible that the sanctity of the number seven is connected with the worship of seven of the heavenly bodies — namely, the sun, the moon, and the planets Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn; and it appears that some of the families of the Israelites worshipped Saturn under the name of Kiwan, which may have given rise to the religious observance of the seventh day. If we look upon the week of seven days as a quarter of a month we may bring the observance of the sabbath into connection with the worship of the moon. But this is not a very probable theory, for it must soon have been discovered that the interval between the appearance of one new moon and that of the next was not precisely four times seven days. But whatever may have been the origin of the custom of observing the last day of every seven as holy, the Israelites themselves had already forgotten it. Whether they inherited the custom from their ancestors, or borrowed it from the Egyptians, they had learned quite early to observe it mechanically.

There are other ancient practices of the Israelites which

¹ Joshua xxiv. 14, 23; Ezekiel xx. 1 ff.

² See pp. 175 ff.

are doubtless connected with Nature-worship. Such, for instance, are the separation between certain clean and unclean animals, the consecration of the tithes and of the first fruits of the harvest, the performance of religious ceremonies on the high places (bamahs), the use of images of the sun (chammanim), and of straight branches of trees stripped of their leaves and fixed near the altars (asherahs).

But the powers of Nature were worshipped by different peoples in very different ways. The worshippers of the heavenly bodies might regard the objects of their adoration under two aspects — as beneficent fruit-giving powers, or as stern destructive beings. The warmth of the sun, for instance, is sometimes fostering, but sometimes scorching; and the character of the worship of the sun-god depended upon whether he was regarded as a gracious and beneficent, or as a destructive and pitiless god. A fruit-giving deity loved to see his worshippers gentle and cultivated; was honored by scenes of joy and festivity, and was rather gratified than offended by the indulgence of sensual passions. Hence the tribes that worshipped the powers of Nature as friendly beings, attached great value to gentleness of manners, but gave themselves up in a shameless manner to the grossest in chastity, even in honor of the gods themselves. On the other hand a stern, destructive, cruel god was believed by his worshippers to delight in the development of their strength, in the sufferings they inflicted on themselves, and in the bloody sacrifices which they offered. Hence self-mutilation, human sacrifices, and abstinence from marriage in honor of the deity are found amongst them, and their manners are chaste and severe but cruel. Amongst the Semites, as amongst other peoples, we generally find a goddess by the side of each god. Thus the fostering sun-god, for example, is accompanied by the earth whom he fructifies, and the scorching destructive sun-god by the chaste and austere moon-goddess. It is but natural that we should often find both these conceptions adopted by the same peoples. In some cases, especially, when a people was composed of different elements, we find a temple consecrated to Moloch, for instance, the destructive god, who must be appeased by bloody sacrifices, and a pole standing by it dedicated to Mylitta, or Asherah, the goddess who delighted in sensual enjoyment. But it is also obvious that one of the two views would on the whole prevail in each nation according to its own character, the nature of the soil and climate of its abode, and the circumstances by which it was surrounded. Among the

Israelites too we find both sorts of religion, but it seems that they were most inclined to think of the gods as stern powers.

For instance, there is one of their ancient usages which has always awakened the deep interest of those who desire to comprehend the religion of Israel, and which points to this conception of the gods as austere beings. It is the custom of circumcision.

This strange and to us repulsive practice was performed by the Israelites upon their male children on the eighth day after their birth.¹ It was observed by many peoples to whom Israel was related; but amongst the Ishmaelites it was deferred till the boy was twelve or thirteen years old,² and amongst the Egyptians the priests alone had to undergo it. The origin of this curious usage is not known with certainty. In all probability it was originally a sacrifice to appease the stern deities.³ An old tradition informs us that the Israelites neglected the circumcision in the wilderness, but were afterwards deeply ashamed of having done so, and as soon as they had restored the usage shouted in triumph, "This day is the reproach of Egypt turned away from us!" From this circumstance the place where it occurred is said to have derived its name of Gilgal, i.e. "turning away."⁴ The Israelites were afterwards so proud of the circumcision that one of their bitterest terms of reproach was that of "uncircumcised."⁵ They had forgotten the original meaning of the usage, however, and the "Book of Origins" tells us that Yahweh commanded Abraham to practise it as a sign of the covenant between himself and Abraham's posterity, but offers no explanation of it.⁶ However little understood, the custom was handed down from generation to generation, and is still kept up by the Jews.

Not only the circumcision but the consecration of the first-born child to the deity⁷ shows us that the ancient gods of the Israelites required cruel sacrifices from their worshippers; and we are led to the same conclusion by many other usages and by certain religious symbols which came down from the times before Moses. Such for instance are the *Ban*, and the image of a young bull, of which we shall have to speak again. We must never forget, however, that there can have been nothing like unity of ideas or usages amongst the hordes of

¹ Leviticus xii. 3.

² Genesis xvii. 26.

³ Exodus iv. 24-26.

⁴ Joshua v. 2-9.

⁵ 2 Samuel i. 20, and elsewhere.

⁶ Genesis xvii.

⁷ See pp. 275, 276.

which the sons of Israel were the heart, as they gradually formed themselves into the various tribes. The most influential families doubtless worshipped the austere deities, of whom we have spoken, but not under the same names or by the same usages in all cases. Some of them worshipped Kiwan, while others bowed down before Molech — the former consecrating the last day of a week of seven days to their god, and the latter devoting the first-born of man and beast to theirs. Others again pleaded in word and deed for the worship of the more sensual deities, and celebrated the feast of the new moon in licentious dances and dissolute festivities. The future of these tribes depended largely upon the character of the gods in whose name they had been released from the land of slavery.

Now this god, as we know, was Yahweh, whose worship Moses introduced. He became the national god of Israel through the efforts of the same hero, and there is not the least doubt as to his character. He was an austere, a holy, and a fearful god. He must be appeased by offerings of blood; fire was his symbol,¹ and the firstborn of all living things must be devoted to him. A human being devoted to Yahweh must be put to death, and a city or country consecrated to him devastated and left untilld.

But the ten commandments taught that Yahweh must be served above all things by a moral life, and that is one of the noblest features of the work of Moses. The Israelite was commanded in the name of Yahweh to reverence his parents, to hold the life, the wedlock, and the property of his neighbor sacred, to injure nobody by lying words, and even to restrain his covetous desires. The last commandment is the hardest to explain; for "not to covet" is such a far-reaching and exalted commandment that we should not have expected to find it in the mouth of Moses, for the early Israelite moralists were content to condemn the evil deed without speaking of the principle from which it flowed. It is generally supposed, therefore, that it is simply meant to forbid the use of dishonest trickery for the sake of gain; and, at any rate, we must not lay too much stress on the penetrating nature of the tenth commandment, since it stands almost alone. But, independently of this doubtful point, the fundamental code of Israel deserves our admiration, on account of the close connection which it establishes between the worship of Yahweh and a moral life.

¹ See pp. 123-125.

The gods of many other peoples were as austere as Yahweh; but their austerity only made their worshippers seek to honor them by shedding torrents of blood, by frightful sacrifices, unnatural abstinence from everything that gratifies the animal nature of man, exhausting fasts, cruel penances, abstinence from marriage, and so on. Now similar sacrifices were no doubt made to Yahweh too; but the direction which Moses gave to the religion of his people did not encourage any such practices. He taught them that the best way to honor their god was by leading a moral life. Such a doctrine was capable of producing noble results. Following this path, Israel must grow into such a nation as had not its like on earth.

It is not impossible that Moses was largely indebted to the Egyptians for his high moral conceptions. In many respects the religion of the Israelites was diametrically opposed to that of their oppressors, and their experiences in Goshen certainly tended to increase their aversion to Egyptian ideas rather than to win them over to them. For although one nation often borrows some institution or idea from another in times of peace and when there is a good understanding between the two, yet the gods of an enemy always share in the hatred with which their worshippers are regarded. When Yahweh led Israel out of Egypt, he executed judgment on the gods of the land, and the Israelites knew that their god was at war with the gods of the Nile. But if there is any truth at all in the tradition that Moses was educated amongst the Egyptians and instructed in their wisdom, he certainly could not have borrowed anything better from them than their high estimate of morality. The moral teaching of the Egyptians was already highly developed at the time of the stay of the Israelites in Goshen. Even then, as their writings show, they taught that "a son who obeys his father is rewarded by a long life," and that "obedience or disobedience comes out of the heart of man." They declared that it was a sin to oppress the poor, to live loosely, to cause grief or pain to any one, to murder or steal, to falsify weights and measures, or to torture animals.

To this exalted moral teaching the Egyptians united a great variety of very extraordinary forms of worship. Thus they worshipped various kinds of living animals, such as cats, ibises, crocodiles, and the steer Apis. The number of their images, too, was something extraordinary. We find nothing of this kind in the teaching of Moses, from whose time onward, indeed, there was a party among the Israelites which opposed

all worship of images whatever. The Yahweh of Moses was a genuine Israelitish god; and thus, by grafting the moral teaching of Egypt upon a truly national religion, Moses produced something altogether new.

We know nothing of the forms of worship as modified or introduced by Moses, except that the ark was the most important of all the sacred objects. If only we knew the original meaning of this consecrated symbol, it might throw great light on the early religion of Israel; but unhappily we are almost entirely in the dark about it. It is true that we have a detailed account of an "ark of the covenant," or "ark of the testimony,"¹ but it is part of a description of the tabernacle, which is of no historical value.² The zealous reformers, about the time of the captivity, had little regard for the ark,³ and though the Deuteronomist describes it as a chest containing the stone tables on which the ten commandments were cut,⁴ we may be sure that it had really some much less orthodox signification, and that his account is only an attempt to counteract its dangerous tendency, by bringing it into connection with what he considers the true form of Yahweh worship. We shall hear of the ark again from time to time, and shall then see that it was looked upon as nothing less than the dwelling-place of Yahweh. This idea may still be clearly traced in a short account of the Mosaic period,⁵ which appears to contain two very ancient forms of blessing, though it calls the ark by the more modern name of "the ark of Yahweh's covenant." It runs as follows:—

The Israelites marched three days from the mount of Yahweh, and the ark of Yahweh's covenant went out before them to seek a resting place for them; and by day the cloud of Yahweh hovered over them as they left the encampment. When the ark went out, Moses said, —

Rise up, Yahweh! let thine enemies be scattered abroad;
And let those that hate thee fly!

And when it halted, he prayed, —

Return, O Yahweh! to the ten thousands,
To the tribes of Israel!

The word "ark" means simply *chest*. What was to be found in this sacred chest, in or near which Yahweh dwelt, we cannot tell. The importance of the worship of stones

¹ Exodus xxv. 10-22, xl. 20, 21. Numbers iv. 5, 6, 15. ² See p. 304.

³ Jeremiah iii. 16. ⁴ Deuteronomy x. 1-5. ⁵ Numbers x. 33-36.

among the Israelites¹ certainly favors the suggestion that there was a sacred stone in the ark; and though this is and can be nothing but a guess, it is a fact at any rate that, according to the belief of the time, Yahweh himself went and came to the Israelites with the ark.

Beyond this we know nothing of the forms of worship to which Moses gave the preference; nothing of the usages which he introduced, supported, or combated; nothing of the institutions which he bequeathed to his people; and we must be careful not to form exaggerated ideas on any of these points. No doubt Moses was revered in the wilderness chiefly as the representative of Yahweh. His commands obtained a ready hearing, and he made use of his authority, as the ambassador of God, to draw the various tribes closer together — to control their concerted movements — to settle their disputes — to oppose and, if possible, root out everything that conflicted with the worship of Yahweh — to preach the law of his god on every opportunity — and to impress the ten commandments upon all the sons of Israel, but especially upon their chiefs, when they came to consult him. There must have been families or powerful individuals in various tribes who were so faithfully attached to him and to his ideas as to consult him constantly, to act according to his divine responses, and to strive to establish his authority round about them. In this way they would form a bond of union between the various tribes. We might almost have guessed from the nature of the case where to look for these families, and history confirms our expectations. The Levites, to whom Moses was related, certainly supported him faithfully; and we find them again, at a later period, together with the closely connected Simeonites, showing their zeal for the cause of Yahweh.² No doubt the Levites and those who sympathized with them checked the dispersion of the tribes in the time of Moses, and furthered the general good.

If the Israelites would not listen to his exhortations of their own free-will, and he saw a chance of carrying out his measures by force, then doubtless he called his faithful allies together and drew the sword to put down what was evil. We are told that he did so, for instance, when the Israelites fell into sin after having conquered the territory east of Jordan. The story,³ in its present form, is of very late origin, but the tradition that is at the bottom of it is at any rate perfectly

¹ See pp. 177-179.

² See *post*, chapter xviii.

³ Numbers xxv. 1-15.

faithful to the spirit of the time. The Israelites — so we are told — had formed a close friendship with the Moabites, and had actually begun to take part in their worship of Baal-Peor, which was grossly immoral in its character. Thereupon Yahweh said to Moses: "Take all the leaders of the people and hang them on a cross against the sun, to appease Yahweh. So shall Yahweh's wrath be turned aside." What Moses actually did does not agree with this command, for he ordered the judges of the people to put all the guilty individuals to death, and Phinehas first began to carry out this sentence.

If we had to sum up in a few words the debt which Israel owes to Moses, we should say: He introduced the moral worship of Yahweh among his people. If asked whether his conception of this god was very pure and exalted, we should answer: As far as we know anything about it, it was very imperfect. If the commandment, "Thou shalt have no other gods before the face of Yahweh," is from him, then he recognized the existence of other gods, though denying their right to be worshipped by Israel. Even this is uncertain, however, and it is not impossible that even to Moses Yahweh was nothing more than the special god of Israel. A chest, perhaps containing a stone, was the sacred object to which the presence of Yahweh was attached. Certainly when we compare all this with our own thoughts about God, it appears very unsatisfactory and in the highest degree defective. But the fact that Moses insisted on the moral demands of Yahweh outweighs a host of mistaken beliefs. Surely the worship of a stone or a star, in the name of which reverence to parents and an upright life are enjoined, is more glorious and more rich in promise than the adoration of even an invisible, infinitely exalted, spiritual being, enthroned above the clouds and sky, and revered as the creator of heaven and earth, whose chief commandment is to offer sacrifices and observe outward ceremonies. The religious superiority of one form of worship over another depends above all upon the value which it attaches to morality.

Was it a new doctrine that Moses taught? This question may be answered in two ways. Strictly speaking it was not "new" in the sense of "invented by Moses himself." His god had been worshipped by his forefathers before he was born, and had certainly not been unknown to the other sons of Israel. His moral teaching was perhaps borrowed from

the Egyptian priests; the observance of the sabbath he probably found already established amongst certain classes; and the usages which he maintained were already recognized by the most influential families. It cannot be said, therefore, that his work was entirely new. But what founder or reformer of a religion ever has produced anything entirely new? Who can help standing upon the shoulders of the generations that have passed away? Who can help borrowing his ideas from those who have been at work before him? The services of those who have succeeded in any great work consist in ridding old truths of defects which have hitherto clung to them and made them barren; in so grouping these well-known truths as to place them in a clearer and unsuspected light; in saying the right thing at the right moment, and being so filled with the truth to which they cleave as to secure its acceptance by the power of their preaching. Such men give a quickening impulse to the development of those around them, or perhaps of a whole nation.

Such was the work of Moses. In many respects his character was moulded by that of his age, but the direction which he gave to the powers of Israel opens a new era. Moses, the founder of the moral Yahweh-worship, stands at the head of the spiritual movement which culminated in him who said: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God!"

CHAPTER X.

THE CONQUEST OF THE DISTRICT EAST OF JORDAN.

DEUT. II. 2-III. 22.

WE may now take up once more the thread of the story which our review of the work of Moses has broken. When the Israelites had wandered many years in the district west of Mount Seir, and a new generation had grown up worthy of inheriting the promised land, Yahweh put an end to their wanderings and commanded them to turn northwards. Their way led through the mountain pass between Seir and the Elanite Gulf, where the seaports of Elath and Ezeon-geber were afterwards built. The Edomites, along the eastern boundary of whose land they must pass, were already in terror

at their approach ; but they were commanded not to molest them ; for Yahweh had given Seir as an inheritance to Edom. Far from plundering the inhabitants, they must pay for their necessary food and even for all the water they required ; for had not Yahweh blessed his people, and supported them for forty years in the great desert, so that they were in want of nothing ?

The Israelites strictly observed this order, and went on to the land of Moab. This country had formerly been inhabited by the giant race of the Emites, but the Moabites had expelled them from it. In the same way the Ammonites, who dwelt further north, had driven out the Zamzummites, another race of giants. This was, in fact, the history of all the surrounding districts. The Edomites had taken the place of the Horites and the Caphtorites (or Philistines) that of the Avvites, a Canaanite tribe that had formerly held possession of the land as far as Gaza.¹

The brook Sared was the boundary of Moab, and the end of the wanderings of the Israelites. Before they crossed this stream the rebellious generation had altogether died out. But the land which Yahweh had destined for their children was not yet reached. They had still to pass through Moab and Ammon, upon whom they were to inflict no injury, for to them, too, Yahweh had given their land.

But when they had crossed the brook Arnon, they came to a country which they were no longer forbidden to conquer. It was the land of Sihon the Amorite, with its capital, Heshbon. "Henceforth," said Yahweh, "will I begin to make all the nations that hear of you tremble and shake before you." Then I sent—says Moses—messengers of peace to Sihon, to ask leave to pass through his land. I told him that the land which Yahweh had given us lay on the other side of the Jordan, and promised that if he would let us pass through his land, as the Edomites and the Moabites had done, we would not turn out of the highway either to the right hand or to the left, and would pay for all the food and drinking water we required. But Sihon refused ; for Yahweh had hardened his heart on purpose to give us his land. So Sihon came out with a great army to meet us at Jahaz, but we defeated him, and took possession of his whole kingdom. The inhabitants of its cities, men, women, and children were laid under the ban, and not one of them was left alive ; but the cattle and the rest of the booty we kept. From Aroer to the banks of the Arnon, and

¹ See p. 240.

from Ar-Moab even to Gilead, no city was too strong for us. Yahweh gave us everything; but the land of the Ammonites we left uninjured.

Then we went northward to Bashan, where Og was king. He was of the old race of giants, as his iron bedstead shows. It measures nine cubits in length and four in breadth and is still preserved at Rabbath Ammon. When he advanced to Edrei to oppose us, Yahweh bid us be of good courage, and promised that Og should share the fate of Sihon. And it was so. All Bashan fell into our hands. We took sixty great cities with walls and gates and bars, besides numbers of unfortified places. We dealt with the land of Og as we had dealt with that of Sihon. All the human beings we laid under the ban, but took the cattle and other valuables as booty. Thus did we conquer the whole land from the Arnon to Mount Hermon. The Sidonians call this mountain Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir.

Then I gave the land from the Aroer to the Arnon, together with half the mountain land of Gilead, to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the land of Bashan to one-half of the tribe of Manasseh, because Jair the Manassite had conquered it; whence it is still called "Jair's villages" (Havoth Jair). Gilead I gave to Machir, another family of the tribe of Manasseh. But the Reubenites and Gadites received their inheritance upon condition that their fighting men should help the other tribes to conquer the land of Canaan, while their women and children, together with their numerous flocks, remained in the cities that were now assigned to them.

When I had arranged all this, continued Moses, I bid Joshua be of good courage, saying to him: "See what Yahweh has done to these kings. So will he do to all the kingdoms against which you march. Fear not, for Yahweh, your god, fights for you."

In the book of Numbers we find a narrative which essentially agrees with the one just given. It tells us¹ that the Israelites sent from Kadesh to ask the Edomites to allow them to pass through their country, but that they refused to do so, and set out with a powerful army to oppose them. Upon this the Israelites changed their plan, and took a circuitous route round Seir. When they came to the Arnon,² Moses sent messengers to Sihon to ask leave to pass through his territory. On his refusing to grant this permission the Israelites conquered his land. Here we find it noted that Sihon, king of

¹ Numbers xx. 14-21.

² Numbers xxi. 13-35.

the Amorites, had taken Heshbon and the surrounding territory from the former king of the Moabites.¹ The conquest of Bashan followed that of the land of Sihon.

The narrative of Deuteronomy is still more highly colored than this other, and the account it gives of Israel's triumphs is embellished most profusely. Within a few weeks, or at the outside months, the whole country east of the Jordan, from the Arnon to Mount Hermon, is conquered; and if the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites are left in the independent possession of their territories, it is simply because Yahweh commands Israel not to attack them. But these peoples were already in great terror. For every nation that heard of Israel — of that people countless as the stars of heaven,² to whom Yahweh visibly lent his constant aid — trembled before its power. A people that won such easy victories, and had only to pick and choose the country it would take for its own, ought surely to have been above sending a hypocritical message of peace to Sihon.

But the real course of events was very different. As far as we can recover it, the true history of the conquest of the land east of Jordan is as follows: —

East of the Dead Sea, and further north along the banks of the Jordan, the "sons of Lot" had expelled the original inhabitants and won themselves a home. The Ammonites dwelt furthest to the east, while the Moabites held possession not only of the land south of the Arnon, but even of the territory north of this stream, as far as the Jabbok. But the Amorites who lived west of the Jordan had made an inroad into Gilead, expelled the Moabites from the district between the Arnon and the Jabbok, and made Heshbon their capital. The sons of Lot, under this stress of circumstances, called in the assistance of their near kinsmen the Israelites, who were wandering about over the steppes that stretched from the eastern boundaries of the sons of Lot to the Euphrates. The Israelites were only too glad of an opportunity of exchanging their barren plains for more fruitful regions; and with their help the Amorites in their turn were conquered. Probably the circumstance that about this time Ramses III., of Egypt, made an incursion into Canaan,³ prevented Sihon's obtaining help from his kinsmen on the west of the Jordan, and in this way contributed to his fall. Thus Israel gained possession of the district which was afterwards called the territory of Reuben and Gad;

¹ Numbers xxi. 26.

² Deuteronomy i. 10.

³ See p. 308.

and now there was nothing but the Jordan to separate the people of Yahweh from the fertile land of Canaan.

As for the conquest of Bashan, the account that ascribes it to Moses is utterly inconsistent with the date at which it took place. It is probable that even the "sons of Machir" did not take possession of Gilead till after the conquest of Canaan, since the "house of Machir" lived west of the Jordan at first.¹ We cannot fix the exact date of this event, however. On the other hand, it is certain that Jair, the Gileadite, the conqueror of Bashan, after whom thirty places were called Jair's villages, lived in the time of the Judges,² and that one part of Bashan was conquered at a still later period by a certain Nobah.³ Indeed, the very narratives of the Pentateuch itself prove that the conquest of this district of half Manasseh did not take place in the time of Moses; for in fixing the conditions upon which the transjordanic tribes were to be allowed to enter upon the possession of their territory, no mention is made of the Manassites, either in the short account of Deuteronomy or the more elaborate one of Numbers.⁴ In both cases it is the Reubenites and Gadites alone who are required to help their brothers.⁵

In reality, of course, the transjordanic district was not assigned in this peaceful way to two of the tribes. The ancient legends represent Reuben as Israel's firstborn son by Leah,⁶ while Gad is called the son of Leah's slave girl.⁷ No doubt, therefore, Gad was more or less dependent upon Reuben. The two are called collectively "the house of Reuben." It was this house of Reuben that bore the brunt of the desperate struggle against the Amorites, and then, by the right of the strongest and the first upon the field, took possession of the rich pastures between the Jabbok and the Arnon for itself, but was not indisposed to help the other sons of Israel afterwards.

The writer of the first chapters of Deuteronomy could never believe that these ancient events had taken such a course. He thought of the Israelite tribes as acting with perfect unanimity, conquering a fatherland under the command of Moses, and assigning the first portion of the land that fell into their hands to the tribes for whom it was best suited, on condition of their faithfully helping their brothers to com-

¹ Joshua xvii. 3 ff. Judges v. 14.

² Judges x. 3, 4.

³ Numbers xxxii. 41, 42.

⁴ Numbers xxxii.

⁵ See Deuteronomy iii. 16-20; Numbers xxxii. 1, 2, 6, 25, 29.

⁶ Genesis xxix. 32, xlix. 3. Exodus vi. 14. Numbers xxvi. 5.

⁷ Genesis xxx. 10, 11.

plete the conquest. He imagined the possession of the land east of Jordan to have taken place with the unanimous consent of the tribes, in compliance with law and order, at the command of the divinely appointed leader of the people. He was mistaken in his conception of the facts, but his very mistake bears witness to the progress Israel had made. An Israelite of about the time of the Babylonian captivity could not possibly imagine that the people of Yahweh was once but an ill-defined group of tribes, amongst whom might was right, and over whom even Moses, the delegate of Yahweh, could exercise but small control. It was not so in his time, nor had it been so for centuries. A king ruled in Israel, and men no longer followed their own devices uncontrolled. At a word of command, issued by a single man, the tribes sent their bands of warriors to the battle; the booty was regularly divided amongst the conquerors; the respective rights and duties of the different sections of the people were duly regulated; and no one family or clan could take to itself what was the property of all.

This was a great advance; and if the writer's ideal does not appear to us so glorious as it did to him, it is because we are familiar with a still better state of things, in which society is more adequately regulated, the rights of the various sections of the people more justly defined, a share in the direction of public affairs secured to every one, and all are subject not to the will of a single man, but to laws of the State, made, promulgated, and maintained with due regard to order. In social institutions, as in all else, the light breaks but slowly, and the world takes but one step forward at a time.

Although our writer's false views of the history of the past are themselves the proof that he rejoiced in a clearer perception of justice than was known in earlier times, yet even his ideas are sadly limited in one direction; for he tells us with evident satisfaction how Israel conquered Sihon and Og, slaughtered their subjects, and appropriated their land; and how Edom, Moab, and Ammon escaped the same danger, not because the Israelites had no right to their land — for what right had they to the countries they did take? — but simply because it was the will of Yahweh, Israel's god. Thus, while in regulating the mutual relations of the different sections of the same nation, right was more than might; on the other hand, when affairs were to be settled between different nations, might was still the highest right.

And yet our writer proclaims a principle which must lead

in the end to the recognition of right as the first consideration even in the dealings of nations with each other. It is Yahweh, he says, who gave Moab and Ammon and Edom their land, as well as Israel his. This was not the old belief. At first Yahweh was Israel's god, but had nothing to do with any other nations, except in so far as his own people came into contact with them. Israel, according to the old idea, had received his land from Yahweh, and Moab his from Chemosh.¹ The relations between the gods Yahweh and Chemosh, like those between their peoples, were regulated by the right of the strongest. But gradually Israel rose above these ideas, and reached the conviction that it was Yahweh who not only led the Israelites from Egypt, but also brought the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir.² All peoples, then, are governed by one will, are members of one body, and their mutual relations must be regulated on the same principles as those which govern the affairs of a single people.

We have already seen³ that this consequence was actually perceived by a few Israelites of a highly developed type. We ourselves live in an age in which it is generally acknowledged, but we have still to wait for the time in which the truth will be fully acted up to. Patience! the human race advances slowly.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DEATH OF MOSES.

DEUT. III. 23-29, XXXIV.; NUM. XX. 1-18.

THE time and manner of the death of Moses were as little known to posterity as the place of his grave. Nor is this surprising; for when his people had so far emerged from their barbarous condition as to have a history and to commemorate the particulars of the lives of their great men, Moses was already enveloped in the gray mists of a far-off past. His work still lived, and his name lived with it, but his person was sketched by legend alone. One thing only was known — namely, that it was not Moses but Joshua who

¹ Judges xi. 24.

² Amos ix. 7.

³ See pp. 154, 155.

led the people into Canaan. Moses, then, must have died before his people entered into the land that had been promised to their fathers. This could not but seem strange to the thoughtful Israelite. Surely he, if any one, ought to have lived to see the prosperity of his people. This raised a question which could not be left unanswered; and six or seven centuries after his death, the writer of the introduction to Deuteronomy answered it in the following words which he puts into the mouth of Moses himself:—

“When I had given the land east of Jordan to Reuben and Gad, I prayed to my god, and said: ‘O Lord Yahweh, thou hast shown me the beginning of thy great works and of the revelation of thy power. So glorious are they that no god in heaven or on earth can do the like. Ah, let me now go over with the people and see the good land on the other side of the Jordan, that glorious mountain land and Lebanon!’ But I prayed in vain; for Yahweh was angry with me for your sakes. He would not hear my prayer, but answered: ‘Enough! speak to me of this no more. Climb the summit of Mount Pisgah, and look well round to every side, for you shall not cross this Jordan. But first appoint Joshua in your place, and speak words of courage to him, for he shall lead the people, and bring them into the land which you may only see from afar.’ This was when we were encamped in the valley over against Beth-Peor.”

So when Moses had proclaimed the law to his people—we are told at the end of the book of Deuteronomy—he climbed from the plains of Moab to the summit of a mountain peak of Pisgah, which lies over against Jericho, and is called Mount Nebo. From this peak Yahweh showed him all the land. First he turned his eyes northwards, where the rich land of Gilead, with the mountain range that bore its name, was divided by the Jabbok; the nearer half was fertile but comparatively bare of trees, the further was covered with thick forests of oak and pine, broken by the fresh mountain pastures upon which Reuben had set such longing eyes. Then further north, along the seas of Gennesareth and Merom, his gaze fell on a wild and barren land, with steep mountain peaks and inaccessible caves, that favored no life but the brigand’s; and at last his eye rested far away on the eternal snow of Hermon, at whose foot was the city of Laish, the future seat of a portion of the tribe of Dan. To the left he beheld the broad table lands of Lebanon, with their far-famed cedar groves, the steep slopes of the mountain land, and the swampy plains, with their

thick growth of rushes. There herds of wild swine and oxen found a home, though the marsh fever made it almost unfit for human dwelling-places. This was the land which afterwards fell to the sons of Naphtali. Between himself and these distant regions Moses beheld the lovely sea of Gennesareth and the far-extending territory of Manasseh and Ephraim, with the ranges of the lesser Hermon, of Carmel, of Gilboa, and the long mountain chain of Ephraim. Then, as he gradually turned to the west, the land of Judah lay stretched before him; in the distance the rich and smiling plain of Sephela, and nearer to him the dry, inhospitable mountain land, with its endless limestone rocks, of which Jebus, afterwards Jerusalem, was the central point. Further to the left lay the deserts, broken here and there by fertile spots, and what was afterwards the southern territory of Judah. Thus his eye reached the steppes of the "sons of Isaac,"¹ and then dropped naturally upon the region that lay nearer to him, where the gloomy Dead Sea lay, with its barren shores and that strange promontory on which Zoar was situated. At last his eye rested upon the valley of Jordan and upon Jericho, right opposite Mount Pisgah. He had seen the future heritage of his people.

"This is the land," said Yahweh, "of which I promised Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, under oath, that I would give it to their posterity. I have shown it to you; but you shall not enter it."

Then Moses, the servant of Yahweh, died there, as Yahweh had said. They² buried him in the valley over against Beth-Peor, in the land of Moab; but no one knows his grave to this day. Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died. His eye was not dimmed, nor his vigor abated.

For thirty days the Israelites mourned his death, and his place was taken by Joshua the son of Nun. He was full of the spirit of wisdom, which Moses had imparted to him by laying his hands on him. The Israelites obeyed him, therefore, according to the command that Yahweh had given Moses.

Never did another prophet rise in Israel like Moses, to whom Yahweh made himself known face to face. Nor could any other ever do the signs and wonders which Yahweh did through Moses in the land of Egypt and in the desert.

There is a tone of sadness in this story. The words "Speak to me of this no more" sound harsh, and it was but

¹ See pp. 164-166.

² After an amended version.

poor comfort for Moses to be allowed to see the promised land, if he might not enter it. In answer to the question why this must be, the writer of Deuteronomy says: ¹ Yahweh was angry with Moses because the Israelites had sinned against him. Even Moses must make no exception to the general sentence that condemned the disobedient generation to die in the wilderness.

Such was the view of our writer; and to the majority of his readers it would certainly present no difficulty. The pious Israelites were deeply conscious of the fact that they were all members of one body — the people. They rejoiced with their people, they suffered with their people; nay, their very life was wrapped up in its welfare. A gross violation of the moral law deserved punishment chiefly because it was "foolishness in Israel" and made the land unclean. To be rooted out from the people of Yahweh was the most terrible of all threats. In thinking of the future they were less concerned about their own affairs than about the fate of their people. From such a point of view they found it anything but unnatural or unjust that Yahweh should suffer Moses to die because of the sins of his people.

And yet this did not satisfy every one. At the very time in which the book of Deuteronomy was written, the belief was gaining ground that Yahweh was too righteous to punish any man for another's sin, and that he chastised each one for those sins only of which he had himself been guilty. Thus every misfortune was looked upon as the consequence of some sin committed by him upon whom it fell.² Those who held this belief could not rest in the assertion that Moses had not been allowed to enter the promised land because of the sins of the people. They were certain that if, in spite of all his prayers, Moses was forbidden to enter the promised land, he must have brought this punishment upon himself. This conviction was embodied in the following story: —

In the first month — we are not told the year — the Israelites reached the desert of Zin, and pitched their camp at Kadesh, where Miriam died and was buried. But there was not water enough for the people there, and a tumult broke out, in consequence, against Moses and Aaron. "Oh! would that we had died," cried the sufferers, "when our brothers perished before Yahweh's face! Why have you brought the people of Yahweh into this desert, where we and our cattle shall die of thirst? Why did you bring us out of Egypt to

¹ Deuteronomy i. 37, 38; iii. 26.

² See vol. ii. book iv. chapter x.

take us to this wretched place? There is no harvest to reap here; not a fig-tree, a vine, or a pomegranate to be seen; nay, we have not so much as water to drink." On hearing these complaints, Moses and Aaron went to the door of the tent of conference and threw themselves upon the ground in prayer. And behold! Yahweh's glory appeared to them, and his voice was heard commanding Moses, and saying, "Take your staff, and call the people together. Then do you and Aaron speak to the rock in the sight of all the multitudes, and a stream of water shall gush out from it. Thus you may quench the thirst of man and beast by the water that you cause to flow from the rock."

In obedience to this command, Moses took his wondrous staff from the tent, and when he and Aaron had called the people together in front of the rock, he cried, "Hear, now, you rebels! Can we make water flow from this rock for you?" Overmastered by his indignation, Moses, instead of simply speaking to the rock, raised his arm and struck it twice with his staff. A stream of water gushed from it on the instant, and man and beast were satisfied.

So Israel was rescued once again; but, alas! the two brothers had sinned. Yahweh pronounced their sentence at once. "Inasmuch," he said, "as you did not believe me, and did not honor me before the Israelites, neither shall you be permitted to bring them into the land which I have destined for them."

Now these are the waters of Meribah, that is *strife*, where the Israelites strove with Yahweh in the wilderness of Kadesh, that is *holy*, where he revealed himself to them as the holy one.

According to another writer,¹ Meribah lay not in the desert of Zin, but in that of Sin, which does not lie near Kadesh, on the southern boundary of Canaan, but near Mount Horeb. The sin here² laid to the charge of Moses and Aaron, by which they forfeited the privilege of entering the promised land, consisted in their incredulous language; for Moses had said: "Can we make water flow out of the rock for you?" as if it were not perfectly easy for Yahweh to do so! And besides this he had struck the rock twice.

We have now heard two answers to the question: "Why was not Moses allowed to enter Canaan?" both of them given by thoughtful Israelite believers. One said "he suffered the common punishment of all the Israelites;" the other, "he drew the penalty upon himself by his own sin."

¹ Exodus xvii. 7.

² Compare Numbers xxvii. 12-14.

We cannot be content with either answer, for both are false. Shall we go on, after rejecting these solutions, to attempt one of our own? It would be labor lost. We must confess once for all that we cannot tell how far any single event, which seems painful or even cruel to individual sufferers, is the expression of His will who rules all things for his glory and the establishment of his kingdom. Our "why?" must ever remain without an answer. However much we long for such an answer, however much we torture ourselves by seeking one, all our efforts are simply useless.

And yet we have much to learn from such facts as these. What are the lessons that Moses teaches us from Mount Nebo? He had been called to release his fellow tribesmen, he was the founder of the religion and the national existence of Israel, and he had been faithful in the accomplishment of his task. Yet he saw but little of the fruits of his labor, and another led Israel into the promised land and experienced the joy of gathering in the fruits of his toil. Such is our lot in life. It is often, "one who sows and another who reaps."¹ If we love our work, be our circle wide or narrow, and do that to which God has called us, let us not imagine that we shall reap the fruits of our toil. If our object is a really lofty one we can never see it realized except in a very small measure. In following the call of God, therefore, we must renounce all thoughts of our own glory, and even of the joy and satisfaction which success would bring. We labor not for ourselves, but for the glory of God and the welfare of our neighbor. Though we never enter the promised land ourselves, let us be content with the thought that those for whom we toil will some day inherit it! Such are the lessons which Moses, on the summit of Mount Nebo, teaches us.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ISRAELITES AT JERICHO.

JOSH. I.-VIII. 29.

ON the death of Moses, Joshua became the leader of the people; and as soon as the time of mourning was over, he made the necessary preparations for crossing the Jordan and attacking the Canaanites. He commanded the Israelites

¹ John iv. 37.

to prepare provisions for three days, and reminded the tribes to whom the land east of the Jordan had been assigned, of their promise to help their brethren. Then he sent two spies to Jericho, which was the first city he intended to attack. They reached it in safety, and took up their abode with a certain Rahab, who lived on the city wall. They had not entered unobserved, however, and it was not long before the king sent to Rahab and ordered her to give them up as spies. So now their boldness would have cost them their lives had they not found an unexpected ally in their hostess. She managed to draw the king off the track by assuring him that her guests had already left her, but might perhaps be caught if they were pursued at once. Meanwhile she had hidden them on the flat roof of her house under some freshly gathered flax that was lying there to dry. When the king's warriors had left the house, and were making for the passage of the Jordan at the top of their speed, having closed the city gates behind them, Rahab went up to the house-top and told the spies that she had rescued them because she feared Yahweh. It was well known in Jericho what this mighty god had done—how the Red Sea had become dry at his command, and the lands of Sihon and Og had fallen into the hands of the Israelites. So every one trembled before them, and no one dared withstand them, for Yahweh, Israel's god, was the god of heaven and earth. "Swear," she cried, beseechingly, "swear to me, by him, that you will spare me and my relatives when you take Jericho." The spies took the oath she required, conditionally on her proving faithful to the end; and arranged that when they took the city she was to shelter all her relatives in her own house, and show the besiegers where she lived by the sign of a red cord. Then she let down the two Israelites through the window over the city wall, and they hid for three days among the mountains, and then crossed the Jordan. They reached the camp in safety, and could truly say: "Yahweh has given us the land, for its inhabitants tremble for fear before us."

It was now four days from the Passover. The Jordan was swollen, and here and there had even overflowed its banks. It was impossible to ford it, therefore. But neither was it necessary; for the way in which the Israelites were to cross the river was destined to show once more that the living god, the lord of all the earth, was in their midst. At the time appointed by Yahweh, the priests took up the ark

of the covenant, and hardly had their feet touched the water when the stream stood still some miles above Jericho, and all the water below flowed off into the Dead Sea, leaving the river bed dry along the whole intervening space. So Israel could cross dry-footed, for the waters were held back until the bearers of the ark had left the bed of the river. Then the Jordan streamed on again, and even overflowed its banks. This stupendous miracle confirmed the authority of Joshua in no small degree; and two monuments were raised to commemorate it. Each was built of twelve stones, in accordance with the number of the tribes of Israel. One stood in the middle of the Jordan where the ark had rested, and the other on the site of the first encampment of the Israelites, at Gilgal. The manna-dew ceased as soon as they had crossed the river, and the people ate of the last year's corn and the other produce of the country. All was now ready for the attack on Jericho; and the city was laid under siege. No one was allowed to go in or come out. The brave inhabitants were prepared to offer a desperate resistance; but of what avail were walls and gates, swords and lances, against the will of Yahweh, who had chosen this land for his own peculiar heritage? This thought was deeply impressed on Joshua; for before he attacked the city a being appeared before him, with a drawn sword in his hand, and to the general's challenge: "Friend or foe!" answered that he was the prince of Yahweh's army, that is, the chief of the angels. Full of reverence, Joshua threw himself to the earth, and asked what were his commands; upon which he ordered him to remove his sandals from his feet, for the place was holy.

Yahweh had power to bring the city into the hands of his worshippers, who would consecrate it to him; but it was not to fall by man's device. On six successive days the bands of Israelite warriors marched round the city once each day. First came the vanguard; then seven priests with the sacred trumpets, the sound of which brought the wants of Israel to Yahweh's mind;¹ close behind them came the ark of the covenant, supported by other priests, and then the rear guard. They marched in silence, and nothing was heard save the sound of the trumpets. On the seventh day they marched round the city seven times in the same order as before, and when the trumpets sounded for the last time, at a sign from Joshua a deafening war-cry rose from the army,

¹ Numbers x. 9.

and, behold! Jericho's walls fell down in ruins, and the city was in Israel's power.

A fearful lot was in store for it. It had been laid under the ban, declared holy to Yahweh, and accordingly every living thing within it was slaughtered. Not a single human creature, except Rahab and her relatives, was spared. The precious metals were consecrated to Yahweh, but all else — cattle, houses, furniture, in short, everything — was burned in one frightful sacrifice! Then Joshua cried over the hideous scene of devastation: "Cursed before Yahweh be the man who shall dare to rebuild this city! May he lay its foundations upon his eldest son, and rear its gates on his youngest!"

But one of the Israelites laid a hand on this devoted treasure. A man of Judah, Achan by name, took a rich Babylonian robe, two hundred shekels of silver, and a golden buckle that weighed fifty shekels (a shekel being rather less than a quarter of an ounce troy weight). He could not make up his mind to burn this robe, or to throw the gold and silver into Yahweh's treasury, so he hid them in his tent. Did he think that Yahweh would not see him? Surely that great and holy god would make the entire nation answerable for the crime of this one man. And so he did; for an expedition against Ai (a place near Bethaven, east of Bethel), for which the spies judged a force of three thousand men sufficient, proved unsuccessful. The Israelites were defeated, and Joshua lay before the ark of Yahweh, with the elders of the people, weeping and fasting, till he learned from his god that this defeat was caused by a crime of which Israel had been guilty. Achan was selected by lot from the whole people as the offender; and he himself confessed his guilt. Then Yahweh's wrath must be appeased by a fearful sacrifice. At Joshua's command, Achan and all his belongings, his sons and daughters, his oxen, his sheep, his asses, his tents, and everything he had, were brought into a neighboring valley. Then the general pronounced the words of doom: "How have you troubled us! Now may Yahweh trouble you!" At once he and his were crushed under a shower of stones; fire was cast into the confused heap of tents, furniture, robes, and corpses, and a huge pile of stones, under which the whole lay buried, soon marked the spot where Yahweh's holiness had been vindicated. Thus Yahweh was appeased; and the place is still called the valley of *Achor*, that is, of *troubling*.

Joshua was now certain of Yahweh's help, and prepared

for a fresh attack upon Ai. This time, however, he formed a less contemptuous estimate of his enemy's strength. Having first placed five thousand warriors in ambush behind the city, he determined to entice the enemy outside their walls by a pretended flight, and so give these hidden troops, who were to watch their opportunity, a chance of taking the city and setting it on fire. The stratagem was successful. Joshua fled with his army, but turned round at a certain point and raised his lance on high, upon which the forces concealed on the other side of the city fell upon it, and in a moment it was wrapped in flames! The terrified garrison which had pursued the flying Israelites was slain to the last man. The king alone was taken alive. As Moses at Rephidim had secured the victory to his people by raising his staff on high, so, on this occasion, Joshua lifted up his lance and never let it sink till the battle was fought out, and twelve thousand warriors of Canaan had fallen. Ai shared the fate of Jericho; but this time the Israelites were allowed to keep the booty. All the inhabitants were slaughtered, the city itself burned to the ground, and devoted as an "everlasting hill of devastation." Where the chief gate had stood, a great heap of stones pointed out the spot upon which the corpse of the king had been cast, after hanging on a cross for a whole day.

It needs no elaborate argument to prove that we do not owe these narratives to an eye witness. The book of Joshua, from which they are taken, is of much later date than the events it records, as is obvious from the constant repetition of the statement that such and such a monument exists "to this day," and that Rahab's family dwells amongst the Israelites "to this day." This expression would be quite pointless unless a considerable time had elapsed between the occurrence of the events and the composition of the narrative. A careful examination of the contents of the book soon shows that it consists of two parts, the oldest of which breathes precisely the same spirit as that of Deuteronomy. It is, indeed, a sequel to that book, and describes the fulfilment of the promises there given. The later portion, on the other hand, formed a part of the "Book of Origins," so often mentioned. The former portion, then, was composed shortly before or during the Babylonian captivity, and the latter portion in the succeeding period.

Of course the writers drew their materials from popular

tradition. The great monuments in the bed of the Jordan and on its bank, the enormous heaps of stones in the valley of Achor, near Jericho, and on the spot where Ai had once stood, were all of them associated with some tradition; and the conquest of the land was kept in mind by barren spots covered with the ruins of ancient cities, and regarded with a fearful reverence as devoted to Yahweh. It was well known, too, that Jericho had once been a sacred place of this kind; and many a pious man of the sixth century must have doubted whether it was not against the will of Yahweh that it was ever rebuilt. Nay, it was reported that in Ahab's time, three-and-a-half centuries after the conquest, and three centuries before the composition of the book of Joshua, when a certain citizen of Bethel had rashly ventured to rebuild the city, Yahweh smote two of his sons to punish the sacrilege, though he did not prevent the continuance of the work.¹ Popular traditions, then, especially those of Jericho and its neighborhood, in which the glory of Israel was displayed in the strongest light, doubtless provided the materials for the narratives we have been considering; while the origin assigned to the name of Achor's vale, and the position of Rahab's family (of which we shall speak again), furnished some additional matter.

Our writer has worked up these traditions in accordance with his own ideas. He looks upon history from his special religious point of view, and colors it accordingly. Regarded in this light, his account of the fall of Ai is very curious. To what does he attribute the defeat which the Israelites suffered in their first attempt upon the city? To the sin of Achan, who had taken to himself property already devoted to Yahweh. Why were they afterwards successful? Because, he tells us, they had appeased Yahweh by the execution of the offender. But his own account of the expeditions against Ai makes the course of events appear perfectly natural. The city mustered twelve thousand fighting men; and since the Israelites at first despised their foes, and only sent three thousand men against them, it is not surprising that they were repulsed. On the second occasion they were more cautious. The whole army advanced, a stratagem was attempted, and five thousand men rushed from an ambush upon the deserted city. Surely it needs no special interference of Yahweh to explain such a defeat and such a victory.

The writer evidently attaches great importance to all that

¹ 1 Kings xvi. 34.

concerns Rahab, who concealed the spies. We can easily guess why; for he tells us that "her family exists to this day." This puts the key to his meaning into our hands. No doubt there was some powerful family of Judah in his day that suffered under the reproach of Canaanite origin, and whose members were often taunted with the fact that the blood which flowed in their veins was not pure. Our writer took up the cause of this family, and, while he admitted the fact of their descent, represented their ancestress as a worshipper of Yahweh, although a Canaanite by birth, and as one to whom Israel was under a deep debt of gratitude. Rahab never appears again in the Old Testament, but in one of the genealogies of Jesus she is called the wife of Salma or Salmon, the father of Boaz the ancestor of David.¹ Of course the Evangelist did not invent this himself, and his story therefore proves that a Jewish tradition represented the royal house of Judah as having sprung from Rahab. Perhaps our writer had this house in view when he said that Rahab's family still lived among the Israelites. Another Jewish tradition makes her the wife of Joshua.

The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews² holds her up as an example of faith while the writer of the epistle of James opposes his view,³ and says that she was received into the grace of God because of her good works. This contrast between faith and works, however, was unknown to the writer in the book of Joshua. He praised her for rescuing the spies; but she would not have done so had she not been convinced of Yahweh's might. As for us, we do not feel attracted by Rahab when in search of noble examples of faith. In plain truth, she is nothing less than a traitress, who deceives her king and brings destruction upon her city simply for her own advantage and that of her family. Treachery is always contemptible, and it does not speak well for the writer's moral perception that he praises Rahab's deed because it was beneficial to Israel and was done to the glory of Yahweh.

Moreover, the frightful custom of the *Ban* shows us how little trace of a moral character is to be found in the early worship of Yahweh. This usage consisted in devoting kings to Yahweh by destroying them. Jericho, as the first fruits of Israelite conquest, was unconditionally laid under the ban; so was Achan, with all his belongings, as a punishment for his sacrilege; and so, too, with some limitation, was the city of Ai. The sites of these two cities must lie waste for ever

¹ Matthew i. 5.² Hebrews xi. 31.³ James ii. 25.

Cursed be he that rebuilds them! A human being, if laid under the ban, must be slain; and the death usually inflicted was that of stoning. It is but natural that this fearful demand should have been evaded, and a sum of money or the sacrifice of animals substituted for the person "devoted to Yahweh." But according to the old and strict law this substitution was not permitted¹ After the captivity such redemptions were allowed,² and property that lay under the ban was handed to the priests instead of being destroyed.³ But by that time the original character of Yahweh was more or less obliterated, and such softenings of the old customs were therefore possible. When the wild Israelite warriors broke into Canaan, and showed no pity on the dwellers in the land, reckoning it a crime in them to defend the inheritance of their fathers, then Yahweh was still the cruel fire-god, in whose honor cities were burned and their inhabitants slaughtered, children punished for the sins of their fathers, and all manner of bloody sacrifices offered; and when the Israelite saw the waste patch of land covered with ruins, that reminded him of the unquenchable wrath of his fearful god, the thought of Yahweh's holiness sent a shudder through his frame.

At the conquest of Canaan we are still far from the position of him who spoke of God as "Our father, who is in heaven." Nay! his preaching would not even have been understood by any one in those days. But we must remember that there were still twelve centuries to pass before he came.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN.

JOSHUA IX.-XII.

"A LIVING dog is better than a dead lion;" that is to say, "life, though branded with infamy, is preferable to the most honorable of deaths!" So thought the writer of the book of Ecclesiastes, or "the Preacher,"⁴ and his creed has found many disciples both before and after his time. According to the book of Joshua it was adopted by the inhab-

¹ Leviticus xxvii. 29.

² Numbers xviii. 14.

³ Leviticus xxvii.

⁴ Ecclesiastes ix. 4 b.

itants of several Canaanite cities, of which Gibeon was the chief. For we are told that, after the fall of Jericho and Ai, the inhabitants of these other cities were seized with terror and had recourse to a stratagem to save their lives. They sent ambassadors to the camp of Israel, with instructions to represent themselves as coming from a distant land; and in order to give the appearance of truth to their story, they loaded their asses with old, patched-up provision bags and wine skins, put on old sandals and worn-out clothes, and took dry and crumbled bread with them. In this condition they presented themselves at Gilgal, the headquarters of the Israelites, and asked Joshua to conclude an alliance with them. The Israelites were not without their suspicions, and even expressed a doubt whether the strangers were not really Canaanites, but when they declared that they had heard of Yahweh's mighty deeds in Egypt and the district east of Jordan, and pointed to the condition of their provisions and garments as a proof that they had really come from a distance, the Israelites at last allowed themselves to be deceived; and, without previously consulting the oracle, Joshua and the princes made a treaty with them, promising to spare their lives, and confirming the promise with an oath.

It was but three days before they repented of their oath; for they discovered that the ambassadors were Hivites of Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim. Upon this the people murmured against their leaders and clamored for the destruction of the Canaanites; but Joshua was true to his oath, and accepted the excuse of the Hivites that they had been driven to this act of deception by fear for their lives. Nevertheless, he condemned them and their posterity for ever to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the altar in "the place that Yahweh should choose."

This desertion of the common cause by the Gibeonites was a great blow to the other Canaanites, for Gibeon was one of the most powerful cities in the land; it was greater than Ai, and its inhabitants were famed for their skill in arms. The news of their submission to Israel, therefore, caused no little dismay, and the remaining princes combined to punish the cities that had deserted the common cause. The king of Jebus (afterwards Jerusalem) called to his aid the kings of Kirjath-arba (Hebron), Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, and they all advanced upon Gibeon together. But Joshua's assistance was called in by the city, and Yahweh encouraged him to go; so he suddenly broke up his camp and fell upon

the five kings. At Gibeon the armies met, and Yahweh himself threw Israel's enemies into confusion. They fled in frantic haste towards Beth-horon; and Yahweh hurled huge hailstones upon them as they fled, so that more of them perished by the storm than by the sword of their pursuers. "Then, on that day, when Yahweh brought the Amorites low before Israel, Joshua spoke to Yahweh and cried in the hearing of his people, 'O sun, stand still in Gibeon! and moon in the vale of Ajalon!' Then the sun stood still and the moon stayed till the people had avenged themselves on their foes." So it is written in the "Book of the Upright." On that day the sun did indeed stand still in the mid-heavens, and did not stoop down towards his setting a whole day long. Never before or since has there been such a day on which Yahweh has listened, in like manner, to the voice of a man; but Yahweh himself was fighting for Israel that day!

At first the five kings escaped from their pursuers, and concealed themselves in a cave near Makkedah; but in the midst of the slaughter they were discovered and a guard set over them. When the pursuit was over, and the remnant of the Canaanites had escaped to their cities, while no one had dared to raise a hand against the Israelites, the doom of the kings was pronounced. They were dragged out of their cave, and, further to humiliate them, five of the Israelite chieftains set their foot upon their necks in token of absolute triumph. Then they were put to death. Their bodies hung for the rest of the day upon five trees, and were then thrown into the cave that had served them as a place of refuge, while a great heap of stones was raised at its mouth to preserve the memory of the event.

Who could stand before Joshua henceforth? Makkedah fell before him, and its inhabitants were massacred. The same lot came upon Libnah, Lachish, Gezer, Eglon, Hebron, Debir, and many other cities. In a word, the whole of southern Canaan was not only conquered, but laid waste; and the slaughter was so complete that there was not a human creature left alive, even as Yahweh had promised. The whole of this district was conquered in a single campaign, for Yahweh fought for Israel.

And now the time had come for the invasion of northern Canaan. The princes of the north imitated their southern countrymen in uniting their forces to expel the Israelites. At the sea of Merom they assembled in countless hosts, deriving additional strength from the number of their war chariots

But Joshua fell upon them and scattered them abroad; and then, at Yahweh's command, burned their chariots and hamstringed their horses. Hazer, the headquarters of the confederacy, was the first place that fell before the arms of Joshua, and all its inhabitants were put to death. The same fate overtook the other cities, but those that were situated on hills were not burned down.

Thus Joshua conquered the whole land of Canaan, from south to north, within five years,¹ and defeated one-and-thirty kings.

We need not stay to prove that this narrative gives an exaggerated account of Joshua's victories; for Yahweh's joining in the fight by hurling hailstones, and his making the sun and moon stand still at Joshua's prayer, are features in the story which so far exceed the utmost limits of possibility as unmistakably to betray the presence of legendary embellishments. Thus put on our guard, we find other improbable statements in the narrative. The writer repeats again and again, with evident satisfaction, that the inhabitants of the cities taken by the Israelites were so mercilessly put to the sword that not a single one was left. Such statements cause us horror instead of satisfaction, and for the honor of the Israelites we hope that the massacre they effected was not so frightfully extensive as is here represented. But their severity only makes it all the more surprising that the country should have been conquered within so short a period. For the writer constantly speaks of the valor of the Canaanites, and even says expressly that Yahweh hardened their hearts, in order that they might deserve destruction,² which means that they made a brave resistance. It is apparently by an oversight that he declares in one passage that "no one dared to move his tongue against the Israelites."³ In reality, of course, the Canaanites resisted. They were well armed, and even possessed war chariots; and if the Israelites massacred them whenever they fell into their power, they must have defended themselves with the courage of despair, and maintained the contest to the last man. When we think of all this, it becomes still more surprising that the whole of Canaan should have been conquered by the Israelites so quickly.

Such considerations drive us to the conclusion that the stories of Joshua's fame and success in war are very much exaggerated. But after making every allowance for this, we should still be far from having a true conception of the course

¹ Joshua xiv. 7, 10.

² Joshua xi. 20.

³ Joshua x. 21.

of events if we had no accounts of his victories but these. Luckily, however, we have others, not only in the book of Joshua itself, but in that of Judges also.¹ The subsequent history of the people, too, throws great light upon this period, and would be simply inexplicable had Joshua really done all that is here ascribed to him. A careful comparison of our various means of learning the truth leads us to the conclusion that if we desire to form a thoroughly false conception of the conquest in every respect, we can hardly do better than accept that of the book of Joshua; for in reality two-and-a-half centuries were required for the gradual accomplishment of what is here said to have been finished within the space of five years. The conquest of the land, and the complete subjection of the Canaanites, were not effected until the time of Solomon.

However strange these assertions may sound, it is easy to prove their truth; and the following are some of the grounds upon which they rest. Amongst the cities Joshua is said to have conquered and laid waste with fire and sword we find Hebron, the well-known city of Judah, together with all its dependencies, one of which was Debir.² But elsewhere, in this same book of Joshua, we are told that Caleb and his brother Othniel conquered these places;³ and the book of Judges confirms this account, adding that the conquest occurred after the death of Joshua.⁴ In like manner we hear that the king Jebus, or Jerusalem, fell before Joshua, who took possession of his land;⁵ while another account informs us that this city likewise fell into the hands of the Israelites after Joshua's death;⁶ but again, in the very same chapter, we are told that the Benjamites have not expelled the Jebusites "to this day;"⁷ and it is a well-known fact that David was the first to subdue them and to take possession of their city.⁸ Again, the honor of having subdued the princes of north Canaan, who had fixed their headquarters at Hazor, is assigned to Joshua;⁹ but we shall soon see that the people of these districts kept the hands of the Israelites full long after Joshua's death. The king of Gezer, too, according to our story, was utterly defeated and his land seized by Joshua;¹⁰ but elsewhere we read that Israel could not expel the Canaanites that dwelt there.¹¹ The fact is that the Israelites themselves were never able to conquer this city at all, and only gained

¹ Judges i. and ii.

² Joshua xv. 13-16.

³ Joshua xii. 1, 10.

⁴ 2 Samuel v. 6.

⁵ Joshua x. 36-39, xi. 21, xii. 10.

⁶ Judges i. 1, 10-13, 20.

⁷ Judges i. 1, 8. ⁸ v. 21.

⁹ Joshua xi.

¹⁰ Joshua x. 33, xii. 12.

¹¹ Joshua xvi. 10; Judges i. 29.

possession of it when the Egyptian king, whose daughter was married to Solomon, took it and gave it to her as a dowry.¹

It is easy to explain why the Israelites failed to conquer many districts of Canaan. They were too weak. "Too weak!" it may be said. "How can that be? How could such an army as Joshua commanded be too weak?" In the first place, let us remember that the Israelite tribes were not nearly so numerous as some of the writers would have us believe. They were by no means "as the sand by the sea shore;" nay, they were actually inferior to the Canaanites in numbers.² Nor must we suppose that all the sons of Israel were assembled, as the book of Joshua says, in a single camp at Gilgal, where they acted with unanimity and precision. How could they have obtained provisions there?

We must rather think of them as pushing on from time to time, as occasion offered, into the land of the Canaanites, whose power was probably broken by the war with Ramses III., of Egypt.³ It seems probable that they entered, not only at different times, but from different sides.⁴ The main force, which bore the brunt of the conflict, was "the house of Joseph," under Joshua's command; while other tribes either joined this "house" on an inferior footing or followed after it and contended for the spoil. The mountainous districts were the first to yield. There the Canaanites were conquered, expelled, slaughtered, or made tributary. But the invaders found many of the cities too strong for them, and, indeed, they hardly dared to show their faces on the plains, for fear of the war chariots of the Canaanites. Thus the relations between the ancient inhabitants of the country and its conquerors were far from being equally honorable to the latter in all cases, and were very different in the different districts. Here the Israelites had effected a definite conquest, and had rooted out the Canaanites or reduced them to slavery; but there they had made treaties with them to regulate their mutual rights and obligations. In other places, again, they forced their way amongst the Canaanites, but were soon made tributary by them. In some districts the former inhabitants lived upon good terms with the invaders, and the two intermarried till they became a single people. Elsewhere there were little Israelite and Canaanite kingdoms side by side, whose inhabitants lived in armed independence of each other, frequently breaking, by marauding

¹ 1 Kings ix. 16.

² Compare p. 308.

³ See pp. 284, 285.

⁴ See next chapter.

expeditions or regular wars, the peace which existed between them.

Amongst the independent Canaanite kingdoms, with which the Israelites had made treaties, was that of the Gibeonites. The story of the device by which they passed themselves off as ambassadors from a distant country, and so saved their lives but became slaves of the temple, appears at first sight credible enough; but when we look at it more closely it seems very improbable. Indeed the Israelites are taken in by this clumsy trick, with their eyes open! For they themselves express their doubt whether these men, who represent themselves as having come from a distance, do not really live somewhere near. Then we are told that Joshua promised to spare their lives—a promise which would be out of place in dealing with a distant people, though natural enough with regard to Canaanites; and yet he only takes this oath on the supposition that they are not Canaanites. They make a treaty together, and yet the Gibeonites are afterwards content to become slaves of the sanctuary. “Of what sanctuary?” we ask. “The place which Yahweh shall choose,” is the answer. Now this is the expression, constantly recurring in Deuteronomy, for the temple of Mount Zion, which was, in fact, the first great sanctuary of all Israel at which work could have been found for so many slaves; but Joshua can hardly have assigned the Gibeonites to the service of this temple two-and-a-half centuries before it was built. We shall meet these Canaanites again in the history of Israel; not as slaves, however, but as free men complaining that the oath made to them had been broken. We shall consider hereafter why the writer of the book of Joshua gives such a distorted account of what took place, and must be content at present with calling attention to the fact that Joshua made a treaty with the Hivites of Gibeon and the surrounding places, and that each of the parties to this treaty recognized the other's independence.

How such a false account of the conquest came into existence it is instructive, in many ways, to inquire.

In the first place, exaggeration is inseparable from popular tradition. It knows no middle course, but either praises beyond measure or condemns with the same excess. Its favorites are raised to heaven, and their exploits magnified till they become miraculous; but woe to him who incurs the ill-will of posterity, for his character is painted in ever darker and darker colors! Popular tradition, too, frequently compresses

whole periods together — as a dramatist often does — attributing to a single man what was really the work of a nation, and forgetting all the secondary circumstances in its desire to glorify its hero alone. Thus the Israelite regarded the deliverance from Egypt, and the whole legislation of his people as the work of Moses; he looked upon all the psalms as the work of David, and attributed to Solomon alone the fruits of the collective toil of all the proverb-makers. All that the prophets of North Israel had accomplished was put down to Elijah and Elisha; and, in the same way, posterity gradually forgot less conspicuous heroes of every grade to glorify Joshua the son of Nun as the successor of Moses and the man who had led Israel into Canaan. Each generation, therefore, magnified the importance of his exploits.

But these characteristic tendencies of popular tradition alone could not have given birth to the representations we find in the book of Joshua. In later times people knew well enough how much trouble it had given their forefathers to complete the conquest of the land, and the figures of Caleb and Othniel, of Deborah and Barak, of Jerubbaal and Abimelech, were preserved from forgetfulness to bear witness to the struggles of the tribes even after the death of Joshua. The religious point of view from which the writer looked upon the history of his people contributed largely to the formation of his narrative.

We call the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings historical books; but it is not uninteresting to observe that they were known under quite another title by the Jews who collected the Sacred Writings. They were called the "Former Prophets," and preceded the works of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, which were known as the "Latter Prophets." They were not regarded as histories so much as works of admonition and consolation. This view of their character was certainly the truest, for it was that of the writers of the books themselves, as well as of their first readers. We must, therefore, never forget to take this religious point of view of the narrators into account, for it always colored their representations very strongly.

The book of Joshua, especially the portion of it we have now considered, is a sequel to Deuteronomy, to which it was probably attached originally. Now the book of Deuteronomy contains a great number of laws which it commands the Israelites to observe, and which it sanctions by glorious promises and terrible threats. The writer saw in his mind's eye an

ideal Israel, faithful in its service of Yahweh, and therefore blessed. Surely, thought he, in those good old days Israel had no pity on the Canaanites, but utterly destroyed them to the glory of Yahweh; or if any of them saved their lives it must have been by some stratagem. What an example for the times in which he wrote! But zeal in rooting out the Canaanites was not the only point he found to praise in the Israelites of Joshua's day; for, according to him, they were faithful to Yahweh's commands in other respects as well.

Let me add a few traits from the portions of his work not yet noticed, that we may have as complete an idea as possible of the picture that was present to his mind.

"When you have entered the land of Canaan," he makes Moses say to the people,¹ "you must write the words of this law upon plastered stones, set them up on Mount Ebal, and build a stone altar by them. Then six tribes shall take their stand on Mount Ebal and six on the opposite Gerizim, whereupon the Levite-priests shall pronounce the curses of Yahweh over those who break his commandments, and the people shall say 'Amen' to every curse." Upon this follows in the book of Deuteronomy, as we now have it, a very long blessing² upon the obedient, and a curse,³ far longer yet, upon the disobedient. If the Israelites obeyed the words of Yahweh, they would obtain the land that their god had promised to the patriarchs, but if they departed from his law they would go into captivity. When these chapters were written, the men of the northern kingdom had long been taken captive to Nineveh, and even those of Judah, in whole or in part, to Babylon. Such a disaster could only be attributed to the sins of the people. Under the influence of this conviction, the writer painted the past in ever fairer colors. Surely, he thought, Israel was obedient in Joshua's days. He saw, in imagination, the people solemnly renewing the covenant at Ebal and Gerizim, in obedience to the command of Moses,⁴ and Israel closely attached to the law of the Lord. And this explained to him how Joshua had been able to gain so many victories.

When Joshua had conquered the land, the writer says elsewhere,⁵ he summoned the chiefs of the people to Shechem, reminded them of all that Yahweh had done for them, and then solemnly proposed that they should henceforth worship this faithful god; but they must decide for themselves; if they had rather worship the gods that their fathers had

¹ Deuteronomy xxvii.

² Deuteronomy xxviii. 1-14.

³ Deuteronomy xxviii. 15-68.

⁴ Joshua viii. 30-35.

⁵ Joshua xxiv.

served in Haran, or the gods of the Amorites, that was for them to consider, but as for him and his family they would obey Yahweh. "No!" answered the people, "we will have no other gods, but Yahweh only, for he has been good to us." But Joshua made them think of all that this promise meant, and reminded them that Yahweh was a stern and jealous god, who would not forgive them their sins, but would punish them if they broke his commandments. Still the people persevered in their promise to serve him. "You declare, then, openly," cried Joshua, "that you have chosen Yahweh for your god?" "We do!" they answered. "Then put away," he cried, exhorting them, "the idols which you still possess, and incline your hearts to Yahweh, Israel's god." The people promised to comply. Thus did Joshua conclude the covenant between Yahweh and the people; and when he had written it all in a book, he set up a great stone under the oak by the sanctuary of Yahweh at Shechem. Then he repeated the solemn promise, and said: "This stone be witness! for it has heard all the words of Yahweh. It shall be a witness that you deny not your god." Then the tribes returned to their several places. At last Joshua died at the age of a hundred and ten. Now as long as this faithful servant of Yahweh lived, and all these elders could bear witness to the mighty works of Yahweh, Israel served his god. But then another generation rose¹ that knew neither Yahweh nor his work of deliverance. So they were faithless to Israel's god, and that was the beginning of all the troubles!

The writer of the "Book of Origins," to whom we owe the later portions of Joshua, follows in the same path. He tells us with great detail how Joshua assigned the several tribes their inheritance. First of all he gave the district east of Jordan to Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, and an accurately defined portion of Canaan to Judah and the two divisions of the tribe of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh. No reason is given for their receiving these in preference to any other districts.² Then the Israelites set up the tabernacle³ at Shiloh, and requested Joshua to measure the land that was still unassigned, in order that he might be able to divide it fairly among the seven tribes who had as yet received no territory. The lot was to decide which portions should fall to the several tribes.⁴ Finally the priests had their cities assigned to them.⁵ The writer concludes his account of this

¹ Judges ii. 10.² Joshua xiv.-xvii.³ See p. 304.⁴ Joshua xviii. xix.⁵ Joshua xxi.

division of the land by assuring us that all the promises of Yahweh were fulfilled, that no one could stand before the Israelites, and that they inherited the whole land and dwelt in it¹ — an assertion which contrasts strangely with accounts of districts which the Israelites saw no possibility of conquering, and complaints of want of room to live in, interspersed in the book of Joshua, as we now have it, in the very midst of these flourishing descriptions.²

The writer tells us, further, how faithfully the Israel of Joshua's time observed the commandment of Yahweh, to worship him only in one single place — in those days the tabernacle at Shiloh.³ For when the warriors of the transjordanic tribes had fulfilled their promise to help their brothers in the conquest of the land, Joshua thanked them and blessed them and allowed them to depart to their own homes. On their way, however, they raised an enormous altar somewhere (we are not told where) on the border-land. Now this was against the regulations of the Law, and the other tribes immediately sent an embassy, under the direction of Phineas, the son of Eleazer the priest, to expostulate with them. "If," said they, "you think your land unclean because it lies outside Canaan proper, then come over to us, for we have the tabernacle with us, and choose a dwelling-place in our midst; but in any case remember Yahweh's judgments and sin not." But the transjordanic Israelites had a ready answer, for they had not raised the altar with any idea of offering sacrifices upon it, but simply as a monument to serve as a bond of union between them and the brother tribes in Canaan. The deputation returned with this answer, and every one was satisfied with the explanation that had been given. So faithful was Israel in the good old days!

We have seen that whatever differences there were between the two writers of the book of Joshua, they quite agreed in one respect, for they both praised "the good old times" as a period of piety and of consequent prosperity. They did so with a most admirable object — namely, to induce their contemporaries to bid adieu to their sins, to relinquish their perverse religious practices, and to worship Yahweh with all their hearts.

On the whole, too, they doubtless acted in good faith when they painted the far-off past in such bright colors;

¹ Joshua xxi. 43-45.

² Joshua xxii

³ Joshua xv. 63, xvi. 12-18.

and yet we can hardly help suspecting that they were more or less aware that their picture was not a faithful one. For instance, when one of them makes Joshua set up a stone under the oak "by the sanctuary of Yahweh, at Shechem," and puts the words into his mouth: "Let this stone be our witness, for it has heard all the words of Yahweh!"¹ We should not have thought he could have helped asking himself whether the old story, from which in this instance he drew the substance of his own, did not teach him that the religion of Israel in Joshua's time was very far indeed from what he desired that of his own contemporaries to be. We should have thought that these writers knew enough of the old stories to see pretty clearly that Israel was neither so devout nor so prosperous in ancient times as they tried to make out it was. We have less hesitation in adopting this supposition because we know that the earlier writer's ideas of honesty were not very scrupulous, since he accepts the excuse of the Gibeonites for deceiving Joshua as quite sufficient.² "Surely," he would have said, "a man may tell a lie when his life depends upon it!"

We cannot be accused of want of candor, therefore, if we suppose that this writer purposely represented the past in too favorable a light, in furtherance of the good object upon which he was intent.

And yet, after all, the want of truthfulness may have been unintentional, for people are often inclined to think of a past generation as superior to their own. A deep sense of the imperfections of the present, coupled with a deficient knowledge of the past, and sometimes with small confidence in the future, leads many people into this mistake. Thus we still hear certain persons praise the good old times in which, they say, people were so much better and more religious, and social welfare so much greater; but a closer acquaintance with the past of our own people, and that of others, teaches us very different lessons. Those who exalt our forefathers at the expense of our contemporaries are as far from the mark as the writers of the book of Joshua were when they extolled the Israelites of the thirteenth century before Christ, and held them up as models to their own fellow-citizens.

They did all this with the best intentions, but they did no good by it; for it is so discouraging to be obliged to look upon one's contemporaries as a degenerate race! The truth was much more consoling. The history of Israel—and the

¹ Joshua xxiv. 26, 27.

² Joshua ix. 24, 25

same may be said of all other peoples and of the whole race — is not represented by a period of piety, and consequent prosperity followed by a fall, and then a series of unsuccessful efforts to recover from it. The truth is, that the Israelites of Joshua's time were half-civilized barbarians, amongst whom the activity of Moses had scattered some seeds of nobility which would in time bring forth fruit. But at present they gave but little sign of this better future, and were still fierce and rude to the last degree. Their prosperity was that of a horde of nomads who had been tolerably successful in gaining a home by conquest. Some of them were lucky enough to get possession of rich pastures and fertile corn-lands, while others had to be content with more barren districts; some became masters, and others were reduced to slavery; and this not because some were more virtuous than others, but because capricious fortune throws abundance into the lap of one, and withholds it from another.

It is true that, in the end, great things came of these wild invaders; but this was the result of long and painful toil, and its price was paid in tears and blood.



CHAPTER XIV.

CALEB THE KENIZZITE.

JUDGES I. 1-21; NUM. XIII. AND XIV.

AFTER the death of Joshua — we are told in the book of Judges — it was time for the Israelite tribes to take possession of their territory. So they asked Yahweh which of them should begin. The oracle chose Judah, and he made common cause with Simeon. First they fell upon Bezek, the position of which is unknown, and took her king alive, upon which they cut off his thumbs and great toes, so as to disable him for war. He recognized the punishment of God in this mutilation; for in his cruel pride he had himself treated seventy princes in the same manner, and made them crawl under his table to pick up the crumbs that fell from it. He died in Jerusalem, which now fell into the hands of Judah.

Then¹ they turned their arms successfully against the inhabitants of various parts of the future territory of Judah.

¹ Compare Joshua xv. 13-19.

They conquered Kirjath-arba (afterwards Hebron), where the Enakites, Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmai dwelt. Then they rushed upon Kirjath-sepher, that is "the city of the scribe," afterwards known as Debir. "Whoever takes it shall have my daughter Achsah to wife," cried Caleb; and when his own brother, Othniel the Kenizzite, took the place he kept his word. But Achsah was not content with her future home, and when Caleb brought her to her husband's house, she urged the latter to request a more fertile allotment from her father; and when she found she could not persuade him to do so she undertook the task herself. She allowed herself to slip from her ass in token of distress, and when Caleb asked her what was the matter, she answered: "Grant me a boon! You have given me a dry land, give me some wells with it!" Caleb granted her request, and that is how the Kenizzites came to possess the higher and the lower wells.

The sons of Keni, the father-in-law of Moses, came with the men of Judah from the "city of palms" (Jericho) to the desert of Judah; and when they had taken possession of this desert, the men of Judah and Simeon marched upon Zephath, which they conquered and laid under the ban. They called it Hormah, or "the banned." Judah also took Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, together with the land in which these cities lay. Thus Yahweh helped Judah to conquer the mountain land; but the inhabitants of the valleys could not be conquered because they had iron chariots. The conquerors gave Hebron to Caleb, as Moses had commanded, and he expelled the three Enakites from it. Of his brother Othniel, we are further told,¹ that when the king of Mesopotamia, Chushan Rishathaim, oppressed Israel, he arose and delivered the people from his tyranny.

We have seen that the book of Joshua represents all the Israelite tribes as united in a single camp, under Joshua, fighting against the Canaanites in concert, and dividing the conquered districts amongst themselves by friendly agreement. The same conception, thoroughly unhistorical as we have shown² it to be, underlies the story we have just given; for it represents the men of Judah and Simeon, together with the sons of Keni or the Kenites, as starting on their campaign from Jericho, if not from the common camp. The real course of events was very different; and though we have no direct accounts of it, we can make it out with tolerable

¹ Judges iii. 8-11.

² See pp. 347, 348.

certainly from various traces it has left in the history of these southern tribes and the relation in which they stood to the inhabitants of the north country. We must begin, then, by reversing the order in which the book of Judges mentions the conquests of the men of Judah, and must make them begin from the south; for it is highly probable that while the house of Joseph, under the command of Joshua, worked its way into Canaan from the other side of the Jordan, and settled in the central district, Judah and his allies entered from the Arabian desert, along the coast of the Dead Sea.

Let us turn our attention for a moment to these allies of Judah. In the first place there was the tribe of Simeon, with which that of Levi was always so closely allied that we shall be safe in supposing that a number of Levite families, if not the whole tribe, were to be found in the camp of Judah. But in addition to these sons of Israel, troops of shepherds of quite another origin ranged themselves under the same flag. We have already¹ pointed out more than once that an Israelite tribe by no means consisted, as some would have us think, of the descendants of a single man, and that Judah, Simeon, and the other sons of Israel were not persons at all, but mere personifications. We have also observed² that the Israelites were anything but an unmixed race, and that the sons of Israel did but form the nucleus of the tribes, while all manner of other elements were taken up into them. We are quite unable to discover the real composition of some of the tribes of Israel, but we still know a good deal about that of Judah. This tribe included many families, such as the Calebites, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, and the Jerahmeelites, that were certainly not of Israelite but of Edomite and Midianite origin.³ This is only natural; for the men of Judah and the other Israelites who had made common cause with them had doubtless spent a considerable time on the southern boundaries of Canaan before they succeeded in gaining a footing in the country itself. These regions west of Mount Seir were inhabited by Edomites and Midianites, some of whom, no doubt, had settled habitations, while others wandered about with their herds in search of pasture. These shepherds, doubtless, cast longing eyes upon the fertile glades of Canaan, and from time to time, as opportunity served, made marauding expeditions against them, though they were not strong enough to expel their inhabitants. In the course of time however, they were

¹ See pp. 102, 103; 226-228.

² See p. 316.

³ Compare Numbers x. 29-32.

strengthened by the "sons of Judah," whose habitual attitude of hostility towards the Philistines made them the natural allies of these border tribes. At first, perhaps, the alliance they formed was disturbed by occasional quarrels, but eventually they all made common cause with each other, visited the sanctuary of "the Terror" at Beersheba¹ together, and at last felt strong enough to venture on an attempt to conquer the land of Canaan.

Of course this enterprise was surrounded with difficulties. It will be remembered that a story in the Pentateuch represents the Israelites as having been actually repulsed by the Amorites in an expedition against Zephath.² Another account tells us that Moses took this city,³ while the book of Judges, as we saw just now, says that the Judæans and their allies conquered it after the death of Joshua. Zephath was evidently a border fortress and the key to the land; and it is probable that its fall gave the signal to the shepherd tribes that lived on the southern border of Canaan to seize the opportunity of making a regular invasion. As the first fruits of the spoil, Zephath itself was treated by the Judæans as Jericho was by the sons of Joseph — it was devoted to Yahweh, and the place where it had stood was called Hormah, or "banned." Pushing on from this point of vantage, the invaders came upon a formidable foe to the west; for there the Philistines, a warlike tribe that had come, like the Israelites themselves, from Egypt,⁴ held possession of the seaboard. We are informed, indeed, both in the narrative we have just given and in a passage in the book of Joshua,⁵ that the Israelites took the Philistine cities Ekron, Ashdod, Gaza, and Askelon; but if this is so, the triumph was but short lived, for we soon find all these places once more in the hands of their former owners. The invaders were more successful towards the north, where they took Kirjath-sepher and the mountain land round Hebron, and extended their conquests up to the district of which the house of Joseph had taken possession.

Thus did Judah and his allies win themselves a home, which they divided according to the rights of war — that is to say, the right of the strongest. Most of the foreign clans ranged themselves under the flag of Judah — whether because the chief of this tribe was the bravest and most successful, or for whatever other reason — and Judah, therefore, became far

¹ See pp. 161-166.

² Numbers xiv. 40-45. Deuteronomy i. 41-44; see also p. 306.

³ Numbers xxi. 1-3.

⁴ See p. 283.

⁵ Joshua xv. 45-47.

more powerful than Simeon and Levi, who gradually sank almost into the position of dependencies of the larger tribe. The Simeonites did indeed retain a certain amount of independence, and gained some territory of their own; but many of their families, together with all the Levite clans that had entered Canaan from this side, were scattered amongst the Judæans, while others penetrated as far as Shechem, where we shall meet with them again. Of course the Kenites, Kenizzites, and other kindred tribes acquired land of their own just as the Judæans and other sons of Israel did. What each obtained depended upon his valor or good fortune. Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, the Kenizzite,¹ and Othniel, "the son of Kenaz" (which means that he too was a Kenizzite), are mentioned by tradition as valiant and successful warriors, who drove the warlike Enakites from Hebron and the surrounding district, and took possession of it themselves. The Kenites settled in the desert of Judah, and still further south. From the nature of the case, the boundary between the territory of the Israelites and that of the Edomites must have been very ill-defined, or rather the two must have run into each other, so that in travelling from north to south one would constantly meet fewer Israelites and more Kenites, Kenizzites, and kindred tribes. Hence the legend represented Esau and Jacob as twin brothers, and called them both sons of Isaac.

At the time of the conquest of Canaan the national consciousness of Israel was not yet roused. Centuries were still to pass before the rise of a true Israelite nation. The northern tribes paid no attention to Judah: Judah knew nothing of Joseph, or at least felt no interest in him. But when the sons of Israel began to feel their connection more deeply; when the worship of Yahweh, which was common to them all, took a fresh flight, and the peculiar Israelite character began to be strongly marked, — then the question as to the origin of the inhabitants of the various portions of the land emphatically demanded an answer. The idea took root that none but true Israelites ought to have an inheritance in the land of Yahweh. And yet it was still perfectly well known that the inhabitants of Hebron were not Israelites, but people of another stock. This was strange and even shocking. The legend of Caleb's faith in the might of Yahweh was intended to explain this fact, and to answer the question, "What right have these strangers to an inheritance in the midst of the sons

¹ Numbers xxxii. 12. 1 Chron. iv. 13-15.

ises which Yahweh had given to Israel; so he found the solution of the mystery in the supposition that this stranger had earned the privilege by his faith, by his fidelity and perseverance in the service of Yahweh. This shows true spiritual perception.

If only Israel had remained faithful to this principle, that a heathen might be raised by piety to the level of the Israelite! But it was not so. To most of the Jews after the captivity this solution of the difficulty was by no means satisfactory. Caleb's faith, however great, would have availed him but little in the eyes of some of them; for their chief pride was in their descent and in the purity of their blood. If Caleb was not of the true "seed of Abraham," he was no child of the promise. Away with him then! The men who passed this judgment supposed it to be sanctioned by the practice of their forefathers. They could not imagine it otherwise. If Caleb, then, according to the old accounts, had received an inheritance in Israel, they argued that he must of necessity have been a descendant of Judah. Before long, accordingly, the following genealogy came into the world. Judah had a son Pharez, and he a son Hezron; Caleb and Jerahmeel were sons of this Hezron, and Caleb in his turn had several sons, amongst whom was Hebron (Caleb's dwelling-place). A number of Judæan families were also included among Caleb's descendants.¹ The spirit that inspired these genealogies is that of intolerance. There is but one people, it says, that stands in the grace of God and is good in his sight. That people is Israel. Whosoever does not belong to it is a heathen. But suppose he is full of devotion and love? That has nothing to do with it. He is a mere heathen. But suppose he loves the people of God and does them good? It is all the same. He has no share in God's favor.

So completely was Israel's religion petrified! Such was the dream of spiritual pride from which that teacher strove to rouse it who placed the merciful Samaritan above the pitiless Jew, even though the latter was a priest.

¹ 1 Chronicles ii. 3-5, 18, 25, 42-55.

CHAPTER XV.

DEBORAH AND BARAK.

JUDGES IV. AND V.

HAVING spoken in the last chapter of the conquest of southern Canaan, we shall now turn to the north again, and shall see how hard it was for the Israelites to maintain themselves there. But first we must say a word or two about the book from which we derive almost all our knowledge of this period. It is the book of Judges.

This work embraces a number of old and trustworthy traditions about the centuries between the conquest of Canaan and the time of Samuel, the last of the Judges. The writer has drawn most of his narratives from trustworthy sources, and in following him, therefore, we are, as a rule, treading upon firm ground. Our gratitude to him would indeed be still greater than it is, if he had given us all that he found in his authorities unmixed and unaltered. But to an Israelite historian this seems to have been a simple impossibility. The book of Judges, like those of Joshua, Samuel, and Kings, is a prophetic work,¹ and the author makes history subservient to his object of admonishing the people. This tendency, of course, influenced his representations of the past.

In the first place he knows but one cause of disaster to a people — faithlessness to Yahweh ; and but one way to prosperity and power — obedience to Yahweh. He tells his contemporaries, therefore, that Israel suffered much, in ancient times, because it was faithless to its god. The Israelites had not rooted out the Canaanites, and they worshipped idols. So Yahweh punished them by selling them to all their foes. But when Israel repented of its sins, Yahweh raised up a deliverer, and as long as he lived and ruled all was well. When he was dead, however, the people fell into sin again, and the same series of events recurred. The writer himself tells us, in a sort of introduction which follows a short narrative of the conquest and precedes the account of the exploits of his heroes, that this is the point of view from which he looks upon the history of the period.² But this

¹ See p. 350.

² Judges ii. 6-iii. 6.

view of the connection between piety and prosperity and between faithlessness to Yahweh and adversity is not true. We shall even see that the great fidelity of Israel to Yahweh's commands was one of the very causes which now and then seriously endangered its independence during the period of the Judges and at other times. Such a mistaken idea could not but influence the writer's conceptions of the past. Suppose, for instance, that one of the deliverers of the people had been a worshipper of Baal; the writer of the book of Judges would certainly have been unable to believe anything of the kind, and would have represented the hero as a faithful worshipper of Yahweh; for had it been otherwise, he would have thought, how could he have received power from Yahweh to deliver Israel? We shall see presently that this example is not merely imaginary.

Again, neither the writer of this book nor any other Israelite historian possessed in any high degree the power of placing himself in imagination under different conditions of national life from those with which his own experience had made him familiar. Our writer knew, for instance, that the Israelites had no kings during the first centuries after the conquest of Canaan; but he had not the slightest conception of the terrible confusion consequent upon this state of things. He imagined Israel to have been quite a compact nation, governed by judges, and waging war or living at peace as a single whole. This conception is utterly untrue. The connection between the different tribes at this period was for the most part as loose as possible. Each one looked after itself, and it often happened that the misfortunes of one gave no concern to another. As a rule, the so-called judges were as far removed as possible from regular magistrates, by the years of whose government the course of the national history could be measured. Only a few of them ever bore the name of prince or ruled over even one or two of the tribes. For the most part they were heroes who rose up to deliver some oppressed district, and afterwards returned to the plough or the crook, with which they had earned their bread before. If they had other gifts, as well as valor, then no doubt for a longer or shorter period their advice was asked by their neighbors in cases of difficulty, and their word carried weight in the assemblies of the inhabitants of the district in which they lived; but their influence was wholly moral, that is to say, it depended entirely upon personal qualities, such as bodily strength, courage, penetration, or

justice. A later generation, accustomed to regular magistrates, and taking for granted that there must have been such in the times of their ancestors also, called these heroes "Judges;" but they bore no such title during their lives. Before the establishment of the monarchy, in that period of restless violence and war, numberless heroes must have risen among the Israelites; but while the majority of them were forgotten some few survived in the memory of the people. Of some little but the name has been preserved, while the exploits of others have been more or less fitly recorded.

Since our writer thought of the judges as regular magistrates whose power was recognized by the whole people, and imagined that their regular succession was interrupted only by intervals during which their help was unnecessary, because Israel was at peace, it is but natural that he should have endeavored to fix the length of their respective rules. His principle was to assign such periods to them that, together with Moses, Joshua, and the first kings, they would just fill up the time between the Exodus from Egypt and the building of Solomon's temple, — a period which a passage in the book of Kings, from the hand of the same writer, fixes at four hundred and eighty years.¹ In reality the period of the judges was much shorter. Little more than two centuries elapsed between the conquest of Canaan and the time of Solomon. We may therefore neglect, without misgiving, all the notices which our writer gives us of the time during which this or that judge governed the land, for they all belong to his own artificial system of chronology.

The series of his judges begins, immediately after Joshua's death, with Othniel. We are told, in a single word, that this hero overcame a Mesopotamian king, and that the people afterwards had rest for forty years.² Then we are informed that the Moabite king Eglon, with the help of the Ammonites and Amalekites, took Jericho — that is to say, no doubt, established his headquarters on the spot where Jericho had formerly stood — and oppressed Israel for eighteen years, till Ehud, a Benjamite, treacherously murdered him and took advantage of the confusion that followed to call the Israelites to arms and so restore his country's liberty. After this the people had rest for eighty years.³ A certain Shamgar, who slew six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad,⁴ is mentioned

¹ 1 Kings vi. 1; compare p. 247.

² Judges iii. 12-30.

³ Judges iii. 7-11.

⁴ Judges iii. 31.

next. Then follows the first detailed account of a judge — an account which we know to rest upon firm historical grounds, because most of the particulars are confirmed by the song of Deborah, the most ancient Israelite poem of any extant which we possess. I should like to give this song at length, but there are so many unintelligible passages in it that I must be content with borrowing a number of details from it in describing what took place, and with finally quoting a portion of it.

Between the range of Carmel to the west, and the lesser Hermon and Gilboa to the east, lies the plain of Jezreel, about one-and-twenty miles in length, and thirteen in width. It is eminently suited, from its nature, to serve as a battle field; and the stream of Kishon, which receives part of its waters from Gilboa and part from Tabor, runs through it in a north-westerly direction. Long after the conquest the regions north of this great plain remained to a large extent in the possession of the old inhabitants. West of Lake Merom lay the city of Hazor, the abode of the Canaanite king Jabin. We are not told whether this monarch had suffered a defeat when first the sons of Israel penetrated into his land; but it deserves notice that the father of the tribe of Naphtali, which inhabited this district, is called in the Israelite legend a son of Jacob by Rachel's slave-girl.¹ This shows that his blood was not considered noble. Zebulun, too, which dwelt further south, and certainly experienced the tyranny of Jabin, is called the youngest son of Leah, which means that the tribe did not rise to importance till a comparatively late period. And the so-called "blessing of Jacob"² sings of Issachar, who dwelt still further south, as follows³: —

Issachar is the beast of strangers,
Lying down within the enclosure;
When he saw that rest was good,
And that the land was fair,
He bowed his shoulder to carry burdens,
And became a tributary.

All this seems to indicate that a few bands of Israelites had penetrated as far north as lake Merom, or perhaps even farther, and had taken special possession of the coast land where the Asherites and some divisions of Zebulun⁴ found a home; but that only a few families had settled in the western part

¹ Genesis xxx. 7, 8.

³ Genesis xlix. 14, 15, after an amended version.

² See p. 226

⁴ Genesis xlix. 13.

of north Palestine, in the marshy districts near the lakes of Merom and Gennesareth, whereas the fertile and beautiful country between Gennesareth and Carmel had indeed fallen to the lot of certain clans of Zebulun and Issachar, but only at the price of their freedom, since they became tributary to the Canaanites.

The plain of Jezreel, then, formed a kind of boundary between the country over which the Canaanites still held sway and that of which the Israelites had become the masters. On the plain itself certain wandering tribes of shepherds pitched their tents. They were Kenites, and had perhaps penetrated to their present position from the south. But though they had gained an entrance into Canaan by the aid of the Judæans and other Israelites, they were not on good terms with the kinsmen of their former allies, but took the side of the Canaanites.

No wonder! For Jabin's power was terrible. Not far from the plain of Jezreel his commander, Sisera, had established a camp in which there were nine hundred war-chariots ready for action. The name of the place, Harosheth (perhaps "camp"), of the heathen may be derived from this circumstance. We cannot be sure of the form of these chariots. They may have been provided with scythes and spikes to plough down the enemies' infantry, for we know that some peoples of antiquity employed chariots of this description; but it seems more probable that they simply served to bear the warriors with their charioteers to battle, and to furnish them with a vantage ground from which to hurl their spears and shoot their arrows. In any case they were regarded with great terror by the Israelites, who hardly dared to show their faces in the valleys, where these "iron chariots" were, of course, more formidable than in the hill-land. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Kenites, who lived in the plain of Jezreel, submitted to the owners of these dreaded engines of war; but the fact that they did so still further reduced the chances of the Israelite tribes north of the plain of ever tearing themselves out of the iron grasp of the Canaanites.

The great highway from Syria to Egypt ran through the plain of Jezreel, and whoever held possession of it was, therefore, master of all the commerce of the country, had the whole sea-board more or less in his power, and could lay imposts upon all kinds of merchandise. Jabin made ample use of these powers. The result was that commerce was brought almost to a standstill, and it was not long before the

consequences made themselves felt even south of the plain. The roads were deserted, and everything languished. The Canaanites grew more insolent every day. Their troops kept penetrating further and further south. Not one of the great highways was safe. Travellers were compelled to find their way by hunters' and shepherds' paths. Dread of the Canaanites rose higher and higher. The flocks were plundered, and the Israelite husbandman never knew whether he would be allowed to carry home the harvest that he saw ripening on his land. But woe to him if he resisted the tyrants! He was a child of death. Young men and girls were carried off as slaves. No one dared to resist the plunderers. And still they kept advancing. Who should deliver their victims? In the south, Shamgar, who fought against the Philistines, was still living, and a certain Jael,¹ of whom we know nothing more, enjoyed great fame. But perhaps they felt no concern for "the sons of Issachar and of Joseph." Or did their courage fail because old age had robbed them of their strength? Or did they not know what cry would wake an echo in the hearts of their brethren? Be this as it may, they did not deliver the people. Where must they look for help? The Asherites were powerful indeed, but like the sons of Dan they were too busy with their ship-building, their fisheries, and their commerce to give heed to the sighs of the down-trodden.² Often did the victims gaze across the Jordan wistfully, for there too their brethren dwelt. Had they not heard over there of their distress? They had, indeed; and when the bold shepherds of Reuben sat together in the evening on the banks of their streams they often spoke of the weary days passed by their brothers on the other side of the Jordan. Then they would tell of the fearful power of the Canaanites, of Sisera's strength, of those dreaded chariots, or of the cruelties practised on men, women, and children, while a curse of muttered wrath or a cry of indignation broke from the hearers. Then they began to think what could be done. They could not leave their brethren to their fate. Shame on them if they did! And yet how could they help them? All hands were needed for the work at home, all weapons to ward off beasts of prey and robber bands. Well! they would consult the men of Gilead. They would—do a hundred things; but they *did* nothing. And often enough they forgot the sufferings of their neighbors as they lay stretched at ease upon the grass listening to the bleating of their flocks. It was very sad that

¹ Judges v. 6.² Judges v. 17.

their brothers should be so cruelly oppressed ; but, then, what could they do?¹

The suffering grew more and more intense. It could not last. The names of Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar were in danger of utterly perishing. Help yourselves then ! Stand up and fight for liberty ! There were heroes enough among the oppressed tribes ; but who was to place himself at their head ? Who was to inspire them with courage, and, girding himself to the fight, conquer or die at their head ?

In the north-eastern corner of the plain of Jezreel the stately Tabor raises its broad crown. Close by this mountain, or perhaps on its summit, was situated in those days the little city of Kedesh. It is called Kedesh of Naphtali in one passage of the narrative ;² but it cannot possibly have been situated so far off, by lake Merom. It must be looked for near Mount Tabor. In this Kedesh dwelt Barak, the son of Abinoam. Many an anxious eye was turned towards him. Why did not he urge on the fight ? Dared he not ? No ! he dared not. Brave as he was, he shrank from such a task. Those war-chariots of Sisera ! Those dreaded chariots !

And still the burden grew heavier to bear. Lamentations rose from the worshippers at every feast of the new moon, or whenever else the gods were invoked and sacrificial meals were held. Then, amidst the sobs of the people, the priest would pour out water upon the ground and would sigh, " We are like water that is spilled and can never be gathered up again !³ O Yahweh ! help us ! "

Help was to come from the south. In the mountain land of Ephraim, between Rama and Bethel, stood a palm tree long known as Deborah's palm. Near this tree lived a certain Lapidoth, whose wife was celebrated far and near as a holy woman, who received revelations from the deity, and whose word was accepted as a divine response. Many a one came to consult her or to call in her aid, for she was the refuge of all the oppressed. And the pilgrims would often assemble, on a holy day, at the stone of Bethel or some other sacred spot near Deborah's palm, while she held judgment amongst them. Woe to the man who had removed the boundary marks or had driven his cattle into his neighbor's corn-field ! Woe to the craven who had accepted a fine instead of slaying his kinsman's murderer ! Woe to the libertine who had laid hands on his neighbor's wife ! The

¹ Judges v. 15 b-17 a.

² Judges iv. 6.

³ Compare 1 Samuel vii. 6 ; Psalm xxii. 14.

holy woman turned her flashing eye upon him and it pierced his inmost soul. Unable, in his conscious guilt, to bear her awful glance, he was driven to confess his sin, though he knew full well that to do so was to issue his own death-warrant. Yes, she was indeed a holy woman, for she could read the souls of men and interpret the language of God in Nature.

In those days Deborah was a frequent witness of the depression of her neighbors; for the Israelites who came from the north could speak of nothing but the tyranny of the Canaanites, and the woes of the sons of Israel, or of Barak and the other heroes staying at home and doing nothing. Then Deborah's blood would boil and her eyes flash, and a word of God would seem to hang upon her lips; but it died away, and she was silent. Had *she* any power to help them? No! deliverance was of Yahweh. He was the rock of Israel. And still he seemed deaf to his people's prayer. How often had she watched the flight of the birds and listened to their cry! But the omens were never favorable. There was nothing to show that Yahweh would come to help his people, or was mighty enough to withstand the gods of the Canaanites. And she would often bow down in prayer, or spend the whole night on the summit of a lonely hill or beneath the sacred trees, sighing, "How long? Yahweh! How long?"

One evening she was waiting to hear the voice of her god once more. The morrow was a holy day. They would come to her again from all regions, from the down-trodden districts of the north, and ask her for a word of God. What answer was she to give them? Had she none but the old one, "Wait!" How long must she mock them with it? Her eyes are fixed upon the furthest south. What is this she feels? A stream of warm air is wafted against her face. See! the thunder-clouds are gathering over Seir! Hark! The voice of Yahweh bursts upon her ear! The earth trembles. The mountains shudder. 'Tis time! He comes!¹

The morning breaks. In deep depression, as heretofore, the sons of Benjamin and Ephraim gather round the palm. Where is Deborah? There she comes! But how changed her glance! What triumph in her step! "The spirit of God is upon her!" they whispered in awe. And they said well. "Praised be Yahweh," she cries; "deliverance is at hand. He comes. He has whetted his sword and grasped his shield, and his spear trembles in his hand! Fear not the might of the Canaanite, for as a lion roars over his prey

¹ Judges v. 4.

when a flock of sheep approach him, so does Yahweh roar. The beast of prey shudders not at the sound of their bleating, though they be many, nor trembles at their numbers, for they are helpless.¹ So Yahweh fears not the war-cry of Sisera's warriors." Then a great shout of "Who is our leader?" rises on every side. "Barak!" she replies. "Where is he?" Deborah's eye soon rests on him as she cries: "Yahweh commands you to gather the heroes of Naphtali and Zebulun at Tabor. He himself will bring Sisera and his army to the valley of Kishon to meet you. There shall the slaughter take place. He has given the foe, with all his chariots, into your hand. Then the hyenas shall hold feast and the vultures shall feed fat! 'To arms!' 'To arms!' the cry re-echoes through the air. "The sword and the spear of Yahweh! For Yahweh and for Barak!" But Barak pauses still. "O Deborah! Inspired of God!" he replies to her appeal. "I am ready. But what can we do without your help? Come thou with us, and the victory is ours!" "Yes!" cry the people; "Yes! Deborah with us! Glory to Yahweh!" And Deborah is ready.

The news of what has happened spreads like fire through the land. Night after night the beacons glow on the hill-tops in sign of war. The notes of the rams-horn trumpets ring through the air; and hill and valley echo to the cry: "For Yahweh, and Barak, and Deborah!" The men of Naphtali and Zebulun have assembled at Mount Tabor, and the warriors of Issachar have joined them. Sisera calls out his troops in haste to crush the insurrection, and rumors of his strength are brought to Tabor. How can they hope to resist him? The sons of Israel are brave even to desperation, but are they not as good as defenceless? Not one, except perhaps Barak and a few more, possessed a lance or a shield. Stone choppers, wooden clubs, and arrows pointed with flint or bone — such are the weapons with which they must fight, baring their naked bosoms meanwhile to the iron weapons of their foes. But what of that? "Yahweh is with us! Glory to him, for thousands are assembling of their own free will!" "Who are these at the head of the troops?" "Elders and nobles riding on she-asses! They, too, are risking their lives in the holy war!" "Who are those coming from the south?" "Glory to Yahweh! The heroes of Issachar!" "And those behind them?" "The sons of Ephraim, from Mount Amalek." "And those?" "The bold slingers of

¹ Compare Isaiah xxxi. 4.

Benjamin! Do you see them? The sinews of their right hands are broken in childhood — all their strength is in the left, but never does the stone from a Benjamite sling fail to find the mark.”¹ “Glory to Yahweh! for the people come to battle.” “For Barak and Deborah!”

The battle soon began in the southern portion of the plain, near Megiddo and Taanach.² The Canaanites had the advantage of the ground, for the Israelites could fight better among the mountains than on the plain, where the war chariots of their enemies had free scope. Think of those ill-armed bands ranged against hundreds of chariots yoked to fiery horses, and bearing warriors cased in mail, closely followed by the infantry. But if only they could keep cool, and aim the missiles at the horses, — or, at a signal from their leader, all raise a piercing yell or a deafening shout of battle, sounding the horns at the same moment, and so scare the horses, — the ranks of the foe might be broken, and the chariots set dashing against each other, and perhaps trampling down the infantry of their own side. These chariots, in fact, were not so formidable as they appeared, and were very apt to convert a slight reverse into a great defeat. So it was on this occasion. “Yahweh threw the army of Sisera and his chariots into confusion before the face of Barak,” says the historian.³ A panic seized the Canaanites. The terrified horses dashed together, trampling the warriors and overturning the chariots. They rushed in wild and hurried flight towards the Kishon; but the river was swollen high, and so fought on Israel’s side. Many of the fugitives lost their lives in its waters. The pursuit was hot. Some of the Canaanites fled to Meroz. What? to a city inhabited by Israelites? Yes! And they were received as guests, while the city gates were closed against the conquerors who followed hard upon them, and all help refused. “A curse,” cried the indignant Deborah, when all was over, “a curse on Meroz! A curse on her inhabitants, for they would not come to the help of Yahweh!” And probably the city paid by utter devastation for its want of faith in Yahweh’s victory and of fidelity to Israel.

Meanwhile Barak had fixed his thoughts upon the hostile general, whose arms he longed to display as trophies. Sisera had a long start of him, for he rode in a chariot; but after a time it broke down and he had to pursue his way on foot. It

¹ Judges xx. 16.

² Judges v. 19.

³ Judges iv. 15.

was a race for life. Behind him the victorious Israelites; before him, O joyful sight! the tents of his allies, the Kenites. Thither he directs his steps. He can go no further. The darkness is coming on. He need not fear recognition, and may hide himself among his friends. A little rest at least before he goes on! He sought the tent of Heber, the Kenite chief. Jael, the wife of Heber, stood at the entrance of her dwelling, recognized him, hastened to meet him, and asked him to rest there. He crept into her abode — surely he was safe in the tent of the women! — and fell down exhausted. She threw a cloak over him. “A draught of water!” he gasped. In a moment she brought him the best bowl she had full of delicious milk. Sisera felt absolutely safe. This woman would not betray him. She would still be faithful to him, defeated as he was. “Go and stand at the entrance,” he muttered, as he dropped into the sleep of weariness, “and if they come, tell them there is no one here.”

His eyes are closed. See what a sudden change has passed over Jael's face! There lies the foe of Israel asleep. Her husband has made peace with him — but in fear, not love. As for her, she hates this man. Has he not oppressed, tortured, enslaved, and slain the children of her people? Her people? But, surely, she is not an Israelite? By birth she is not, but in spirit she is. She is deeply attached to these tribes with which her own has wandered for now at least a century, and with whom it entered this noble land of Canaan. It is true that they, the Kenites, have never made up their minds to imitate their allies, settle in towns and villages, and cultivate the soil. They are still free shepherds. But this difference has not quenched their sense of brotherhood. She herself is a worshipper of Yahweh, Israel's god, who is now chastising his foes for their insolence. He has gained the victory, as she had fervently hoped, and indeed expected that he would. And now . . . there lies Sisera, the enemy of Yahweh, and therefore her enemy. Should she not hate him whom her god hated? She must not betray him, he had said. Betray him! No. Woman as she is, she can do more than that. He sleeps — he shall not wake! Where can she find a weapon? She sees none that she can trust to deal a death-blow. But stay! A thought has struck her. In a moment she has pulled out one of the sharp wooden pegs which holds the cords of the tent to the ground; she has grasped the mallet with which they are driven in. She draws near him. Is he asleep? Yes, sound asleep. . . .

And e'er long Sisera lies dead, with the tent-peg driven through his temples. She has struck the great blow! Praised be Yahweh! There comes Barak! Ha! he is swift of foot and stormy in pursuit; but he will soon see that he has come too late. Jael goes out in triumph to meet him. She leads him into her tent. "There lies the man you seek!"

Thus was the battle won, and Jabin's power broken; and as the wearied warriors gathered round the watch fires, loud cries of triumph rang through the air. "Long life to Barak!" "Long life to Deborah!" "Blessed be Yahweh!" And here and there a mocking jest was aimed at Barak, who had missed the glory of striking down the enemy's commander, and had been anticipated by a woman. "Ah!" they said, with a laugh, "that is because he was afraid to go to battle without Deborah."¹

And she, Deborah the heroine, the inspired messenger of God, flushed with triumph, glowing with zeal for Yahweh and for Israel, and with hatred of the vanquished foe, burst into a song of victory, as the smoke of the thank-offering rose on high. She sang of the glory of Yahweh, who had revealed his might; she spoke of herself as the mother in Israel who had risen up and come to the rescue; she thanked Yahweh because common people and nobles alike had freely gathered under Barak's flag; she praised the tribes that had joined in the battle, and cast bitter taunts upon the cravens. Then she described the battle, in which the stars of heaven had fought against Sisera, and finally sang of the general's death, —

Blessed be Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite,
 Blessed be she above all women of the tent!
 When he asked for water, she gave him milk —
 Gave him rich milk in her costliest bowl.
 She laid her hand on the tent-peg,
 Her right hand grasped the workman's mallet.
 Then she smote Sisera, pierced through his head,
 She crushed it, she pierced it as he slept.
 Between her feet he bowed, he fell, and lay low.
 Between her feet he bowed and fell.
 Where he bowed down, he fell disfigured.

The mother of Sisera looks through the window;
 She looks through the lattice lamenting.
 "How long is his chariot stayed!
 How long ere we hear its wheels!"
 Her prudent court ladies reply,
 While she keeps repeating her words: —
 "Has he not spoil to divide?
 A slave-girl — nay, two — for each hero,

¹ Judges iv. 8, 9.

And splendid array for Sisera,
A booty of dyed and glorious garments,
A cloth of gold for his loved one's neck! "

So perish all they that hate thee, O Yahweh!
And be they that love thee like the sun going forth in
his might.

We turn with a certain feeling of horror from a woman who, herself a mother, could thus mock a mother's grief, and praise the treacherous and cruel act of Jael. May this horror never grow less! Yet we must not forget that such cruelty, treachery, and bloodthirsty triumph are but the dark background of the patriotism and religious devotion which strengthened these heroes to make the heaviest sacrifices and to brave death itself in the cause of their people and their people's god.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SANCTUARY AT DAN.

JUDGES XVII. AND XVIII.

FROM the southern flank of the plain of Jezreel, right down to the desert, Canaan is intersected by a range of mountains, the northern portion of which used to be called Mount Ephraim, while the southern part, though separated from the other by no natural boundary, bore the name of Mount Judah. Now, somewhere in Mount Ephraim there lay, in the time of the Judges, a village called Michah-stead, in honor of its chief inhabitant, round whose house the huts of his laborers were ranged. Michah had also a private chapel provided with a *teraphim* and an *ephod*. We know but little of the form of these objects or the method in which they were used; but it appears that the *teraphim* was an image about the size of a man, and partly, at least, of human form,¹ and that the *ephod* was the priestly garment, worn officially at the consultation of the oracle. Michah had appointed one of his own sons as priest, and paid him wages for his services. This was a time of confusion and caprice; every one did what he thought fit. Thus a wandering Levite of Bethlehem in Judah happened once to visit Michah's village. He was hospitably received at

¹ 1 Samuel xix. 13, 16 where *teraphim* must be read for "image."

the great house, and was asked by Michah who he was, whence he came, and whither he was going. When the Levite told him his descent, and said that he was on the look-out for some engagement which would enable him to settle down, his host proposed that he should stay with him and be his "father and priest." Besides board and lodging, he would give him ten pieces of silver a year and a suit of clothes. The Levite accepted the offer, took up his abode in the village, was treated by Michah like one of his own sons, and received his wages punctually. Michah himself was delighted to have the young man with him, for he said, "Now I am sure that Yahweh will bless me, because I have got this Levite for a priest."

We have already said that this was a time of disorder, and there was no king in Israel. The circumstances of the tribe of Dan may serve as an example of the state of things that existed then. This tribe had never yet acquired a suitable territory, and some of its families were still without settled homes. The Danites were probably prevented from spreading southwards both by the Philistines, who were now recovering from their first shock, and by the Judæans, who were pushing northwards; and, on the other hand, the "house of Joseph" had seized all the land north of them. Be this as it may, there were certain families about Zorah and Eshtaol who despaired of obtaining any lands in that neighborhood, and were compelled to look elsewhere for an escape from their difficulty. They had heard that in the far north of the land there were still districts that they might conquer; so they sent five of the bravest and most trustworthy of their number to go and see whether it was so. These men happened to pass by Michahstead on their way, and were hospitably received there. As they spent a night in the place, they happened to hear the young Levite mentioned. They were so much interested in what they heard that they questioned the Levite himself as to his history, and then, fully relying on his knowledge, asked him to consult the oracle for them. The Levite put on his *ephod*, consulted his *teraphim*, and gave them the assurance they desired; namely, that Yahweh would grant them success.

The five Danites now went on further northward till at last they came to Lais or Leshem.¹ This place was situated in a beautiful and fertile valley at the foot of the great Hermon. Moreover, it seemed likely to prove an easy prey, for the inhabitants were not warriors, but lived peaceably, like the Sidonians, by commerce, and as a rule, therefore, no one ever

¹ Joshua xix. 47.

troubled them. They were too far from Sidon to be able to gain assistance from that city. Their safety consisted in their being forgotten.

Now that they were discovered their fate was sealed. For as soon as the five Danites had returned and given an account of their discoveries to their tribesmen, the latter perceived that "their god had destined that good land for them," and set out for it as quickly as possible, with a strength of six hundred fighting men. Their first halting place was behind Kirjath-jearim in Judah, at a place which is still called after them, "the camp of the Danites." Then they entered the mountain district, and came to Michah's village.

As soon as they caught sight of it the five scouts said to their companions, "Do you know that a *teraphim* and an *ephod* are in this hamlet? Now, you know what to do!" Yes! They needed no further hint, but entered the village, found the Levite's house, and asked him for a blessing. While they kept him engaged in this way, the five scouts ascended the hill upon which the chapel was built, and took out the image and the priestly garment. But the priest saw them, and called out, "What are you doing there?" "Hush!" they replied. "Your finger on your lips! Come with us, and be our father and priest. Surely, you would rather be the priest of a whole clan of Israel than go on serving the dependants of one single man!" The priest found the prospect a pleasant one; so without making any further resistance he went with them, and even consented himself to carry the *ephod* and the *teraphim* in the middle of the band. The Danites now hurried on their way, and placed their women and children, together with their baggage, in the van for fear of being attacked in the rear by the people they had plundered. It was a wise precaution, for Michah called his dependants together and gave chase to the robbers. Though the Danites had a long start, Michah succeeded in overtaking them, and shouted out to them to halt. They did so, and asked with shameless impudence, "Well! what do you want with us?" "What do I want with you?" he answered bitterly. "You have taken my god, that I made myself, and carried off my priest. I don't know what to do. And then you ask me what I want with you!" Evasion would serve no longer, so the Danites threw aside the mask and answered plainly enough, "You had better not make such a noise about it; for some of our people are not to be trifled with. If they set upon you, there will be an end of you and all your dependants." Upon this they went on

their way, and Michah, seeing that they were too strong for him, turned back without having accomplished anything.

The Danites continued their journey till they came to Lais. The fate of her inhabitants was soon decided. Peaceful as they were, and far from every source of help, who should deliver them? They were all put to the sword. The Danites did not leave the city as exposed as it had hitherto been, but fortified it, and called it Dan after their tribal name. By-and-by they established a temple there, in which the former priest of Michah did duty, and was followed by his descendants as long as the sanctuary at Shiloh existed. Now this Levite was no other than Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses.

The object which the writer of this narrative had in view was to give his readers some information as to the origin of the celebrated temple of Dan. It is not quite clear whether he intended his story to reflect credit or disgrace upon this sanctuary. On the one hand we can hardly believe that he would have dwelt so minutely upon the faithless conduct of the Levite, calling special attention at the same time to the kind treatment he had experienced from Michah, and saying that he was loved by his patron like a son, unless he had intended to cast a slur upon the priesthood of Dan. How can he have approved, we ask, of the conduct of those five scouts who made such a base return for Michah's hospitality? But the feelings of the old Israelites on those subjects were not very sensitive, and their ideas of good and evil were far from being perfect. In their eyes, for the most part, the strongest was the best, and must be right. Was not the theft of the Danites crowned with success? Were not the children of this Levite priests at Dan for centuries — as long as the temple of Shiloh stood? And even if the writer disapproved of the manner in which the Danites came by their sacred objects and their priest, he can hardly have mentioned the great name of the grandson of Moses, except with the idea of conferring honor on the sanctuary.

But this old story has come down to us in only a modified form; and the motives of the writer who altered it, and the view he took of the sanctuary of Dan are as clear as daylight. He lived after the people of north Israel had been taken captive and their temple destroyed. He hated the sanctuary, for it had contained one of those golden images of a steer "with which Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, had

made Israel to sin." The old narrator had said nothing of any image of a god, and had spoken only of a *teraphim* and an *ephod*; and though the difference between a *teraphim* and an image is not very clear to us, the ancient Israelites certainly did not think them equivalent, as we should be inclined to do. The *teraphim* and *ephod*, which went together and seem to have been specially used in consulting the deity, had been longer established amongst the Israelites, and were regarded by many as less objectionable than a cast or carved image. One of the objects of the writer who worked up this old story was to throw a slur upon the golden (or rather gilt) image of a steer which had stood in the Danite sanctuary. With this object he prefixed the following introduction to the story¹:—

Eleven hundred silver coins had been stolen from Michah's mother, and she had cursed the thief in her son's hearing. Now Michah had stolen the money himself, and he was so terrified by the curse that he confessed his guilt, upon which his mother, fearing that her son might fall into trouble in consequence of her curse, exclaimed, "May Yahweh bless my son!" Then she told him that she had made a vow to have an image of a god made with part of the money, if ever she got it back again. She kept her vow, and two hundred pieces of silver were given to the smith to be melted down and made into an image. This image was afterwards set up in Michah's chapel.

The interpolator always introduced this image, the infamous origin of which he had explained, wherever "the *teraphim* and *ephod*" appeared in the original narrative;² and he concluded with the statement that the Danites set it up in their temple, where it remained until the captivity. This last note proves that the writer had Jeroboam's golden image of a steer in view, for it was this image that was preserved in the temple of Dan up to the date he mentions.

A scribe of still later date than the interpolator, not content with the slur thus cast upon the image, attempted to vilify, as far as he could, the priesthood connected with it. Was this Jonathan a Levite, and even a son of Gershom, the son of Moses?³ Impossible! He, at least, did not believe it, and he hit upon a simple but adequate method of removing the difficulty. He altered the name of Moses into that of Manasseh.⁴ This was easily done, for in the old Hebrew

¹ Judges xvii. 1-4.

² Exodus ii. 22; xviii. 3.

³ Judges xviii. 14, 17, 18, 20.

⁴ Judges xviii. 30.

character, which had no vowels,¹ Moses was written, M S H, and Manasseh, M N S H. The names, therefore, only differed by a single letter. Thus altered, the name of Jonathan's grandfather naturally reminded the reader of the godless king of Judah, Manasseh, the idolater. To strengthen the impression still further, this scribe adds on first mentioning the Levite of Bethlehem in Judah that he was "of the family of Judah."² This makes no sense, however, for the man was either a Levite or a Judæan by descent. He cannot have been both at once; and the very reason why Michah was so delighted with his priest was that he was a Levite, and therefore not a Judæan. The scribe, however, added the note to indicate that this Jonathan was not worthy to belong to the tribe of Levi. On hearing this explanation my readers may not unnaturally ask: "How do you know all this? Is it only a guess?" Even suppose it were, it should not be rejected on that account, for at any rate it gives some explanation of that odd expression, "A Levite of Bethlehem of Judæan extraction," which is as absurd as "a Frenchman of London of English extraction." But as a fact my explanation does not, in this instance, rest upon mere conjecture, but is supported by tradition. You must know that in the centuries after Christ, when Hebrew had long been a dead language, the scribes took inconceivable pains to fix the text of their Holy Scripture as accurately as possible, and to preserve the pronunciation of the words from being forgotten. Now in this

passage they wrote the N of the word M^N S H in a peculiar way — "hanging," as it was called — and added a note to show that this was not an accident, but was done on purpose; and we are told by the Jewish tradition that the N was written thus because this Levite was really the grandson of Moses, but his actions made one think of king Manasseh, and that he is said to be "of Judæan extraction" for the same reason. The translation of the Romish Church, the *Vulgate*,³ still reads "Moses."

After this digression we may return to the original story, which throws some light on the early religion of Israel.

Nothing could be more misleading than the idea of the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua that the Israelites had an elaborate code of religious laws, fixed forms of worship, and a regular priesthood, when they conquered Canaan. Centu-

¹ See p. 258.

² Judges xvii. 7.

³ See p. 304.

ries later the greatest latitude was still allowed in matters of religion. The most important sacred object was the ark of Yahweh,¹ which was placed in a sanctuary at Shiloh,² between Bethel and Shechem.³ But no one thought as yet of unity of worship. Every religious man who could afford it raised altars and *masselabs*, or built a chapel, as Michah did, and had worship conducted in it for himself and his dependants. Such chapels were by no means rare, and certainly gave no offence. Michah appointed his own son as priest, but it was only because he could not get a better, for he preferred a Levite as soon as he could find one. Nor was he alone in this preference, for the Danites also desired Jonathan to be their spiritual father. The history of Israel's religion shows that the Levites were everywhere preferred to others for the office of priests, and at last, in the course of centuries, acquired an exclusive right to its exercise.

We can readily conceive why their countrymen were so anxious to secure their priestly services. But before we explain this preference we must say a word or two about the time at which Michah lived. If this Jonathan was really the grandson of Moses, we must place these events, which took place while he was still young, very soon after the conquest of Canaan; and the fact that some of the Danites were still without a settled home seems to strengthen this conclusion. But, on the other hand, it is easier to place the expedition of the Danites to the far north, through the territory of the Canaanite king at Hazor, after Deborah's victory than before it; and we know that long afterwards certain clans, from time to time, still left their settled homes, if they had ever had any, in search of others. These migrations occurred as late as the time of Saul. It is quite possible, therefore, that this Jonathan was a descendant of Moses, through Gershom's branch, but not literally his grandson. The chief interest of the narrative, however, does not depend upon the exact period to which it refers.

What was the idea in the mind of such a man as Michah when he exclaimed: "Now I know that Yahweh will bless me, because I have got this Levite for my priest"? To answer this question we must have a clear idea of the duties the priest had to perform. The most important of them all was that of consulting the deity. Clothed in the *ephod*, and with the help of the *teraphim*, he inquired the will of God. We do

¹ See pp. 322, 323.

² Judges xxi. 19.

³ Judges xviii. 31. 1 Samuel i. 1.

not know for certain how he did this, but sometimes the lot was employed. He asked, then, as occasion rose, whether a journey must be undertaken or not; whether a descent upon a neighboring Canaanite district would prove successful; whether a sick child would recover or die; and so on. It was not a matter of indifference, however, in what way God was consulted, and the answer was not fixed beforehand, for the deity might be made propitious or the reverse, and this might sometimes affect his decision. Before consulting him, therefore, a sacrifice was made to induce him to give the desired answer. Then, again, in case of disasters, the wrath of the deity must be appeased by sacrifice and penance. People wanted to know how they had excited the divine anger, and how to keep the Mighty One their friend. For all this a priest was needed. Now when Michah, for instance, employed his own son for this purpose, he can hardly have supposed him to know any more than he did himself about the way in which the deity ought to be served. But no doubt he thought that wisdom came with the sacred garment, and that a priest, by being constantly employed in the things of God, gradually learned better how to manage them. Arguing thus, a man might appoint his son to be his "father and priest." And yet, as a matter of course, he would prefer a Levite. For was not Yahweh the god whom the Israelite served above all others? And what did he know of Yahweh? That he had revealed himself to Moses; and moreover that he was a mighty god, for it was by his help that Israel had conquered his inheritance. But how must he be served? Each deity had his own special desires. How was Yahweh to be consulted and appeased? Michah, for instance, could not tell; nor could his son learn it except by degrees. But the Levites, the tribesmen of Moses, his fellow-workers, who had helped him to introduce the worship of Yahweh, in whose service they were so zealous, surely they understood these things. Happy the man who could get one of them to be his spiritual father!

Nothing could be more natural than this. And so there gradually rose a priestly caste in Israel, powerful and ambitious as such a caste everywhere and at all times is. The germs of a rule of priests, or *hierarchy*, were already present; and nothing can be more disastrous to the religious and moral life of a nation than such a rule; for it is the mother of fanaticism and stupidity. And yet it must spring up wherever people suppose that the deity can be consulted

by means of ceremonies which are not generally understood ; wherever they fancy that his favor can be won or his wrath averted by sacrifices offered in a special manner, or by purifications and atonements ; wherever they believe that he issues external commandments, such as abstinence from certain kinds of food, or the adoption of particular doctrines. In a word, the priest becomes powerful wherever the service of the deity is supposed to require knowledge which is not accessible to every one. This was the case in Israel as in all other ancient nations.

No wonder that the priests hated and persecuted him who taught that God requires from his worshippers nothing but obedience to the law of love. This truth puts an end to their power.

CHAPTER XVII.

GIDEON.

JUDGES VI. - VIII. 28.

FOR some time after the conquest of Canaan the Israelites only possessed a certain part of the district east of the Jordan. It consisted of the territories of Reuben and Gad and the district of Gilead, north of which the King of Bashan ruled. The power of this monarch, however, seems to have been but small, and his country was far from serving the Israelites as an effective bulwark against the Bedouins. These wandering tribes maintained themselves on the wide steppes between the Jordan and the Euphrates, and their rapacity was constantly excited by the fruitful Canaan, into which they made frequent raids, especially about harvest time, when rich booty might be easily obtained. From across the Jordan, along the great route of the caravans, these Midianites, Amalekites, or sons of the East, as they are indifferently called, penetrated to the plain of Jezreel, and then dispersed southwards over the territory of Manasseh. They spread terror and destruction everywhere. The Israelites were unable to resist them, and were compelled, in some places, to desert their homes in the valleys and to hide themselves in caves in the mountains, or to build strongholds among the rocks. But though they saved their lives in this way they



could not protect their crops, which fell year after year, together with a great part of their cattle, into the hands of the Midianites, for their bands followed the great highway of commerce, and overran the land as far as Gaza. The Israelites lamented their lot bitterly, but what were they to do? These sons of the East swarmed like locusts, and their camels were innumerable.

One of the places rendered unsafe by the Midianites was the village of Ophrah, the abode of the Manassite house of Abiezer, whose chief at this time was a certain Joash. One day Gideon, the son of Joash, was employed in thrashing wheat, but it was in a most unusual place. The Israelites used to thrash their corn in some open place, perhaps upon a hill, where the wind could carry away the chaff; but Gideon dare not do so now for fear of the Midianites, so he was thrashing in the covered shed where the grapes were pressed. While he was thus employed — naturally somewhat dejected — the angel of Yahweh came to him and said: "Yahweh is with thee, thou mighty hero!" His words fell upon the young man's ear like bitter mockery. "Ah, sir!" he answered, "if Yahweh were with us, would all these misfortunes come upon us? Our fathers have told us what wonderful things he did when he led them out of Egypt; but we see small sign of it ourselves. He has left us to our fate, and we have fallen into the power of the Midianites!" So spoke the hero in the bitterness of his soul; but he was terrified and ashamed when Yahweh turned upon him in all his majesty, and cried with a loud voice, "Go forth in the might now given you, and deliver Israel from the hand of the Midianites! Have not I sent you?" But Gideon shrank from the task thus laid upon him, and said: "Lord! How can I do this thing? My clan is the smallest in Manasseh, and I am the youngest member of my family. Can I put myself at the head of the Israelites?" But his courage rose when he received the answer: "You will smite the Midianites like a single man, for I will help you." Half convinced, he cried in supplication: "Give me a sign that it is indeed Yahweh himself that speaks to me. Let me bring a present, and do thou wait here till I have prepared it." "I will wait till you return," was the reply: and Gideon went to prepare a meal. When the food was ready he returned with meat and cakes, which he set before his exalted guest as he reclined beneath the sacred terebinth tree. But instead of eating the food he ordered him to put it on a

mass of rock that lay beneath the tree, and to pour the broth over it. Scarcely had Gideon obeyed when the other touched the food with the end of his staff, upon which a flame of fire shot up from the rock and consumed everything. At the same moment the angel disappeared. Gideon was now convinced of the divine dignity of his visitor, and cried out: "Woe is me! I have seen the angel of Yahweh with my very eyes!" But Yahweh quieted his fears by saying, "Be not afraid! Peace be with you! You shall not die." Then he built an altar in honor of this god, and called it "Yahweh blesses." It is still standing in Ophrah of the Abiezrites.

Gideon was now ready to obey his god, and desired, in the first place, openly to break with the Baal-worship to which the men of his village and others had become addicted, and to restore Yahweh to the honor due to him. On the top of a hill near the village stood an altar consecrated to Baal, and close by it was an *asherah*, that is to say, the branch of a tree stripped of its twigs, such as was often placed near an altar as a religious symbol. In the night, therefore, after Yahweh had called him to deliver Israel, Gideon went to this idolatrous spot. He took ten servants and two oxen with him. With the help of his men he overturned the altar and built another of earth and stone in honor of Yahweh. Then he placed the wood of the *asherah* upon it, slaughtered one of the two beasts he had brought with him — a seven-year-old ox — laid it upon the wood and consumed it with fire, in honor of Yahweh. He had done all this by night, for fear of being interfered with by the villagers; but no sooner was it daylight than every one saw what had been done, and it did not long remain a secret who had done it. The friends of Baal rushed at once to the house of Joash, and called upon him to give up his son that they might put him to death for his sacrilege. But Joash answered: "What! will *you* take up the cause of Baal? Will *you* come to his rescue? Surely, whoever encounters his wrath will die before it is morning. If he be a god, then let him contend against the sacrilegious man himself!" Ever after Gideon bore the name of Jerubbaal, that is, "Let Baal contend against him," in memory of this answer.

The time soon came for him to begin his work. The "sons of the East" crossed the Jordan once more in countless hordes, and encamped by thousands on the plain of Jezreel. Then Gideon's warlike zeal burst into a flame. The trumpet rang through the air; the Abiezrites gathered

round him; his messengers hastened to summon the men of Manasseh and Asher, of Zebulun and Naphtali. Warriors streamed from every side to the mountains where Gideon had pitched his camp. Courage grew as numbers increased, but the hero placed his chief reliance on the aid of Yahweh. Was he certain to obtain this aid, however? He must place his assurance on this point beyond the reach of doubt. So to guard against moments of unbelief he prayed to his god: "O God! grant that when I have spread a fleece of wool on my thrashing-floor to-night it may be wet with dew in the morning, while the ground is dry all about it; then shall I know that thou wilt deliver Israel by my hand." His request was granted, and in the morning he could wring a bowl full of water out of the fleece. But he prayed again: "Lord! be not angry with me for coming to thee again! Let me repeat the trial of the fleece; but this time let the result be just the reverse." The miracle was performed, and in the morning he found the fleece dry, though the ground upon which it lay was drenched with dew. Gideon was now completely satisfied.

To arms then! He soon took up a position with his army upon a range of hills above the Midianites who held the valley. Then his faith was put to a severe test by Yahweh. "You have far too many people with you," said his god. "If you win the victory thus, Israel will exalt himself, and attribute the victory to his own valor and not to my help. Order every one who is afraid, to return home." Gideon did so; and although all the Israelites in the camp had come there of their own free will, yet twelve thousand of them deserted their standard on hearing the proclamation. Ten thousand remained. "There are still too many," said Yahweh once more to Gideon. "Take them to the brook in the valley, and I will show you how to decide which of them to keep with you." Gideon obeyed, and leading his warriors to the bank of the stream, he gave them leave to quench their thirst. Upon this most of them went down upon their hands and knees, but some few remained standing, and scooped up the water in the hollow of their hands. Gideon was instructed to set these last apart, for it was with them that he was to triumph over the foe. There were but three hundred of them! "Dismiss the rest," said Yahweh. "With these three hundred you shall smite the Midianites."

Gideon had need of faith to undertake his task! And that

It might not fail him, another sign was divinely vouchsafed to him. For, by Yahweh's command, he went with his armor-bearer to inspect the camp of the Midianites by night. There it lay before him; even like locusts for multitude, and camels countless as the grains of sand on the sea shore! The regular troops alone of this great host were one hundred and thirty-five thousand strong. Gideon approached one of the outposts of the camp, and there he overheard a conversation between two of the enemy's men. "I dreamed," said one, "that a loaf of barley bread came rolling into our camp right against the general's tent and threw it down. There it lay stretched upon the ground!" "I can interpret that dream," sighed the other; "it can only mean the sword of Gideon, the son of Joash, the Israelite. God has given all this army into his hand."

On hearing this Gideon fell down and worshipped. Yahweh had thus foretold their lot to the Midianites themselves. He hurried back and roused his three hundred men. He provided each of them with a trumpet and an earthen vessel in which a flaming torch was hidden. "Do everything that I do!" he said. "As soon as I sound my trumpet do you all sound yours, and at the same moment raise your war-cry, For Yahweh and Gideon!" All was soon ready. The warriors, parted into three bands, watched for the signal. It was the dead of night. Just as the enemy's sentries were being relieved, the sign was given. Then suddenly the trumpets rang; the earthen vessels crashed and fell in fragments; and from three sides at once the war-cry rose, "The sword of Yahweh and Gideon!" Panic seized the army of the Midianites. The three hundred never stirred a foot, while their enemies fled shrieking through the camp in utter confusion, or strove to conceal their treasures. The trumpets sound again. The confusion rises still higher. The Midianites draw their swords, and wildly attack one another. Then they rush eastwards to the Jordan in panic flight, some of them crossing the river, and others flying southwards.

On the following day the surrounding tribes of Israel were summoned to the pursuit. Gideon hastened to send messengers to Mount Ephraim with the command: "Let none of the Midianites escape! Cut them off from the passage of the Jordan!" This appeal found an echo. The Ephraimites came out to battle as a single man, and slew two of the Bedouin princes — Zeeb, or "the wolf," and Oreb, or "the raven" — at "Wolf-press" and "Raven-rock." They sent

their heads to Gideon, but accompanied them by anything but a friendly message. For now that the great blow had been struck, every one wanted a share in the glory. The Ephraimites complained that they had not been summoned to take part in the enterprise from the first. This reproach was cast against Gideon so angrily that, if in the pride of victory he had given a sharp answer to their unreasonable complaints, a fatal collision would have been inevitable. But he answered gently and modestly: "How have I harmed you by not calling on you before? Is not the gleanings of Ephraim richer than the harvest of Abiezer? God has given Oreb and Zeeb into your hand. What have I done in comparison with you?" By this answer the malcontents were pacified.

This interview took place east of the Jordan, for Gideon had crossed the river in pursuit of Zebah and Zalmunna, two other Midianite princes. In great exhaustion he reached Succoth and demanded bread for his three hundred men. But the inhabitants of the city, though Israelites themselves, refused his request for fear of the vengeance of the Midianites, whose fall they did not yet consider certain. Justly incensed, the warrior exclaimed: "Let me but first lay hold of Zebah and Zalmunna, and I will scourge you to death with thorn bushes!" At Penuel he experienced the same unfriendly treatment. "Your towers shall be overthrown when I return in peace!" he cried to its inhabitants.

Zebah and Zalmunna had still fifteen thousand men. All the rest—one hundred and twenty thousand—had already fallen! The army was encamped near Nobah and Jogbehah, in Bashan, never dreaming of an attack, when Gideon suddenly fell upon it, dispersed it, and captured both the leaders. Then he returned in triumph, and it went hard with the inhabitants of the cities that had doubted Yahweh's might! A young lad from Succoth that they picked up outside the city gave Gideon the names of its seventy-seven elders, and he fulfilled upon them his fearful threat. The towers of Penuel, too, were taken, and all the men of the city put to death. Then came the turn of the captive princes. Fixing his stern gaze upon them, Gideon asked: "What were those men like whom you put to death on Mount Tabor?" "Like you!" answered the captives, undismayed. "Like sons of kings!" "They were my own brothers," he went on; "the sons of my mother. I swear by Yahweh that if you had spared their lives I would have spared yours now." Then he said to Jether, his eldest son, "Come! rise and slay them!" But he was

still quite young and was afraid of the two princes. "Kill us yourself," said the Midianites, who shrank from the thought of falling ignominiously by the hand of a boy, "for such as we are deserve at least to fall by the hand of a man." In compliance with their request, Gideon drew his sword and slew them. Then he took the golden crescents which decked their camels' necks as booty.

When Gideon had thus delivered the land, the Israelites came and pressed him to become their king. But he refused to accept their offer, and declared that neither he nor his son should rule over them, for Yahweh was their only king. But he asked them to give him the golden rings which they had taken as plunder; for the Midianites, like all other Ishmaelites, were in the habit of wearing rings. The Israelites granted his request at once, and threw the ornaments upon a cloth which was spread out to receive them, until there was seventeen hundred shekels weight (about 32lbs. troy) of golden rings alone, besides all the other costly articles which they had taken. Gideon made an *ephod* of this gold and placed it in Ophrah; but it proved a snare to him and his family, for divine honors were afterwards paid to it. Meanwhile the power of the Midianites was broken for good, and Israel enjoyed another "forty years" rest, while Gideon dwelt as a private citizen in his own house till he died, and was buried at Ophrah of the Abiezrites.

The great victory gained over the Midianites, especially the defeat at Raven-rock, was held in thankful recollection by the Israelites.¹ It is but natural, therefore, that the story should have been told again and again, and that in the course of time Gideon's exploits should have been greatly magnified. Indeed, it is quite obvious that the account in the book of Judges is full of exaggerations. To say nothing of the miracles which form a part of the narrative, it ascribes altogether fabulous numbers to the Midianite army! The two bands of Israelite warriors, which had to march round it in order to throw it into confusion on the night of the surprise, would have had at least a day's journey to accomplish, and would certainly have been unable to hear anything of Gideon's signal. The sound of the trumpets would not have reached a hundredth part of the Midianites, and in the centre of the camp the blaze of the torches would only have appeared as a faint spark in the distance. Nor was there

¹ Psalm lxxxiii. 11; Isaiah ix. 4, x. 26.

food enough in the whole of Canaan for such a host of men and beasts. And as tradition magnified the numbers of the enemy, so it under-estimated the means by which they were defeated, to the glory alike of Gideon's faith and Yahweh's power. Indeed, the desire to make Gideon accomplish everything with the smallest possible number of men leads the tradition to contradict itself. For we are told that after the night on which Gideon had raised a panic in the Midianite army by the aid of his three hundred men, the warriors of the surrounding tribes were called to the pursuit. But when he himself crossed the Jordan and fell upon Zebah and Zalmunna, he was only accompanied by his faithful three hundred. The victory at Raven-rock was won by the Ephraimites alone. What were these warriors of the northern tribes doing all the while? Are we to suppose that they did nothing but despatch the fugitives?

It is in the nature of popular traditions not only to exalt the fame of their heroes by depicting their exploits on a magnificent scale, but also to clothe them as far as possible in the garments of a later age. It is exceedingly difficult for most men to imagine the great ones of a former age entirely different from themselves in manners, religion, ways of thought and customs. So, too, certain facts which seemed to the faith of posterity unworthy, or even infamous, were gradually removed from the history of the conqueror of the Midianites. The writer who collected the popular traditions concerning him, and assigned him his place in the series of Israelite judges, carried this process still further, and transformed his Gideon into a man after his own heart. It is to him, of course, that we owe the statement of the number of years during which Israel was oppressed by the Midianites, and the forty years' rest enjoyed by the land after the triumph. It is he, too, who represents the whole of Israel as having taken part in Gideon's struggle, and offered him the regal crown; whereas all the tribes of the South, including Dan, Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, Reuben, and Gad, are passed over entirely without mention in the narrative itself. But in other and more interesting respects the character of this conqueror has been disguised almost past recognition.

In the first place, what was his real name? Not Gideon. This word means "hewer," and was a title of honor. In the same way the Hasmonean, who delivered the Jews from the power of the Syrian King,¹ was called Judas *Macca-*

¹ See p. 30.

bæus, or "the war-mace," and the Frankish hero who drove the Arabs back across the Pyrenees was called *Charles Martel*, that is, "the hammer." The real name of the conqueror of the Midianites was *Jerubbaal*,¹ or "Baal contends." In the narrative itself, however, this name occurs but once.² Everywhere else the hero is called Gideon, and the writer makes a surname of *Jerubbaal*, which he translates, "let Baal contend against him!" It is easy to see why he did so. He could not bear to think that Israel's deliverer should have had a name in which Baal's might was celebrated; for it suggested the question whether he was not a worshipper of Baal. The fact is that he was. No doubt he was also a worshipper of *Yahweh*, in whose name he called the tribes to battle; his family, too, evidently worshipped the same god, for the first syllable of the name of his father *Joash* is an abbreviation of *Yahweh*, who was indeed acknowledged by every Israelite as the god of his people. But in the time of the Judges numerous Baals were worshipped as well as *Yahweh*. It is exceedingly difficult to make out the relation in which these Baals stood to each other and to *Yahweh*; but this is only what we should expect, for "baal" means "lord," and is, therefore, a common name of deity, as well as a proper name of certain special gods. Now the Israelites, before the time of Moses, worshipped a number of Baals, and the service of these gods was by no means superseded by that of *Yahweh*. Moreover, the Canaanites, amongst whom the Israelites settled, had their own Baals to whom they consecrated sanctuaries, stones, and trees, or offered sacrifices. The fresh settlers mingled with the old inhabitants, and entered into alliances with them at their holy places. Only think what confusion this would cause! For instance, suppose a tribe, whose special god was called *Baal-Gad*, went to battle in the name of *Yahweh*, and finally concluded an alliance with a Canaanite tribe whose sanctuary was dedicated to *Baal-Peor*, — at this shrine *Yahweh*, *Baal-Gad*, and *Baal-Peor* would all be invoked by the same persons. Now were they three gods, or only three names for the same god? One can easily believe that the worshippers themselves did not exactly know, and that *Joash*, for instance, though a faithful subject of *Yahweh*, might call his son "*Jerubbaal*." In doing so he did not for a moment suppose that he was insulting the majesty of *Yahweh*.

¹ Judges viii. 29, 35, ix. 1, 2, 16, 28, 57; 1 Samuel xii. 11; 2 Samuel xi. 21.

² Judges vii. 1.

But in a later age a war against all these Baals was waged in the name of Yahweh, and his servants were passionately convinced that the worship of these gods tarnished the glory of the god of gods, the one only god, Yahweh. To find a champion of Israel with such a name as Jerubbaal could not fail to perplex and mortify them, and our author attempts to get rid of the scandal by making Jerubbaal a surname, and explaining it in such a way as to render it harmless, while he employs the title of honor, "Gideon," as a proper name. Others, however, seeking the same end by different means, slightly changed the name Jerubbaal. They altered "baal" into "besheth" or "bosheth," which means "shame," and so made the name into "Jerubbesheth."¹ There are other examples of exactly the same thing. Two of Saul's sons were called Meribaal, that is, "Baal's warrior;" and Ishbaal, that is, "man of Baal;" and David himself gave one of his sons the name of Beeljada; that is, "Baal knows." But in the book of Samuel the names are always given as Mephibosheth, Ishbosheth, and Eljada, that is, "God knows,"² so that we should never have known the idolatrous sound of the real names of these men if they had not been preserved in their original forms in the book of Chronicles, which was not in such frequent use among the Jews, and therefore escaped alteration.³

Tradition plainly declared that idolatry was practised in Gideon's neighborhood, and that he himself was not free from responsibility for the existence of a kind of worship which was very far indeed from reaching the standard of orthodoxy recognized in our author's day. But he could not believe that an idolater and breaker of the law could ever have received such aid from Yahweh; so he said that it was not until after he had won the victory that Gideon set up an image at Ophrah. Oddly enough he styles this image an *ephod*, though the word is always used of a priestly garment elsewhere. Gideon's conduct appears to have departed in some respects from the rules laid down, even in his own day, by those who were most zealous for the worship of Yahweh according to the principles of Moses. These points can still be made out with tolerable certainty from the history of Gideon's son, and we shall, therefore, speak of them in the next chapter. We shall also return in another connection to the subject of Gideon's declining the crown.

And now one word on the most remarkable trait in Gideon's

¹ 2 Samuel xi. 21. ² 2 Samuel ii. 8, iv. 4, v. 16, and elsewhere.

³ 1 Chronicles viii. 33, ix. 39, 40, xiv. 7 (iii. 8).

character, as sketched in the book of Judges, — I mean his faith. It is at Yahweh's command that he stands up to deliver Israel; it is on the help of this god that he relies when he makes ready for the fight, and at his command, therefore, he makes his attack upon the Midianites with no help but that of his little band of three hundred men. It is quite in the spirit of the prophets of Judah of the eighth and following centuries highly to commend this conduct; but are we to imitate them? With reference to Gideon's call, we must notice that in reality no such thing ever takes place. No one is ever called to any work by God in a supernatural way. Jerubbaal was a brave man, and it happened when numbers of heroes were longing for the fight, but none of them dared as yet to begin it, that he had special cause to come forward and call his tribesmen to arms. For the Midianites had murdered his brothers, and the duty of avenging them and slaying the murderers devolved upon him.¹ This was to him a call from God. We shall not blame him for girding on his sword in such a cause. On the contrary, courage is a virtue — even military courage. Love of his people and his family places the warrior, whom it urges to venture his very life in their cause, high above the craven. But it can never be easy for the Christian to feel any great admiration for a man whose hands are stained with the blood not only of armed foemen but of defenceless captives; nay, a shudder comes over us if we try vividly to realize that scene in which the hero says to his son, "Slay these princes!" and, when he is afraid, does it in cold blood himself! In ancient times people looked upon such an act with admiration; but, thank God, we cannot.

As for attacking a numerous enemy with a small force, we must bear in mind that it is not as a successful stratagem but as an act of faith that Gideon's conduct is held up to admiration. But we cannot let it pass as such, and should simply call it recklessness. "Gideon's band" has become a proverbial expression for a small but valiant knot of warriors; and a small nation fighting for its altars and hearths against the overpowering forces of a mighty foe, preferring an honorable death to a life of shameful slavery, does indeed excite our admiration. We honor the heroes whose love of their fatherland and their relatives inspires them with courage to take up arms without so much as counting their foes. Nay, sometimes even a small army, by dint of superior valor and determination, gains a victory over a large one. But, as a rule, *ten* are vic-

¹ Compare pp. 81, 82.

torious over *one*, without reference to the virtue or vice of either, or the respective merits of their causes. The shafts and bullets of the godless find the mark as well as those of the pious. The highest virtue is no protection against a sabre cut or a bayonet thrust. It is mere recklessness, therefore, deliberately to throw three hundred men into an engagement which careful consideration assures us would tax the powers of ten thousand. To do this on religious principles, and thus systematically to neglect the proper means of securing victory, is simply fanatical.

But "Gideon's band" is justly used as a term of honor when it is applied to those who fight for God and the truth against sin, against wrong, and against misery. For in this battle it is not by their own wish that the champions of the good cause are so few. Their numbers are small from the nature of the case, and sorely against their will, and they always have to face a foe that outnumbered them a hundred-fold. If the battle were fought with earthly weapons their chance would be small indeed; and when their enemies have recourse to the sword the little band does often sink for a time: but in the long run it must always triumph. Its soldiers only fight with the spiritual weapons of their word and their example. Their object is not to slay their foes, but to raise them to higher virtue and greater happiness, and thus to convert them from enemies into allies. The power which inspires these "Gideon's bands" is faith in the irresistible force of truth,—that is, of God,—and in this faith they overcome the world.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ABIMELECH.

JUDGES VIII. 29-IX.; GEN. XXXIV.

GIDEON had seventy sons, says the book of Judges, for the number of his wives was great. And besides all these, he had a son whom he called Abimelech, by his mistress in Shechem. Now, after his death, the Israelites not only returned to their idolatrous practices, but forgot all the benefits they had experienced at his hands, and repaid them

with base ingratitude. For Abimelech conspired with the chiefs of Shechem to expel Gideon's seventy sons who now ruled the city; and, when the Shechemites had given him some money from the treasure of the temple of Baal-berith, or "Baal of the covenant," to carry out his project with, he hired certain men who would do anything they were paid for, and, with their help, murdered all his brothers at once. But the youngest, Jotham, concealed himself and escaped.

Then the Shechemite chiefs crowned Abimelech king, under the sacred oak that stood by the city; but Jotham took the opportunity of addressing them from Mount Gerizim, and told them a fable (which we shall give at length in another chapter)¹ about the trees, who desired a king, but could only get the bramble-bush to accept the honor. Finally, he reproached them with ingratitude towards his father, and prophesied that their new-made king would bring them little joy.

Within three years this prophecy was fulfilled. To punish both Abimelech and the chiefs of Shechem, for the hideous murder of Jerubbaal's seventy sons, God sent a spirit of distrust and dissension amongst them; and the Shechemites lay in wait for every one who passed by their city. Abimelech himself dwelt in Arumah, while a certain Zebul governed Shechem in his name. In the course of time Gaal, the son of Ebed, came to Shechem with his brothers, and won the confidence of the chiefs; and at last, on occasion of the feast of grape-harvest, celebrated in the temple of Baal of the covenant, the Shechemites threw off their allegiance to Abimelech, at Gaal's instigation. "Who is Abimelech?" he cried. "Who is the son of Jerubbaal,² that we should serve him? Is he not the son of Shechem; and is not this Zebul his deputy? Let him hold the men of Hamor, the father of Shechem, in slavery!"² But why should we obey him?" "If I had but command of this people," he added, "I would drive out Abimelech full soon!"

Zebul, who knew what was going on, immediately sent word to his master, and urged him to come with all speed to Shechem, and put an end to Gaal's proceedings. Abimelech acted upon this advice; and one morning, as Gaal was standing at the city gate with Zebul, he saw troops appearing from various quarters. At first Zebul only laughed at him, and told him he mistook the shadows of the mountains for men; but, when he could deny the fact no longer, he cried defiantly,

¹ See chapter xxi. v. p. 459.

² After an amended version.

"You spoke brave words but now. Well! There are Abimelech's people! Go out to meet them!" Gaal hastily accepted the challenge, but was driven back into the city with heavy loss. This reverse impaired his influence so seriously that he was soon afterwards expelled by Zebul, while Abimelech himself remained at Arumah.

But Abimelech was meditating a fearful vengeance on the Shechemites for their disobedience, and had resolved to compass their destruction. He collected troops, fell upon a number of the Shechemites (who were at work in the fields, suspecting no danger), slew them, and then laid siege to the city. As soon as it fell into his hands, he massacred its inhabitants, razed it to the ground, and "sowed the site with salt." The nobles, however, who lived in the citadel, assembled under the hallowed dome of the god of their covenant, hoping that the sanctity of the place would protect them. But what did Abimelech care for holy places? With a bill-hook in his hand he set off, at the head of his men, to a neighboring thicket. "Do as I do!" he cried, as he hewed a branch off a tree, and laid it on his shoulder. Thus laden, his troops returned to the sanctuary. They piled the wood upon the roof, and, before long, the thousand men and women, who had sought shelter beneath it, were burned to death or suffocated by the smoke.

Then Abimelech turned his arms against the neighboring city of Thebez, which had made common cause with Shechem. The place itself was soon taken, but the inhabitants had fled for refuge to a strong tower, situated in the middle of the city, which still held out. Abimelech determined to apply the torch once more and burn down the gate. But when he came under the wall to accomplish his design a woman hurled down a piece of a millstone and struck him on the head. Borne to the ground, with his skull fractured, he hurriedly commanded his armor-bearer to draw his sword and kill him, that no one might say he had been slain by a woman. His attendant obeyed. Such was the end of Abimelech; and his warriors dispersed, each to his own abode.

Thus did God requite both him and the Shechemites for the evil they had done in slaying the sons of Jerubbaal, and thus was Jotham's curse fulfilled.

The purpose of this story is so clearly explained in its closing sentence that we cannot for a moment misunderstand it. But, nevertheless, it presents some features of peculiar difficulty.

The relations between Abimelech, the Shechemites, and this Gaal are most perplexing. What was the object of Gaal "and his brothers"? Was it simply to create a disturbance, and then fish in the troubled waters? Or was he guided in his actions by some principle? And then, what is the meaning of that curious expression: "Let the men of Hamor serve Abimelech; but why should we serve him?" Who are the "we" that must not stoop to obey Abimelech, whatever the Hamorites may do?

Perhaps we should never have been able to answer these questions were it not that some light is thrown on the events at Shechem by a story of the patriarchal times. I mean the legend of Dinah contained in the thirty-fourth chapter of Genesis, the only story in which the daughter of Jacob appears. It runs thus:—

When Jacob had returned from Padan-Aram and had pitched his tents in the neighborhood of Shechem, Leah's daughter, Dinah, went out one day to visit some of the girls of the neighborhood; and Shechem, the son of Hamor the Hivite, the ruler of the land, fell in love with her, and enticed her with fair words and seduced her. Shechem, however, had honorable intentions, and asked his father's leave to marry the stranger. Hamor consented, and went to Jacob to request Dinah's hand for his son. When Jacob heard what had occurred he kept silence until his sons came home from the field, and when they heard of Shechem's unworthy conduct they were filled with grief and indignation. It was "foolishness in Israel." But Hamor still pressed the marriage upon Jacob and his sons; for Shechem had set his heart upon it, and Hamor himself had nothing against it. "Come!" said he, "let us make alliances on either side. Give us your daughters in marriage and take ours. Choose any place you will, and dwell amongst us. Go round our country unrestrained, and take up your abode with us." And Shechem himself added: "As for Dinah's purchase-money, you need not be afraid of taking advantage of the opportunity and asking a heavy price. I shall not draw back, if I can but get the girl for my wife!" But the sons of Jacob answered treacherously: "What you ask is impossible; for we cannot mingle our blood with that of the uncircumcised. If you will be circumcised yourselves, then we can intermarry and unite into a single people; but if not, then we shall take Dinah back and go on our way." Hamor and his son agreed to the proposal. Shechem's love for Dinah was so great that nothing seemed too hard for him;

and he had great influence with his fellow-citizens. He and his father persuaded them to comply with the conditions imposed by representing to them the great advantages they would derive from an alliance with Jacob and his sons; for they had numerous flocks, and there was plenty of room for them in Shechem's territory. So the Hivites were persuaded to comply, and underwent the operation of circumcision. But on the third day, when the wound inflicted is most painful, Dinah's brothers, Simeon and Levi, grasped their swords, fell upon the city, where no one suspected any danger, slaughtered every male creature, snatched Dinah out of Shechem's palace, and then went on their way. Then the sons of Jacob came and plundered the city. Now when Jacob heard what Simeon and Levi had done, he said to them: "I am utterly undone, for you have made me hateful to the dwellers in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites. Think how few we are in number! If they fall upon us we are all undone." But they only answered: "Shall they treat our sister as a harlot?"

In the form of a family history of the Patriarchal period, the narrator has here given us a fragment of the history of the Israelite people, or at any rate of some of the tribes. He betrays this fact with unconscious simplicity when he makes Jacob's sons speak of "foolishness being done in *Israel*," using this name as that of a people. The legend deals with one of the burning questions of the period of the Judges — the question whether Israelites and Canaanites might intermarry. The practice was very advantageous to both parties, and especially to the conquered race; but to the Israelite of pure blood, who looked down with contempt upon the old inhabitants of the place, it was an abomination. The Canaanites are represented in the legend under the person of Shechem, the son of Hamor, which shows that this question was debated in the city of Shechem, where the Hamorites, a Hivite tribe, were settled. This fact enables us to bring the legend into connection with the history of Abimelech, and to find the counterparts of the zealots, Simeon and Levi, in Gaal and his brothers.

If, then, we put together all the information we have gained about both Gideon and Abimelech, we shall have the following history: —

Certain cities in Mount Ephraim, including Shechem, Thebez, and Arumah, had entered into an alliance for the purposes of mutual protection and the maintenance of their independence. The inhabitants of these places were partly

Canaanites and partly Israelites. They had laid aside their mutual jealousies for the sake of the common good, and though not yet united into a single people, they had already laid the foundation of such a union, especially by the adoption on the part of the Canaanites of the circumcision. The allies had a common sanctuary, that of "Baal-of-the-covenant," at Shechem; and there they worshipped Yahweh, the God of Israel, together, it may be, with many other deities.

Now when the cities of the league were brought into dire straits by the Midianites, the common danger united the Israelites and the Canaanites still more closely. At last Jerubbaal of the Abiezrites put himself at their head and defeated the common enemy, thereby earning the title of honor, *Gideon*. As long as he lived the covenant was faithfully observed. His redoubtable name and his strong arm restrained the various parties within the cities from expressing their differences in action.

But when he was dead, and they were no longer threatened by a foreign foe, everything changed. In the territory over which the alliance spread, there were, indeed, seventy local chiefs of families—represented as sons of Gideon in the legend—but none of them succeeded to Jerubbaal's influence or power. At last the Shechemites grew weary of the constant disorder, and furnished Abimelech with the means of seizing the Government. Indeed, he was actually proclaimed king—the first instance of the regal dignity in Israel. He was a valiant warrior; his body-guard of mercenaries inspired fear on every side, and he restrained the restless spirits of the place by force. But, in the end, party feeling ran too high for him. There were many malcontents at Shechem, at Thebez, and elsewhere. The Israelite zealots for the Mosaic principles were specially loud in their condemnation of the alliance with the Hivites. A certain Gaal placed himself at their head, and fostered their hatred against the Amorites. "What if they had adopted the circumcision! There must be no communion with those unchaste worshippers of foreign gods!" In short, Gaal inflamed the Israelites to such a degree that at last, on occasion of a harvest feast in the temple of Baal-of-the-covenant, things came to an open breach. (It may be noticed, in passing, that the presence of the Israelite zealots, on occasion of a feast in this temple, proves that Yahweh was worshipped there.) "Who is Abimelech?" they cried. "Is he not a heathen on the mother's side? That is why he has no principles, but tries to keep in with both sides. Half Israelite, half

too easy to understand his disapproval; for comparatively few men have the courage to carry out a principle which they believe to be good without asking what the consequences will be. Most men are too timid and faithless to do right without counting the cost. "You are destroying me!" cries father Jacob, in the legend of Dinah, to his indignant sons. "You are making the Canaanites hate me. We are but few. They will root us out." The remonstrance was most natural. From a worldly point of view it was far more sensible to join the Canaanites than to repel them. It would strengthen the Israelites against all their foes, and they might pasture their flocks, engage in commerce, and cultivate the fields undisturbed. If a nation could enjoy no greater blessings than these, if the possession of such things ensured its well-being, then it would indeed be mere folly to disturb such a peace.

But if prosperity, peace, and abundance are no set-off against the degradation of a people, then the folly of disturbing peace is sometimes the highest wisdom. Shechem's conduct towards Dinah and her relatives was shameful; but Jacob thought, "Ah, well! let us have peace in spite of it all! It is better for us to overlook such things." "Shall they treat our sister like a harlot?" is the only question for Simeon and Levi. Surely this is far nobler. Of course we cannot approve of the methods adopted by these fierce zealots of Yahweh, who tried to reform the world by blood and iron; but they stand far higher in our estimation than those ignoble, commonplace, order-loving creatures, who will submit to any humiliation, and sacrifice the noblest principles, "for the dear sake of peace."

"I will divide them in Jacob,
And scatter them in Israel,"

sang a poet who saw the Levites and Simeonites scattered amongst the people. Some of the Simeonite allies of Judah may formerly have had a territory of their own, but it was only a small one, and was soon lost in that of Judah. Other portions of the tribe lived among their northern brethren.¹ As for the Levites, they were so completely scattered that there was no district in any part of the land inhabited exclusively by them. Many centuries later, when Levi had become the priestly tribe, the Israelites said that the Levites had received no territory, because they had been priests from Moses' time onward, and as such possessed separate cities in every part

¹ 2 Chronicles xv. 9, xxxiv. 6.

of the land, and were supported by the sacrificial offerings.¹ But this is not true. Had it been so, the writer of "Jacob's blessing" would never have regarded their dispersion as a punishment, or put the Simeonites in the same class with the Levites.

We have already noticed² the real reason why the families of these two tribes were so completely scattered amongst the rest. It was probably the Levites and Simeonites who supported Moses in furthering the common interests of the tribes, and introducing the worship of Yahweh. To accomplish this task they must, from the very nature of the case, have been dispersed among their brothers; and this is probably the explanation of the fact that some of them penetrated Canaan from the east with the tribes under Joshua, and others from the south with Judah.

The zealots did not grow rich in this way. It was not in the natural course of things that they should. Mixing water with wine is a better road to fortune than uncompromising truth to principles and fidelity to the common weal. Simeon disappeared altogether amongst the other tribes. Many of the Levites, as we shall see, had to contend with bitter poverty, unless they were lucky enough to obtain some lucrative post as priests.

Most of these zealots, then, reaped no advantages themselves from their uncompromising firmness. But they did their people a truer service than Jerubbaal, "the hewer," who delivered them from the power of the Midianites; for they preserved Israel's most precious treasure — its special character as a people, and the worship of Yahweh, in the spirit taught by Moses.

CHAPTER XIX.

JEPHTHAH.

JUDGES X. 6-XII. 7.

THE writer of the book of Judges, assuming that the heroes of the olden time followed each other in regular succession, tells us³ that, after the death of Abimelech, Tola of Issachar delivered Israel, and ruled as judge for three-and-

¹ Deuteronomy x. 8-9; Joshua xxi. 1-42.

² See p. 323.

³ Judges x. 1-5.

twenty years. He lived at Shamir in Mount Ephraim, and was buried there when he died. After that, our author tells us, Israel was governed for two-and-twenty years by Jair, the Gileadite, of whom it is said that he had thirty sons, riding on thirty asses, and that thirty places in the land of Gilead were called "Jair's villages," after him. We know rather more of this Jair than is told us here, for he is mentioned in some other passages,¹ in which, however, his conquests are attributed to Moses. From what we learn of him in all these passages we can make out pretty well how he gained his place among the "judges." He was a Manassite of the clan of Machir, and appears to have crossed the Jordan at the head of a number of families in hopes of winning a better heritage in Bashan. Taking Gilead as his starting point, he made himself master of the district that was afterwards called in his honor Havoth-Jair, or "Jair's villages." Our author says these villages were thirty in number, but elsewhere² they are said to be three-and-twenty. Each separate place was called, as usual, by the name of the hero who had conquered and settled in it; and since the heroes themselves were all subject to Jair, and all positions of dependence were compared in ancient times to the relation of sons to their father, these village chiefs were called Jair's sons. In virtue of their rank they rode upon asses. A similar description occurs in the accounts of Gideon, Ibzan, and Abdon.³

Gilead, the land to which Jair had led his men with such success, is also the scene of the history of Jephthah, to which we must now turn. The writer of the book of Judges provides this story with an introduction,⁴ in which he tells us that the Israelites had served all manner of gods and had been oppressed, in consequence, for eighteen years by the Philistines and the Ammonites. Then they confessed their guilt before Yahweh, and he promised to deliver them if they would relinquish their Baals. This as we know already was the style of remark by which this writer always strung together the old traditions about the heroes of the period of the judges. Then comes the story of Jephthah, which runs as follows:—

Gilead, the district east of the Jordan, was sighing under

¹ Deuteronomy iii. 14; Numbers xxxii. 41; Joshua xiii. 30. Compare p. 329.

² 1 Chronicles ii. 22

³ Judges viii. 30 ff. Compare pp. 394, 399. Judges xii. 8–15.

⁴ Judges x. 6–16.

the oppression of the Ammonites. It will be remembered that before the Israelites bid adieu to the Arabian desert these Ammonites had been deprived of a part of their possessions by the Amorites; but that these invaders were themselves expelled by the tribes of Reuben and Gad, who thus became the neighbors of the Ammonites.¹ Now the mountain land of Gilead was a most desirable possession, and the Ammonites and Israelites were constantly struggling for it.

Just at the time of which we are speaking, the Israelites had been brought very low in this contest. Their leaders, well nigh at their wits' end, held a council at Mizpeh, a place on the border-land, where there was an anointed stone (afterwards looked upon as the monument of an agreement between Jacob and Laban²) and a sanctuary of Yahweh, connected, no doubt, with this *massebah*. The Gileadites were keenly alive to the necessity of uniting under a single leader; and, however little inclined to give up their freedom, they made up their minds to obey the orders of any one who could rescue them from their miserable plight. Accordingly, they began to consider whom they could induce to put himself at their head, and they soon remembered a famous warrior of the name of Jephthah. He was a Gileadite by descent; but no one knew to what clan he belonged. He had enjoyed but small success as yet; for he possessed no land of his own, and had penetrated into the neighboring district of Tob, with a band of freebooters, in the hope of conquering a home, as Jair and others had done before him. It was this bold warrior to whom the elders of the Gileadites determined to appeal.

But Jephthah was not inclined, at first, to comply with their wish. He had no very pleasant recollection of his former home, and by no means desired to return to it. But, on the other hand, he was fascinated by the thought of being Prince of Gilead for life; so when the chiefs swore by Yahweh that they would recognize him as such, he yielded to their persuasions, and followed them to Mizpeh, where the compact was solemnly renewed in the sanctuary.

First of all he sent an embassy to the Ammonites, to induce them to lay down their arms, but without success. There was nothing left but an appeal to the sword. Then the spirit of Yahweh came upon Jephthah; and, burning with warlike zeal, he passed through Gilead and Jair's vil-

¹ See *ante*, chapter x. p. 325.

² Genesis xxxi. 45-52.

lages, summoning the inhabitants to battle for the honor of Yahweh. He even sent messengers to their kinsmen, the Ephraimites, on the other side of the Jordan. The Ephraimites were deaf to his appeal; but in Gilead and the neighborhood his words found an echo, and an army had soon assembled at Mizpeh. And now the battle upon which so much depended must be fought. If Israel were defeated then Gilead must give up all hope of retaining its independence, and must bow beneath the yoke of the sons of Ammon, while Jephthah must flee the land once more and rove about as a freebooter. The risk was enormous. The enemy was powerful; the Gileadites but too familiar with defeat. But the affair was far from hopeless. Under their new leader the warriors were full of enthusiasm. Their war-songs echoed on every side. They recounted with pride the exploits of their fathers, and boasted of their own heroic deeds against beasts of prey or the former inhabitants of the land. Listen to the various bands, gathered round their watchfires, as they vie with each other in hurling taunts at the Ammonites, bragging of what they are going to do, and vowing sacrifices to their household or tribal gods should they return home in safety! The spirit of the people was excellent. If Yahweh would but help, the victory was certain. If he would but grasp his shield and spear, and go forth before his people thirsting for the battle, if he would but march before them in thunder and hurl his arrows into the midst of the foe, then panic fear would seize them and Israel would strike them dead. But would Yahweh yearn for the battle? Would he put forth all his strength in the fight with Chemosh? Day after day the priests made the meat-offering smoke before him, to secure his help. The *massebah* flowed with oil and blood. Bands of warriors were ever marching round the altar with their gifts. At last the general himself, burning for victory, made a solemn and terrible vow. Stretching out his hand towards the door of his home, he cried: "As sure as Yahweh lives, if I return in triumph from the fight with the Ammonites, whoever first comes out from yonder door to meet me shall be made a sacrifice to Yahweh!" The priest has accepted the oath. The vow is made. Unhappy father! Think who it may be that comes from that door to meet you! It may be a slave, perhaps. Yes! but you have an only child at home. Will you pay that price for the victory? Are you ready to give up your child should Yahweh require so great a sacrifice?

The vow that was made in a moment of fierce enthusiasm must be fulfilled when the excitement that dictated it had passed away; for the Ammonites were utterly defeated, and twenty of their cities fell into the hands of the Israelites. There was no doubt as to the victory, and it only remained to be seen what was the sacrifice that Yahweh had chosen.

Jephthah returns in triumph. He draws near to Mizpeh and comes in sight of his own home. A troop of girls come out to meet him, waving branches, sounding tambourines and cymbals, preparing to sing the victor's praise, to strew his path with flowers, and accompany him with festal dances to the shrine of Yahweh. At their head comes Jephthah's daughter—his only child. A sharp cry escapes the father when he sees her in the distance coming towards him. He rends his clothes, and breaks into bitter lamentation. "Ah, my daughter! You have caused me more woe than all my enemies!" What can it mean? A fearful presentiment comes over the triumphant warriors. The joyous music dies. The troop of girls draw near in silence. Every one gazes in an agony of suspense at the hero, who stands before his child the picture of despondent misery. At last the fearful words escape his lips. "Alas, my child! I have made a vow to Yahweh, and I cannot take it back!" Horror seizes upon all who hear him. They divine his meaning but too well. They understand the glance he turns upon his daughter. Her life is the dread price of victory which Yahweh claims, and they shudder to think that the father must give up his only child, and that she—so young and beautiful—must die.

But though the rough cheek of many a bold warrior in Jephthah's train was blanched, though the musical instruments fell from the hands of the shuddering girls, there was one still calm and brave. She, whom all are bewailing, has soon mastered her own emotion, and breaks a death-like silence by the words: "Father! if that be so, your vow shall be fulfilled. I am content that, by Yahweh's help, you have triumphed over the sons of Ammon." All eyes are turned in admiration upon the heroic girl, whose contempt of death puts to shame the boldest warrior; and even her father draws some comfort, in his agony, from the deep and self-forgetful love which she reveals for him. She speaks once more. "Father! I have one boon to ask. Give me two months before you fulfil your vow, and let me spend the time upon the mountains with my friends, to bewail my lot in dying unmarried." Of course

her modest prayer was unconditionally granted ; and she went with her companions to the retreat she had chosen.

Meanwhile Jephthah was not permitted to give himself up to his grief undisturbed. His sword must not rust as yet. Now that the Ammonites were defeated, the Ephraimites became jealous of the victor's fame, and accused him (as they had formerly accused Gideon¹) of not having called upon them for help. It was in vain that Jephthah reminded them how he had asked their help, and how they had disregarded his request. They crossed the Jordan, to "burn down his house over his head." So Jephthah was compelled to meet force with force. He summoned the Gileadites, who were flushed by the victory they had won, and in no humor to put up with the insolence of their brothers from the other side of the Jordan. The affair ended in a pitched battle, and the Ephraimites were defeated.

Their insolence now cost them dear. They had incensed the Gileadites to the utmost, by contemptuously styling them runaway Ephraimites, and declaring that Gilead really belonged to them, since it lay between Ephraim and Manasseh. The conquerors of the Ammonites could not forgive this insult. Indeed, they were so exasperated that they refused all quarter to the fugitives. Nay, they even kept the passes of the Jordan, and if any one came to ford the river, and declared in fear that he was a Gileadite, they put him to the test by making him say the word *shibboleth*, which the Ephraimites always pronounced *sibboleth*. All who betrayed themselves by their pronunciation were pitilessly put to death. The number of the slain was estimated at forty-two thousand.

So Jephthah had conquered all his foes, and become the undisputed lord of Gilead, over which he ruled for six years. But, alas ! what a fearful price he had to pay for his success ! Two months after his return from the victory over the Ammonites, he fulfilled his vow. The victim, crowned with flowers, was led round the altar with music and song in honor of Yahweh. She met her cruel fate without shrinking. But who shall say how sick at heart her father was, when he struck the fatal blow with his own hand, and saw the blood of his darling child poured out upon the sacred stone, while her body was burned upon the altar ! Thus Yahweh received his own, and the price of the victory was paid.

The father can never have thought of the sacrifice without a shudder ; but his countrymen soon recovered from the shock,

¹ See pp. 387, 388.

and only remembered the courage and self-sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter. All honor to the heroic girl, who freely gave herself up to death, and rejoiced that Yahweh had given her father the victory, even though her own young life was the price he had paid. The memory of her patriotism, and contempt of death, did not perish with her, but was long preserved in an annual festival, celebrated by the people on the day of her death in the mountain-land round Mizpeh. At this festival the girls spent four days in celebrating, with dance and song, the memory of the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite.

I have barely alluded, in the above narrative, to the negotiations carried on between Jephthah and the king of the Ammonites.¹ The king, on his part, pleads that when the Israelites came out of Egypt to Canaan they deprived him unjustly of his land; but Jephthah denies this, and recounts, in proof of his position, the events which occurred three hundred years before. These negotiations certainly formed no part of the old tradition, but were inserted by the compiler. It was not at all in the spirit of antiquity to inquire into the legal right by which this or that territory was held, still less to call to mind the history of the remote past in order to throw light on the question. Besides, the calculation that makes three hundred years elapse between the conquest of the district east of Jordan and the time of Jephthah is certainly incorrect; for the whole period between Joshua and David was not more than two and a half centuries at most.

The point in the history of Jephthah which has always excited the most attention is the appalling fact that he offered up his daughter as a sacrifice. Commentators have often tried to explain it away, and to make out that Jephthah did but consecrate his daughter to the service of Yahweh and compel her to remain unmarried to the end of her life. This idea was suggested by the remark, repeated more than once in the story, that she was never married, and by a certain unwillingness to admit that she was really sacrificed; for such an admission would leave a deep stain upon ancient Israel; and it appeared impossible to believe that a judge of the people, a man whom Yahweh had blessed, should have publicly performed such a frightful act. But, however difficult it may be to understand, the simple fact remains. We have no reason to suppose that the ancient Israelites believed Yahweh to prefer a single to a married life in his votaries, and if Jephthah's

¹ Judges xi. 12-28.

vow meant nothing more than these commentators suppose, surely his daughter need not have asked for two months in which to bewail her maidenhood, for she might have done that all the rest of her life. Moreover, we should have absolutely no explanation of her father's agony at their meeting, and of that festival at which the people sang of her for four days every year. But the whole question is in fact decided by the vow itself, which admits of no mistake: "I will dedicate to Yahweh, and offer as a burnt sacrifice, the first person¹ who comes to meet me." Nothing can be clearer than this. He promises a human sacrifice.

After what we have already learned of Israel's religion, we shall hardly be surprised at this. We need only refer to what was said with reference to Abraham's intention of sacrificing Isaac.² Indeed, we are quite unable to reverence the ancient Israelites as men of extraordinary piety and goodness. They were rude and uncivilized in the highest degree, and were still at a very low stage of religious development. Even those heroes by whose arm the people were rescued from their foes, and who performed their exploits in the name of Yahweh, were very far indeed from realizing our idea of piety. Besides, Jephthah stands lower than Deborah or even Gideon, for he would not gird himself to battle for his people until they had solemnly promised to make him prince of Gilead.

As for the sacrifice of human beings to Yahweh, the story of Jephthah not only shows us unmistakably that such a thing did from time to time take place, but also indicates the point of view from which we must regard it, if we wish to be fair to the Israelites. It arose from their belief that the deity might be persuaded, by promises, to accomplish the worshipper's desires. A person holding this belief — and in ancient times it was universal — might rise step by step, until at last he promised to offer up the most precious of all things — a human life. However horrible it may seem, it was the necessary consequence of a false principle. We can, therefore, understand not only that people admired the daughter — who submitted so courageously to her fate, and was content that her life should be the price paid for the victory — but also that they praised the father for keeping his word. It was not every one who was so scrupulous. A man would often make a vow like Jephthah's, and then, when the time had come for payment, would draw back, and substitute something else for that which he had promised. This was called "redeeming,"

¹ After an amended version.

² Chap. xviii. p. 143.

and was practised by some more freely than by others. Finally, when manners had grown gentler, and human sacrifices were banished from the worship of Yahweh, these redemptions were regulated by the Law.¹ But, in the time of the judges, the old rule was still in force, that a human being, dedicated by a vow to Yahweh, must be sacrificed to him, and might not be redeemed. From this point of view, it seemed to argue disobedience and laxity if any one shrank from the strict fulfilment of his vow.

So far, then, we must honor Jephthah, for he would not break the commandment, "Thou shalt not take the name of Yahweh on a lie;" and kept his vow. In that frightful sacrifice that he performed — breaking the holiest domestic ties — we do but see the disastrous results of a mistaken faith.

CHAPTER XX.

SAMSON.

JUDGES XIII.-XVI.

AMONG all peoples who have begun to issue from a state of ignorance and barbarism, and to reach a higher stage of religion than that of the rudest and lowest *fetichism*,² we find indications of the worship of Nature and of the various heavenly bodies; first of the moon and then of the sun. And since the ancients were in the habit of throwing their religious thoughts and emotions into the form of stories or myths, we meet almost everywhere with "solar myths," or stories in which the sun appears as a person. His rising and setting, his fostering power in the spring, his consuming heat in the summer, and his failing strength in the autumn are described as the birth, the conflicts, the triumph, the defeat, and the death of a hero. Feasts were held in many countries at various seasons of the year in honor of the sun, or rather of the solar deity or sun-god. After the longest day, for instance, there was a time of lamentation, because the days began to grow shorter, and a day of rejoicing after the shortest, because they then began to lengthen again. Sometimes lamentations for the death of the setting

¹ Leviticus xxvii.

² See pp. 175, 176.

sun were immediately followed by rejoicings over his return to life. As a rule, the women more especially celebrated these feasts with passionate earnestness, and sang dirges such as, "Alas! the lord of the earth, the giver of life, is dead, slain by his enemies!" or cried, "Rejoice! the world receives new life, for her deliverer, the fountain of joy, is born!"

Many ancient solar myths have come down to us, but never in the original forms. This is only natural, for these myths are poetical effusions rather than precise descriptions, and though their main features may long remain unaltered, the details must be constantly changing. Moreover, when they were at last put into writing, it was by men who no longer retained the old simplicity of faith in them, and who, therefore, dissected and endeavored to explain them, and treated them more or less *euhemeristically*.¹ Thus the sun-god became a king, a priest, a hero, or a hunter, at the pleasure of the writer or to suit the habits of the people.

To take an example: The Egyptian Osiris was represented as a king of primeval times who not only fought against barbarism within his own domains, but journeyed through the world to spread the blessings of civilization everywhere. During his absence his wife and sister Isis carried on the government in the spirit of her absent lord. But Set or Typhon, the brother of Osiris, longed to restore the former state of lawless violence; so he conspired with a number of the nobles to murder king Osiris. To accomplish his design he had recourse to stratagem. He made a splendid chest, exactly fitting his brother's body, and then invited him, together with the conspirators, to a banquet, and offered to make a present of the chest to the man whom it should be found to fit. Hardly had Osiris got into it when the lid was clapped upon it, and the chest securely fastened and thrown into the Nile. It was carried away by the stream and across the sea to the Phœnician city of Byblus, where it was caught in the branches of a tree; and there it remained until at last the bark grew over it. Meanwhile Isis was wandering about the world, with her sister Nephtis, seeking her lost husband and lamenting him. At last she found the chest that contained his body, in front of the palace of the king of Byblus, inside the tree, which the king had felled, intending to make a column out of it. Then she returned, rejoicing, with her treasure. But in the joy of meeting her son Horos, she

¹ See pp. 105, 106.

neglected for a moment to keep watch over the chest, and Typhon found it, opened it, took out the body, cut it into fourteen pieces, and scattered them over the land. But Isis succeeded in finding every one of the pieces, and she buried each where she found it. Then Horos fell upon Typhon, to avenge his father, took him prisoner, and gave him over to his mother's care. But she allowed him to escape, and Horos, after severely reproving her, attacked his enemy twice and completely defeated him. Thenceforth Horos reigned over Egypt, while Osiris became ruler of the world of the dead.

The significance of the actors in this story is for the most part obvious. Osiris is the beneficent and fructifying sun, Isis the earth, and Typhon or Set the scorching heat, the cause of all material ill. This destructive sun-god conquers his beneficent brother and compels him to conceal himself; but Horos, the beaming sun, the successor and representative of Osiris, conquers Set, in his turn, and blesses the earth. Many traits in the story, however, are difficult to explain, — the passage, for instance, of the body of Osiris to Byblus. On the other hand we can easily guess the origin of the fourteen pieces into which the dead Osiris was cut. His worship was celebrated in many parts of Egypt, and was essentially the same everywhere. There were many places, therefore, in which his death was celebrated with lamentations and the grave of the good god pointed out. It was to explain this fact that the body was divided in the legend into so many parts. This example will suffice to show what a mistake it would be to suppose that the story as we have it is the original myth itself. It is only a legend founded upon it.

The same remark applies to all the solar myths that have come down to us. Thus we find a legend in Syria of Adonis, the beautiful youth that was slain by a wild boar when hunting, and thenceforth spent four months of the year in the lower world and eight upon the earth; a legend in Greece, of Herakles (Hercules), who performed twelve great labors, and then died on a funeral pyre and rose to heaven; in Phœnicia, of Baal, the ancient king, whose tomb was pointed out in so many places; in Babylonia, of Thammuz, the prophet, put to death by the king for trying to induce him to worship the stars. On his death, we are told, the image of the sun in the temple of Bel told the images of the gods which had gathered there from all the ends of the earth what had happened. Among the Norse-men we find the legend of Balder the good god, who was murdered by Loki, — but all these stories, and

many more, though originally solar myths, have been more or less transformed by those who put them into writing.

Sun-worship was by no means unknown to the Israelites, and was still more prevalent among the Canaanites. There were two places in the country, one in Dan¹ and the other in Naphtali,² called Beth-shemesh or Ir-shemesh, that is "house of the sun" or "city of the sun," and the deity worshipped under the names of Baal and Molech was really no other than the sun.³ We do not know whether the name of the Danite city Beth-shemesh was of Canaanite or Israelite origin. The question is of no great consequence, however, for in this neighborhood the old and the new inhabitants soon became very friendly with each other, and before long all distinction between them was lost, though the population was still mainly composed of Danite and Judæan Israelites. The myths that were circulated amongst these people show that they were zealous worshippers of the sun. These myths are still preserved, but, as in all other cases, they are so much altered as to be hardly recognizable. The writer who has preserved them for us lived at a time when the worship of the sun had long ago died out. He transforms the sun-god into an Israelite hero who chastises the hereditary enemies of his nation terribly, but at last is conquered by them and dies, though not unavenged.

The legends to which I. refer are those of Samson, for a solar myth doubtless lies at the bottom of them, as we may see by the very name of the hero himself, which signifies "sun-god." In some of the features of the story the original meaning may still be traced quite clearly, but in others the myth can no longer be recognized. The exploits of some Danite hero, such as Shamgar (who "slew six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad"⁴) have been woven into it; the whole has been remodelled after the ideas of the prophets of later ages, and finally it has been fitted into the framework of the period of the judges, as conceived by the writer of the book called after them.

It would delay us far too long were we to attempt to explain, point by point, the origin of all the stories about Samson. We must content ourselves with giving the legends themselves, only adding here and there a hint as to their meaning.

When the Israelites had given themselves up to all manner

¹ Joshua xv. 10. ¹ Samuel vi. 9 ff. ¹ Kings iv. 9.

² Joshua xix. 38. Judges i. 33.

³ Compare p. 318.

⁴ Judges iii. 31.

of evil again, Yahweh sold them into the hands of the Philistines for forty years. In those days there lived at Zorah a Danite, called Manoah, whose wife was childless. But one day an angel of Yahweh appeared to her, and said, "Woman! hitherto you have longed in vain for a mother's joy, but now you shall have a son. Refrain, for his sake, from wine and strong drink, and eat no forbidden food, for he shall be a Nazarite of God from his birth upwards. The hair of his head shall never be cut; and he shall begin to deliver Israel from the might of the Philistines." The woman told her husband what had occurred. "A man of God has been to me," she said. "I did not ask him whence he was, nor did he tell me his name; but his look inspired me with awe, like that of an angel of God;" and then she repeated his words to her husband. Never doubting for a moment the truth of what she said, Manoah prayed to Yahweh, "O Lord! let this angel come to us again, to teach us what we must do with the son that shall be born to us." Yahweh heard his prayer, and his angel appeared again to the woman. She happened at the time to be in the field, without her husband; but she hastened to fetch him, and cried, "The man that appeared to me has come again." Manoah hastened to the spot. The messenger of Yahweh was waiting for them; and, when Manoah asked him whether it was he that had visited his wife before, he answered that it was. Upon this Manoah said, "Then if what you foretold us comes to pass, what kind of life is the boy to live?" The angel replied, "Above all things, your wife must attend to what I said to her. She must neither eat nor drink of the produce of the vine." With these words, the divine messenger prepared to go; but Manoah, not knowing that it was an angel of Yahweh, said, "Stay with us a little while, and let us prepare a kid for you!" To which the angel answered, "Though I stay with you, I will not eat of your food; but if you desire to make ready a burnt offering to Yahweh, do so." Manoah, perceiving that his visitor was no ordinary being, now said, "Tell us your name, that we may know whom to honor if your prediction is fulfilled." But the stranger answered, "Ask not my name; it is a mystery!" Then Manoah took his sacrificial kid, and all that was needed to make it complete as a sacrifice to Yahweh. He had hardly laid it on a mass of rock, and offered it to his god, when, behold! the angel of Yahweh rose to heaven in the altar-flame, before the very eyes of Manoah and his wife. At this sight they fell to the earth in awe and reverence; and, when they

looked up again, the angel had disappeared. Manoah now perceived with whom they had been speaking, and said to his wife, "Shall we not die? for we have seen a god!" But his wife made the sensible reply, "Had it been Yahweh's will to destroy us, he would not have accepted our sacrifice, or sent us all these messages." The result confirmed the angel's prophecy. Manoah's wife had a son, and she called him Samson. When he grew up, they saw that he was loved of Yahweh, for the spirit of this god began to inspire him in Mahaneh-Dan, or "the camp of the Danites," between Zorah and Eshtaol.

At this point we will pause for a moment. Samson is called a Nazarite. We shall presently see who these Nazaries were; but their chief peculiarities are indicated in the narrative itself. They refrained from all the produce of the vine, protected themselves from ceremonial impurity, and allowed the hair of their heads to grow. The last point was the most essential, and it is also the only Nazarite peculiarity that is mentioned in the stories of Samson that follow. He was remarkable for his long hair. The meaning of this trait in the original myth is easy to guess, and appears also from representations of the sun-god amongst other peoples. These long hairs are the rays of the sun. As for the other points of the story of Samson's birth, it is likely enough that the mere desire to shed lustre on the origin of celebrated men, and especially to represent them as children for whose birth their parents had long waited in vain, led to the invention of the scenes in which the angel appears. But it is not impossible that they are part of the old solar myth, and that the angel who rises up in the flame of the sacrifice signifies the glow of dawn, that blazes against the heavens, and heralds the approach of the sun who brings the world fresh life.

We may now pass on to the account of Samson's exploits.

One day he went to Timnath, where he fell in love with a Philistine girl. When he begged his parents to ask her in marriage for him, they disapproved of the alliance, and said, "Can you find no Israelitish girl? Must you needs take one of these uncircumcised?" But they knew not what they said; for they little thought that Yahweh had ordained all this because Samson sought a quarrel with the Philistines. When their son persisted in his request, they granted it in spite of their disapproval, and set out with him to Timnath. On the way, as Samson was passing through some vineyards near the city, alone, he encountered a furious lion. But the

spirit of Yahweh came upon him, and he tore the beast as one would tear a kid, though he had no weapon in his hand. It was such a simple affair with him that he did not so much as mention it to his parents. His betrothal to the Philistine girl took place in due course, and a month afterwards he returned to Timnath to marry her. On his way he turned aside to look at the skeleton of the lion, and saw that a swarm of bees had settled in it, and had already stored it with honey. He took some of the honey to eat on his way, and gave some to his parents, but without telling them how he had got it.

The wedding took place, and Samson gave a feast, according to the custom of the place. But the Philistines were afraid of him,¹ and gave him a guard of thirty men, who accompanied him everywhere.

Now Samson asked these thirty men a riddle, and bet them thirty under-garments and thirty robes of state that they would not guess it within the seven days of the feast. It ran, "From the eater came forth food, from the strong one sweetness!" For three days they tortured themselves in vain to find the answer, but on the fourth¹ they went to Samson's wife, and said, "Unless you manage to get your husband's secret out of him and tell it us, we will burn down your house over your head. Have you asked us here to rob us?" She was so much frightened by the threat that she did as they desired, and tried to coax Samson into telling her the answer. "If you really loved me," she said, "you would tell me the answer to your riddle." At first he would not listen to her. "Why, I have not even told it to my father and mother," he said, "and shall I tell it you?" But she persisted in her entreaties, and at last he yielded to her blandishments and told her the secret. He soon saw that she had betrayed him, for before sun-set his body-guard came to him and cried in triumph, "What is sweeter than honey? What is stronger than a lion?" But Samson answered in wrath, "If you had not ploughed with my heifer you would not have guessed my riddle." Then the spirit of Yahweh came upon him once more, and he went to Askelon, slew thirty of the inhabitants, and gave their robes to the men who had guessed the riddle. But now, it seemed, he would have nothing more to do with his wife, for he went home to his parents. So she married one of his companions or groomsmen.

¹ After an amended version.

The chief features of this story are borrowed from the solar myth that lies at the foundation of the whole legend. To understand them we must remember the path which the sun appears to pursue in the heavens as the year goes by. In consequence of the earth's motion round the sun, the sun itself appears to us to be constantly changing its position in the heavens, as we see by its relation to the various constellations. In the twelve months of the year the sun rises and sets with twelve different constellations, which are called the signs of the Zodiac. They are, the Ram, the Bull, the Twins, the Crab, the Lion, the Virgin, the Scales, the Scorpion, the Archer, the He-goat, Aquarius (or man with the watering pot), and the Fishes. Now although it is tolerably certain that the Israelites' knowledge of the zodiac dates from before the invasion of Canaan, it is nevertheless highly improbable that the old myth described the passage of the sun through all the twelve signs. At any rate there are no clear traces in our story of any of them except the Lion. Samson rends a lion — that is to say the sun passes through the constellation of that name. This also gives us the clew to the riddle and its answer. As given in the story it is utterly unintelligible. In the first place it is not really a riddle at all, for the answer requires no ingenuity, but simply the knowledge of a fact of which no one could be aware. And, in the next place, such a question could never have been put, for bees do not build in putrefying carrion. Probably the riddle originally ran, "How can the sweet food, honey, proceed from a strong and ravenous lion?" and the answer, "When the sun passes through the Lion, the bees make their combs, and when he leaves it the honey is ready."

When the wheat was ripe for harvest (about April), continues the story, Samson went to see his wife again. He took two kids with him as a present, but of course her father would not let him see her. He expressed his deep regret, and endeavored to excuse himself by saying that he supposed Samson had taken a dislike to his daughter on account of what occurred at the wedding, and had therefore given her to one of his companions; but he was ready to give him her younger sister in her stead. It was all in vain. Samson was mad with rage, and exclaimed, "No one can blame me now if I punish the Philistines!" He caught three hundred jackals, tied them in pairs, tail to tail, with a burning torch between them, and drove them over the lands of the Philis-

tines. The terrified animals rushed about in all directions, and set fire to the wheat that was standing in sheaves, as well as that which was still uncut, and even the olive gardens too. When the Philistines heard that it was Samson who had done all this, and learned what was the cause of his hostility, they vented their rage upon his wife and her father by burning them and all their relatives alive in their house. But Samson made this another pretext for revenge and slaughter of the Philistines.

Upon this the Philistines raised an army, and attacked the men of Judah, in whose territory Samson had established himself. They had got as far as Lechi when the Judæans came to ask them why they were making war upon them. They answered that they had come to punish Samson for the injuries he had inflicted upon them. Upon this three thousand men of Judah went to the rocky cleft at Etham, where the fierce warrior was to be found. He admitted that he had given the Philistines cause to hate him, and was even ready to allow the Judæans to bind him and give him up to his enemies, if they would only promise to do nothing against him themselves. They gave the promise, bound him with two new ropes, and carried him to Lechi. When the Philistines saw their enemy approach in bonds they raised a deafening shout of joy. But they rejoiced too soon, for at that very moment the spirit of Yahweh came upon Samson, the ropes by which he was bound snapped like burned threads, and the fetters melted from off his hands. His eye lighted on the jaw-bone of an ass. He seized it and slew a thousand Philistines. Then he shouted in triumph, —

With an ass's jaw-bone have I slaughtered them,¹
With an ass's jaw-bone have I slain a thousand.

Upon this he threw away his weapon and called the place Ramath-lechi, which the writer translates "cast of the jaw-bone." Immediately afterwards he grew faint for thirst and besought Yahweh to help him. "See, Lord, thou hast won so great a victory by my hand this day, and must I now perish for thirst and fall into the power of the Philistines?" In answer to his prayer God split the hollow of the jaw-bone, and water flowed out of it for him to drink. This refreshed him, and the well at Lechi is still called "the well of the beseecher." Thus Samson judged Israel, in the days of the Philistines, for twenty years.

¹ After an amended version.

Now all this far exceeds the limits of possibility. It is no more possible for a single man to catch three hundred jackals alive than it is for him to slay a thousand men with the jaw-bone of an ass. It is strange and mysterious, not to say unaccountable, that just after the victory at Lechi Samson should find himself all alone, and should be afraid of falling into the hands of the uncircumcised. What had become of all the men of Judah?

Literally understood all this is absurd, but if we treat it as the language of mythology we shall see that it has a very intelligible meaning. In the reddish-brown jackals, with torches between their tails, we easily recognize the lurid thunder-clouds, from the projecting points of which the lightning flashes seem to dart; and the myth of Indra, given in the "Word of Preface,"¹ comes in most appropriately to explain the meaning of Samson's exploits with the ass's jaw-bone. This is in fact nothing but a symbol of the jagged thunder-clouds from which the lightning shoots. It has this meaning in the mythology of more than one nation. This explains why it is expressly said that Samson threw away his weapon after the victory, and that a spring rose from the hollow of the jaw-bone. When he has triumphed over his foes, the sun-god no longer uses the thunder-cloud as a weapon, but makes the rain pour out of it.

In this story the sun-god is still victorious over his opponents; but we shall now see him winning his triumphs with increasing difficulty, until at last he falls before the attacks of his enemies and dies.

Once, when Samson was paying a visit to a woman in Gaza, his presence in the city was betrayed to the inhabitants, and they determined to lie in ambush for him, and take him captive; but, as they did not suppose he would go away before daybreak, they took no measures to seize him that night. About midnight, behold! Samson rose up, seized the city-gates, gate-posts, bar and all, hoisted them upon his shoulder, and carried them to the top of the mountain that lies east of Hebron.

After this he fell in love again with another woman, whose name was Delilah, and who lived in the valley of Sorek. As soon as the Philistine princes heard of this, they determined to take advantage of his passion, and promised to give Delilah over a thousand shekels each if she could succeed, by her

¹ See pp. 8, 9.

endearments, in coaxing Samson into telling her the secret of his great strength. The traitress undertook the task, and said to Samson, "Do tell me how you could be bound so as to overcome your strength." He answered that nothing but seven cords, twisted of fresh, undried cat-gut, could hold him fast. These she got, and bound him with them as he slept; but hardly had she cried, "Samson! the Philistines!" when he snapped them as one would snap a thread scorched by the fire. His secret was evidently still his own. But the faithless woman persevered. "You have deceived me," she said, "and only told me a set of lies. How can you really be bound fast?" "With seven new ropes that have never been used before," he answered; but a second failure showed that Delilah had still failed to learn the truth. Teased for his secret a third time, he told her that she must weave in the seven locks of his hair with a piece of cloth, and pin them to the wall,¹ and that he should then be no stronger than an ordinary man. She followed his directions; but as soon as she awoke him with the cry of danger, "Samson! the Philistines are coming!" he plucked the pin and all that it held right out of the wall. And yet, in mentioning the locks of his hair, he had come nearer the truth than before. Delilah went on teasing him, day and night, to tell her the truth, till at last he was so worried that he told her all. "I have been a Nazarite of God," he said, "ever since my birth; and my head has never been touched by a razor. If my locks were shorn my strength would desert me, and I should be like an ordinary man." Delilah saw that he had told her all the truth this time; so she sent for the Philistine princes, and they came at once, bringing the bribe with them. Then Delilah sent Samson to sleep, with his head resting on her lap, and called a man to cut off the seven locks of his hair. Then his strength did really leave him, as he was soon to learn. When she roused him again with the same cry, "The Philistines, Samson!" he sprang up, as if to break his bonds, but felt at once that Yahweh had deserted him, and that his strength was gone. Then the Philistines laid hands on him, put out his eyes, and carried him off to Gaza, where they threw two brazen chains upon him, and made him grind in the mill.

Meanwhile his hair began to grow again. After a time the Philistine princes assembled to hold a great sacrifice and feast in honor of their god Dagon. "Our god has put Samson.

¹ After an amended version.

our enemy, into our power," they shouted in triumph; and when the people saw him they took up the cry and praised the god who had broken the strength of the warrior who had laid waste their land and destroyed their countrymen. "Come!" they cried in glee; "Samson shall show us some tumbling!" Samson submitted, and was placed between the two chief pillars of the temple by which the whole block was supported. Then he asked the boy who led him to allow him to lean against these pillars for a moment. The whole place was crowded with people, including all the princes of the land. On the roof alone three thousand men and women were assembled, and all were intent on Samson's feats. Leaning upon the pillars, he prayed to Yahweh, "O Lord! look upon me, and give me back my former strength this once, that I may avenge myself on the Philistines for the loss of my eyes." With this prayer in his heart, he embraced the two pillars upon which the building rested, one with his right arm and the other with his left, and bowing himself together with all his strength, he cried, "Let me die with the Philistines!" The temple fell in with a crash, and crushed all who were within it. So Samson's death brought heavier losses on the Philistines than all the exploits of his life had done. Then his relatives came and buried him in the grave of his father Manoah, between Zorah and Eshtaol. He had judged Israel twenty years.

The myth that lies at the foundation of this story is a description of the sun's course during the six winter months. The god is gradually encompassed by his enemies, mist and darkness. At first he easily maintains his freedom, and gives glorious proofs of his strength; but the fetters grow stronger and stronger, until at last he is robbed of his crown of rays, and loses all his power and glory. Such is the sun in winter. But he has not lost his splendor for ever. Gradually his strength returns, at last he reappears; and though he still seems to allow himself to be mocked, yet the power of avenging himself has returned, and in the end he triumphs over his enemies once more. This final victory is represented by the scene in the temple of Dagon. But here the ancient myth appears to have been superseded to a great extent by the conceptions of the narrator, who has recast it. It is he who makes Samson the Philistine-slayer, and represents him as praying to Yahweh, while his enemies call upon Dagon. The death of the sun-god, and his burial at the very place from which he began his course are features common to all solar

myths. They are explained by the belief that the sun lived and ruled for one year, after which he descended to the nether world and was succeeded by the next year's sun.

How strange is the world of ideas and feelings to which such a myth transports us! The ancients saw the lurid thunder clouds; from which the lightning darted, and perhaps wrapped the corn or the olive gardens in flames; and not content with comparing these clouds to jackals, with flaming torches hanging between their tails, they went on to consider what it could be that caused the sun-god's wrath. They could only attribute it to the fact that when he had reached the highest point of his course in the heavens he had to descend again. Genuine scientific observation was thus grafted upon a childlike form of religion and a poetical view of Nature.

This world of solar myths is gone. In fact, it had already lost half its reality when priests, who knew something of science, brought the popular myths into connection with what they knew of astronomy, and worked them up into these elaborate forms. Gradually even the most uneducated lost all sympathy with them. Observation and reflection banished them. The posterity of those who invented the solar myths could no longer understand them. They had no longer any sympathy with the struggling and dying sun-god. On the other hand, they did feel an interest in struggling men—in heroes who slew their enemies and laid waste their lands. The beaming sun-god, who hurled the lightning, became the savage warrior, Samson, the slayer of the Philistines, whose strength lay in his hair.

This marks a certain progress, for man is a nobler creature than anything else the world can show, and the passions of man belong to a higher order of things than the raging of the powers of Nature; yet those who first recast these ancient myths had but a low ideal of heroic life themselves. There is nothing noble in the Samson of their legends. They are content to make him rude, vengeful, and unjust; and he dies with a prayer for vengeance on his lips because he had lost his eyes. His only title to admiration is that he was physically strong, and that he slew the enemies of Israel. Just as a bold and successful hunter was exalted above all men, and honored as "a hunter before Yahweh's face"¹ in a land swarming with beasts of prey, so when Israel was struggling for life and death to hold its own against its foes, a hero who gained victories

¹ See pp. 85, 86.

over them was hailed as a messenger of Yahweh, without much reference to his moral character.

Somewhat higher ground was taken by the writer who fitted the legend of Samson, almost without alteration, into the series of stories about the judges, and made the savage slayer of the Philistines into one of Israel's rulers. He represented Israel's misfortunes as the result of sin, and gave the deliverer at least the name of a judge — though he never makes him act as one; and this alone is enough to show that he could appreciate something more than unbridled violence and unconquerable strength, that he attached some importance to moral qualities.

It has sometimes been lamented that the age of myths is gone, that we can no longer picture Nature instinct with life, as she appeared to the ancients. For us, it is said, she has ceased to be divine. It is but an idle complaint. There is a fairer world than that of material nature. There is a far more fascinating spectacle than the thunder-storm and the succession of the seasons. The human heart reveals a fairer world, and the strife of human passions a scene of grander interest. In the days of the ancient myths men had no eyes for these nobler things; it was only later that they learned to understand them. We see God now less in the sun and moon, in the thunder-storm and hurricane, or the changing seasons of the year, than in all that is pure and virtuous in the human breast, in the triumph of good over evil, of duty over inclination. Surely this latter faith bears richer fruit in our lives and brings us sweeter comfort in our sorrows.



CHAPTER XXI.

RUTH THE MOABITESS.

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

THIS book, which appears in our Bibles as a sort of appendix to the book of Judges, is really an independent work by a different author. It was certainly written long after the period of the judges, into which it transports us, nay even after the Babylonian captivity, and as late as in the time of Ezra. The writer's main object is evident enough. He wishes

to tell us something of David's ancestry, and obviously intends to show honor to the family to which he belonged, rather than to bring it into contempt. We shall speak of the circumstances that gave occasion to his work, when we treat of the times in which it was written. As we have no knowledge of the sources from which the writer drew his materials, we cannot tell how far the particulars of what he relates are historical; but the main fact that David was partly of Moabite extraction is indirectly confirmed elsewhere,¹ and is most likely true. But whatever may be its historical value, the picture sketched in the book of Ruth contrasts sweetly with all the rude scenes of bloodshed and violence which fill the writings that treat of the ancient history of Israel. It shows us that the eyes of the Israelites were open to the gentler virtues of domestic life, and to the beauty of pure affection. The manners to which this work introduces us are pure; and even where our sense of propriety is startled by a touch which jars against our customary notions, yet the laws of morality are never disregarded.

We must begin with a special explanation of a certain custom of the ancient Israelites; for without a knowledge of it the story cannot be understood. It is the so-called *levirate marriage*, or "marriage with a brother-in-law,"² and the redemption of deceased relatives' former property, which appears to have been connected with it. It is true that we cannot explain all the allusions in the story of Ruth which hinge upon this custom, but certain indications contained in other Israelite writings give us at least some light.

A law dating from about the time of the Babylonian captivity,³ enjoins the levirate marriage in the following words: "When two brothers live together and one of them dies without a son, leaving a widow behind him, she must not marry a stranger, but must become the wife of her brother-in-law. Should this marriage be blessed with children, then the eldest of them is to be considered the son of the first husband, so that his name may not perish. Should the brother be unwilling to perform his duty, then the widow may complain to the elders of the place, and if, in their presence, he still persist in his refusal, she must draw off his shoe and spit in his face, with the words of infamy, 'Thus be it done to the man who refuses to preserve his brother's family.' And ever after his house shall

¹ 1 Samuel xxii 3, 4. ² From the Latin *levir*, "a brother-in-law."

³ Deuteronomy xxv. 5-10.

bear the nick-name 'House of the bare-foot.'" To understand these regulations we must remember that the Israelite laws almost always differed widely from those of modern peoples, in not defining with any accuracy the matters of which they treated, or even attempting to provide for all possible cases. Thus the law we have just quoted admits of many different interpretations, and leaves a host of questions unanswered. For instance, what are we to understand by "living together"? Does it mean in the "same house," or, "with their lands adjoining"? Might the widow refuse to marry her brother-in-law? It is assumed that the latter was unmarried, for it was only the first child, or the first son, that was to be considered the offspring of the former marriage and the first husband's heir, while the woman's other children were to belong to her second husband. But suppose the surviving brother had a wife and children already? Must he take the widow as well? Or might he then decline to do so? If so, did the duty pass on to a younger brother? We could add many more questions of the same kind, none of which are answered in the text. Like most other Israelite laws, it was more a description of what the writer thought desirable in certain cases than a regular ordinance by the letter of which the judges were bound. It points to a usage of the Israelites that was sustained not so much by written laws as by the power of public opinion and the perception of what was desirable and right. It was, therefore, more carefully observed in some places than in others. The custom rested on the belief that it was not only a misfortune but a disgrace to die without children. One of the most awful threats conceivable was that a man's name should be rooted out. Thus if a malefactor was executed it was felt as a terrible aggravation of his punishment to kill his children too. So if any one died childless, it was considered the duty of his brothers, and after them of his other near relatives, to prevent his widow from marrying into another house, and to continue the family of their lost relative if they possibly could; and the very common practice of polygamy made it comparatively easy to do so. The law of which we have just spoken deals with an obvious case, that of an unmarried brother living in the same house as the deceased; but no doubt some were more conscientious than others in this matter, as the book of Ruth itself will show us.

In the little city of Bethlehem, in Judah, there lived, in

the time of the judges, the family of Elimelech, whose wife, Naomi, had presented him with two sons, Mahlon and Chilion. Things went so badly with him that, when the land was visited with famine, he could no longer gain bread for his family in Bethlehem. So he removed to the land of the Moabites, where, soon afterwards, he died. His widow went on living there with her two sons, and, in the course of time, they both of them married wives belonging to the country. One was called Orpah, and the other Ruth. So Naomi had almost become a Moabitess, and yet her heart still clung to her fatherland. When she had been ten years in Moab, she lost her two sons, and was left alone with her daughters-in-law, both of whom were childless. Now, when she heard that Yahweh had remembered his people once more, and had given them bread, she so longed for her old home that, before long, she and her daughters started on their way for Judah.

Alas for Naomi! How sadly she left the land in which she had sojourned as a stranger! What treasures she had buried there! And yet she had one great comfort left in her children-in-law. Not only had she witnessed the happiness which they had both of them given to her sons, during their married life, but they had shown themselves full of affection for her, the afflicted mother, after the death of their husbands. They were like her own daughters to her. But now the question rose in her breast, whether she had any right to take selfish advantage of their love? Had she any right to take them with her into a foreign land? What would become of them, young as they were, when she was dead? Thinking over all this, as she went on her way, she turned at last to her daughters-in-law, and said, "Turn back, each of you to her mother's home! May Yahweh reward you for the goodness you have shown the dead and me! May he bless you with happy marriages once more!" So saying, she gave them her parting kiss, and burst into tears. It cost her a hard struggle to part from the widows of her sons, whom she, too, loved so tenderly. How lonely she would be when they were gone! And Orpah and Ruth, on their side, loved her so dearly that they could not bear to let her go alone. It was not easy to bid their homes farewell, and go to wander through a foreign land, and to serve other gods. By doing so they would give up, with so much else, all hope of second marriages. For who would wed a poor stranger in Judah? An uncertain future, full of danger, awaited them. But yet they could not desert the mother of their husbands. They fell, weeping, upon

her neck, and cried, "We will go with you to your fatherland!"

But the generous contest still went on, for Naomi persisted. "No, my children," she said; "turn back again! Why should you go with me? I have no sons to be your husbands. And even were it possible that sons might still be born to me, would you wait for them and refrain for their sakes from enjoying the blessings of a married life at once? No, my daughters, it must not be. Join not your lot to mine; I am more heavily afflicted than you are, for Yahweh's hand is against me."¹ At last Orpah yielded to the representations of her mother-in-law. She reluctantly took leave of her and returned.

But Ruth persisted in her determination to accompany her mother-in-law. Naomi appealed in vain to the example of Orpah, and again reminded her that she was bidding farewell to her country and her religion. Ruth never swerved from her resolve, and at last solemnly adjured her: "Entreat me not to leave you or to return to my own people; for where you go, there will I go with you; where the night finds you, there will I be also; your people is my people; your god my god; where you die there will I die, and there be buried. Nought but death shall part us. I swear it by Yahweh, and may he punish me if I break my oath!" This put an end to all further opposition.

So the mother and daughter-in-law pursued their journey till they came to Bethlehem, where Naomi's arrival created no little interest, for she was still well remembered there. "Is that Naomi?" they asked, rejoicing in her return, and pitying her depressed appearance. "Alas!" she answered, in sadness of heart, "call me not Naomi (or *loveliness*). But call me Mara (or *bitterness*), for the Mighty One has made my lot bitter. Rich in a husband and two sons I went out, and Yahweh has brought me back bereft of all. I am no longer Naomi. For Yahweh has bowed me down; the Mighty One has afflicted me."

So Naomi was once more in her native place. But what was she to do? Beg assistance from her relatives? Alas! poverty makes those who are unaccustomed to it so timid and abashed, and there were so many people asking help! And yet something must be done. Luckily for her she found a true support in Ruth. It was love of her mother-in-law that had brought her to Bethlehem, and now she would toil to support

¹ After an amended version.

her. No work was too humble or too hard for her. She was ready for anything that came to hand. It was just the time of barley harvest when she came to Bethlehem with her mother-in-law, why should not she go and glean after the reapers? True enough the bread she earned in this way would be hardly won and scanty. It was weary work to spend the whole day in the open field, under a burning sun, parched with thirst and constantly stooping, following at a distance the reapers and the girls that bound up the sheaves, and all for a few scattered ears that had been left unbound and would therefore have been lost. And then a poor solitary woman is so little thought of, and cannot reckon upon gentle treatment. Many of the owners would not have the poor gleaners on their fields, and the laborers were sometimes very rough to them. No doubt they often brought it upon themselves by annoying the reapers and binders, and the temptation was great to come a few steps nearer the sheaves than was allowed; it was such slow work to pick the corn up ear by ear, the sheaves were close by, and a few handfuls plucked from them brought more than a whole day's toil. It was with timid steps that Ruth approached the field; but her love for her mother-in-law gave her strength.

She could not have wished for better fortune. The field to which she went happened to belong to a rich relation of Elim-elech, whose name was Boaz. Ruth was not aware of this. It was quite by accident that she went to this particular field early in the morning. She asked the reapers' leave to glean, and they recognized the Moabiteess and gave her permission. Then she gave herself no rest, but gained the admiration of the reapers by her patient diligence. Before the day was half gone, when every one was in full work, the owner came to see how things were going on. "Yahweh be with you!" said he, as he greeted his people; and they answered, "Yahweh bless you!" As Boaz was looking round to see what his laborers had done and what was still left to do, his eye fell upon Ruth. He felt interested in the young woman, for she was so busily employed, kept such a modest distance, and looked so respectable. He asked his bailiff who she was, and he was able to inform him. "Why," said he, "it is Ruth, the Moabiteess, who came here with Naomi, out of Moab. She asked leave to glean in the field, and has been working all day long. She will not be at home much to-day, I fancy!"¹

Boaz had heard of her self-sacrifice, and greatly admired

¹ After an amended version.

her faithful affection ; so he went up to speak to her. "Listen, my child," he said, in a friendly and encouraging voice, "be sure you go to no other fields to glean, but keep to my land, and stay near my work-women. I have told my people not to annoy you in any way. When you are thirsty go to the pitchers, and drink the water that my servants have drawn." Addressed so kindly by a citizen, whose wealth and years gave him such dignity, the Moabitess made a deep obeisance. "Sir," she answered, "I am but a stranger. How comes it that you show me such kindness?" "Because," said Boaz, warmly, "I have heard of all that you have done for your mother-in-law since the death of your husband ; how you have left your parents and the land of your birth, and have come to a people you do not know. May Yahweh reward you ! May he, the god of Israel, under whose wings you have come to dwell, reward you as you have deserved !" Abashed at his praise, and delighted to have a friend in the foreign land so soon, Ruth bowed again, and stammered : "I am glad I have found grace in your eyes, for you comfort me, and your words have done me good ; your kindness is too great, for I am less than one of your servants !"

Encouraged by this interview, Ruth went on industriously gleaning. When it was time for the reapers to rest a little, and take their mid-day meal, Boaz sent for her, and, to her great surprise, invited her to join them. She gladly made use of his permission, and lay down to eat with the others. Boaz did not dole out a pittance to her, as in charity, but treated her as one of his own servants ; nay, even more bountifully than that, for she was not only able to satisfy herself with toasted barley-bread soaked in vinegar, but had some to spare for Naomi. What laborer there would grudge it her ! And when she had left the work-people, to begin her work again, they were all glad to hear Boaz say, "Let her come right in amongst the sheaves, without disturbing her. She can be trusted. And you, girls ! when she is behind you, quietly drop a handful of ears now and then. She must find good gleaning here. Do you understand?"

No wonder then that in the evening, when she had thrashed out her gleanings on the field, she found she had an *ephah* of barley. Though Boaz had given his orders to the reaping party in private, yet Ruth understood well enough that she had intentional kindness to thank for the large amount she had gleaned. So she went home in high spirits and showed her mother-in-law how much she had collected and what she

had over from her mid-day meal. "Why, child!" cried Naomi in astonishment, "where have you been gleaning? A blessing on the man who has showed you this kindness!" Then Ruth told her everything that had happened, and said that the man upon whose field she had been at work was called Boaz. On hearing this Naomi exclaimed in delight: "May Yahweh, the god who shows favor to the dead and to the living, bless him! Listen, my child, for it could not have fallen out better. This Boaz is our relative, and, therefore one of our redeemers." "And he told me," continued Ruth who was never tired of repeating her generous patron's praises "that I was to keep with his people all through the harvest." "That is good news!" answered her delighted mother-in-law. "Be sure you do so, for you might meet with a very different reception in some other field!"

Ruth obeyed, and kept with the harvest-women of Boaz throughout the barley harvest and the wheat harvest that followed it, living all the time with her mother-in-law. Now when the harvest-time was over, Naomi said to Ruth: "My child! How can I long for anything more than for your welfare? I am ever thinking of it. And now I have made a plan and will tell you what it is. This Boaz, with whose servants you are working, is, as I have told you, one of our relatives. And I think you ought to take courage to remind him of this. Perhaps he will redeem my dead husband's inheritance and marry you. I will tell you what to do. This evening the barley will be thrashed. Bathe and anoint yourself, and put on your best attire, and when it is evening go to the thrashing-floor, but do not let Boaz see you until he has finished his meal and is sure to be in a good humor. Then go up to him and make your request, and he will tell you what to do." Ruth did as she was told, and the well-laid scheme produced the desired effect. Boaz was not in the least offended at being reminded of his duty to look after his poor relations, but commended Ruth for desiring him, advanced as he was in years, as her husband. He was quite prepared to restore the family to their former position, but did not feel at liberty to do so until he had spoken to one of his fellow-citizens who was still more nearly related to Elimelech than he was himself. But he promised Ruth to go through with the matter as quickly as possible. Meanwhile she must not be anxious; every one in the city knew her virtue. If this other relative did not wish to marry her, then—as sure as Yahweh lived!—he would marry her himself. Early in the morning Ruth came back to Naomi with six meas-

ures of barley which Boaz had given her. Her mother-in-law was anxiously waiting for her, and cried as soon as she drew near, "How have you prospered?" The kind reception that Ruth had met and the present she brought with her convinced Naomi that all was going on well, and with good hopes for the future, she advised her daughter-in-law to wait in patience, and not to go to work in the fields again for the present. This Boaz was evidently a man who would not rest until he had carried the affair to a successful issue.

She was right in her estimate of him; for that very day he went to the open space in front of the gate, which was the regular place for the citizens to meet each other, and transact their business in. One was almost sure to find any one he wished to speak to there. So Boaz went and sat there till he saw the man, of whom he had spoken to Ruth, approaching. Then he called him, and giving him to understand that he had some business of importance with him, summoned ten other citizens as witnesses. When this was done, he laid the matter in hand before him thus: "The land that formerly belonged to our relative, Elimelech, must be redeemed; and I thought it would be best for you and me to talk the matter over, since the duty rests upon us alone; upon you first, and then upon me. What do you say to it?" The other was not unwilling to do his duty in redeeming the land; but when Boaz reminded him that if he did so, he must also marry Ruth, the Moabitess, so as to continue the family of Elimelech, he drew back, and gladly surrendered his rights to Boaz, drawing off his shoe and handing it to him in confirmation of the transaction. This was formerly the custom in Israel, when a sale or redemption was effected. It had the same meaning as a shake of the hand among us. Then Boaz said to the elders, in the hearing of all present, "Bear witness that I redeem Elimelech's land this day, and take Mahlon's widow, Ruth, as my wife, that her eldest son may be counted Mahlon's, and that his name may not perish from our city. You are my witnesses." Upon which the elders, and all others who were present answered, "We have heard. May Yahweh make this your wife, as Rachel and as Leah, who built up the whole house of Israel! Soon may your family in Bethlehem be great!"

The marriage was not long delayed; and when Ruth gave birth to a son the women said to Naomi, "Blessed be Yahweh, who has caused a true redeemer to be born for you

this day! May his name be famous in Israel; may he grow up to be the comfort and support of your old age; for your daughter-in-law has given him birth — she that is better than seven sons to you!" Then Naomi took the child and laid it on her bosom and became its nurse. So the neighbors said, "Naomi has got a son!"

That child was Obed, the father of Jesse, the father of David.

Surely such a pious and affectionate daughter-in-law was worthy of being King David's ancestress, even though she was a Moabitess by birth.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE BIRTH AND YOUTH OF SAMUEL.

1 SAMUEL I.-IV.

WE are gradually drawing near the end of the period of the judges, and passing on to that of the kings. On the border line, between the two, stands the imposing form of Samuel, upon whose history we are now to enter. This history, together with that of Saul and David, is contained in the two books called after Samuel himself. The Greek and the old Latin translations called them the first and second books of Kings, while the two books that go by these names with us were called the third and fourth of Kings. These are the names still used in the translation adopted by the Roman Catholic Church, the *Vulgate*, and are preserved as second titles in our own "authorized version."

The degree of reliance to be placed on the different sections of books of Samuel varies greatly. There is no book in the Bible which shows so clearly that its contents are not all derived from the same source. Some of the elements of these books are ancient traditions, which not only give us a fairly accurate account of real events, but faithfully reproduce the religious ideas of ancient Israel. Others, on the contrary, are simply inventions, which teach us more about the narrators' views and opinions than about the past history of their people. As long as we have to follow the books of Samuel as our chief authorities, we shall meet with the same evidence of composite authorship with

which the examination of the book of Genesis has made us familiar. Two conflicting traditions relating to the same subject are constantly placed side by side in perfect simplicity, and apparently with no idea that the one contradicts the other. But though all this is rather vexatious, yet it has its advantages, for it shows us the ideas entertained by the Israelites at several different periods.

And again, as long as we are busy with the books of Samuel, the notes to indicate that my translation differs from that of the authorized version will be especially frequent. This is not caused by the carelessness of the scholars who translated these books, but by the condition in which the original Hebrew itself has come down to us. In hundreds of places in the Bible the transcribers of the Hebrew manuscripts have been guilty of the grossest blunders, and it is often utterly impossible to make any sense of what they have written. Sometimes, too, the old Jewish scholars have purposely altered the text.¹ So that even with the help of the old translations which have now and then followed an uncorrupted text, it is often exceedingly difficult, and not unfrequently impossible, to make out how the text really stood originally. In some books, however, the text has come down to us in a much better condition than in others; but in no historical book of the Old Testament is the text so "corrupt," as it is called, as in the books of Samuel. In some cases not only letters and words, but whole verses have fallen out.

We may now examine the contents of the opening chapters.

North of Bethel, and east of the road that leads from thence to Shechem, lies the city of Shiloh.² Here the ark of Yahweh was placed after the conquest of Canaan, and the sanctuary in which it stood was, as a natural consequence, honored and sought above all others. Towards the end of the period of the judges, a chief priest of the name of Eli, with his sons Hophni and Phinehas, presided over this temple of Yahweh of Armies.

At the great spring festival the concourse of pilgrims was especially large; and amongst those who regularly attended it was a certain man of Ramathaim or Ramah. His name was Elkanah, and he belonged to the clan of the Zuphites, of the tribe of Ephraim. He had two wives, one of whom, Hannah, was childless, while the other, Peninnah, had borne him several sons and daughters. Now, when Elkanah came

¹ See p. 392.

² Judges xxi. 19.

with all his household to join in celebrating the feast and presented his thank-offering to Yahweh, he used to give each member of his family a piece of meat, with the wine and all else that belonged to it, at the sacrificial meal. So Peninnah received the greater part for herself and her children, while Hannah, who was quite alone, received but one piece;¹ and though her husband evidently loved her better than he did her rival, yet she could not be consoled for her childlessness. How she envied Peninnah, who could come year after year to the sacrificial meal proudly surrounded by her children, while she must still remain alone! It embittered all her enjoyment of the festal journey. More than once she was unable even to join in the sacrificial meal, and sat there eating nothing.¹ In vain did Elkanah endeavor to comfort her by whispering affectionately, "Why, Hannah, what good can come of weeping and fasting in this way? It will only make you still more wretched. And is not my love worth more than ten sons to you?" It was all in vain. Her sorrow was too great for her to bear.

On one occasion Hannah could hardly restrain herself till the meal was done, and as soon as it was over she retired into solitude. With a sad heart she stood in the open space before the sanctuary, wrung her hands, and gave free vent to her sorrow as she sobbed her prayer to Yahweh. "O Yahweh of Armies!" she said to herself, "do but look down upon the misery of thy handmaid; remember me in mercy, and pass me not by without a blessing! If thou givest me a son, then I will consecrate him to thee; he shall be a servant in this temple, and a Nazarite all his life."

Now Eli, the chief priest, was sitting in his chair at the door-post of the temple, and the passionate gestures by which Hannah gave expression to her grief as she was uttering her vow attracted his attention. Seeing her lips moving rapidly, though he could hear no sound, he thought she must be drunk. Such a thing was by no means unusual on occasion of a sacrificial feast; for when the worshippers were "making themselves glad before Yahweh's face," as it was called,² the merriment was sometimes carried far. But to such a man as Eli it was a scandal for a woman to be drunk at the sanctuary. "How long must this last?" he cried to Hannah. "Go away and sleep till you are sober!" Thus rudely interrupted in her prayer, she answered: "Alas! sir, I am sad

¹ After an amended version.

² Deuteronomy, xii 7, 12, xiv. 26, &c.

at heart. I have drunk no wine or strong drink, but was pouring out my heart before Yahweh. Think not that I am a daughter of Belial (that is, a good-for-nothing creature); for I did but speak from the depth of my sorrows." Then Eli said: "Go in peace then, and Israel's god shall give you what you have desired;" to which Hannah courteously replied, as she took her leave, "May I hold a place in your gracious memory!" That prayer, followed at once by the promise which seemed to come like an oracle of God from the lips of the priest, comforted her so much that she was able to join once more in the family meals, and to put on a more cheerful appearance. Early the next morning Elkanah and his family visited the sanctuary again, and after praying to Yahweh there they returned to Ramah.

Twelve months afterwards Elkanah came again to offer his yearly sacrifice, to fulfil his vows, and to pay his tithes; but this time Hannah was not with him. She remained at home unutterably blessed in the possession of a son who had been born to her a short time before, and whom she had called Samuel, that is, "the prayed for." She would not go up till she could take him with her and leave him at the sanctuary, and he was still too young to dispense with a mother's care. "As soon as I have weaned my child," she said, when urged by her husband to accompany him, "I will take him to Shiloh and present him to Yahweh, that he may remain in the sanctuary all his life." Elkanah acquiesced in her desire, however strange it appeared to him, and said: "Do what you think best. Stay at home till you have weaned him. Only fulfil your vow to Yahweh."¹

So when the child was old enough to be parted from his mother, though still quite young, Hannah brought him up to Shiloh, with an ox three years old,¹ an *ephah* of meal, and a skin of wine, all of which she offered as a sacrifice. Then she took the boy to Eli, and said, "As surely as thou livest, I am the woman that stood by thee here, praying to Yahweh, a few years ago. I was begging for this child, and Yahweh answered my prayer. Now I am come to give back to my god what he has given me."

Then Hannah broke out into a song of gratitude and joy:

My heart leaps for joy at the goodness of Yahweh,
I lift up my head in his strength,
I am bold to rebuke my enemies,
I rejoice in the victory that thou hast given me.
None is as holy as Yahweh, nor righteous as he;¹

¹ After an amended version.

There is no rock so mighty as our god.
 Speak not, speak not proudly,
 Let no haughty words proceed out of your mouth!
 For Yahweh is a god of marvellous knowledge;
 Evil deeds cannot stand before him,¹
 The bow of the mighty is broken,
 But they that stumbled are girded with strength;
 Those that were satisfied with bread must now hire
 themselves to labor,
 And the hungry need no longer till their own land;¹
 A childless woman has seven sons,
 While she that had many children pines;
 Yahweh kills, and he makes alive,
 He casts down, and brings back from the world below.
 It is Yahweh that makes men poor or rich,
 He humbles and he exalts;
 He lifts up the lowly out of the dust,
 And raises the poor from the mire.
 He gives him a place among princes,
 And sets him upon a seat of honor;
 For Yahweh established the pillars of the earth,
 And set the firm land upon them.
 He guards the footsteps of those he loves,
 But the godless are struck dumb, and are lost in darkness;
 For violence wins not the victory.
 Those that fight against Yahweh are smitten with terror,
 He thunders from heaven upon them;
 Yahweh rules over all the earth,
 He gives might to his king,
 And exalts the horn of his anointed.

When she had sung these words and prayed to Yahweh, Hannah returned with her husband to Ramah, leaving her child behind her under Eli's care.

So Samuel became a servant of the temple, and was constantly employed in work connected with the worship there. But yet his surroundings were but ill-calculated to make him a true and earnest man, for there was little of the spirit of religion in those about him. The sons of Eli had no fear of Yahweh, and they even laid their sacrilegious hands upon that which was dedicated to Yahweh. They had abundant opportunities of doing so; for when any one brought a beast to sacrifice to Yahweh, only a small part of it, generally the fat, was actually burned upon the altar, while the rest served as a meal for those who made the sacrifice. Now while the meat was being boiled, the servant of the priests was allowed to come with a fork and take out a piece of flesh from the pot. This was the priest's due, which he could fairly claim in payment for his services. But Eli's sons sent their servant to claim the priest's portion before the fat had been burned, and demanded that it should

¹ After an amended version.

be given them raw instead of boiled. And if the sacrificer objected on the ground that until the offering had been made the whole beast belonged to Yahweh, the servant of the priests went on to threaten violence. Thus did Hophni and Phinehas commit the grievous sin of treating the sacrifice of Yahweh with contempt.

Such were the surroundings amongst which Samuel received his priestly training. But the piety of his mother must have counteracted these bad influences to some extent. Her heart still clung to Samuel; and every year, at the spring feast, when Elkanah came with his family to Shiloh to offer his sacrifice, she brought a new coat for her son with her. The first time they came in this way Eli pronounced a blessing on Elkanah and his wife, and said, "May Yahweh give you children by this woman, in the place of him whom you have given to the sanctuary."¹ This blessing of the priest turned out to be an oracle of God, for Hannah became the joyful mother of three more sons and two daughters, while Samuel still remained in Yahweh's temple.

Eli's kind words to Elkanah are what we should expect from a good-hearted old man. And good-hearted Eli certainly was, but, unfortunately, he was what is sometimes very wrongly called "a good sort of fellow:" that is to say he was weak and yielding. This appears from his conduct towards his sons. It was unquestionably his duty as chief priest to maintain the sanctity of the offerings, with a strong hand if necessary, and he ought to have made his sons feel his paternal authority. He should have treated them with severity, not only for their own sakes, but still more for the sake of the people, for the conduct of the priests was undermining all their reverence for Yahweh and his worship. He ought to have punished, suspended, or deposed all who were guilty of such sacrilege, and he would certainly have done so had he honored God more than his own sons. But he never thought of deposing them. When he was told of their doings he did indeed reprove them, but in terms that were far too gentle. "Why," he said, "do you behave so evilly as I am told you do? Nay, my sons, these are ill reports that I hear of you. It is Yahweh against whom you sin.¹ If any one sins against a man, then the deity may come between the two, and show how they may be reconciled; but if a man sins against Yahweh, who shall deliver the offender?" This exhortation, however just, had no effect, for Hophni and Phinehas gave no heed to

¹ After an amended version.

their father's words. It was clear that Yahweh had determined to destroy them, and was now blinding their eyes, that they might themselves rush upon their miserable fate. What a contrast to the young Samuel, who was growing up in the enjoyment of high esteem among his fellow-men, and with his God!

Eli was not left unwarned, for a man of God came to him and uttered this terrible rebuke: "I revealed myself," says Yahweh, "to your ancestors in the land of Egypt, and I chose them and their sons to be my priests, to offer sacrifices before me, to burn incense, and to bear the ephod.¹ Thus have I given you the dues of all the offerings of the sons of Israel. Why then do you cast a jealous eye upon the portion of the sacrifices which falls to me,² honoring your sons more than you honor me, and enriching yourself with the first fruits of all the gifts of the Israelites? Verily," says Yahweh, "though I have indeed promised the priesthood to your family for ever, yet now will I break the vow, for I honor those that honor me, but those that reject me are cursed. And lo! the time draws near when I will root out you and yours, and none shall attain to old age, and you shall look with envious eyes upon Israel's prosperity.² And when you see that my altar never lacks a priest while all your descendants die before their time, you will be filled with grief. In token of the truth of this prophecy, I tell you that both your sons shall die on the same day. But I will raise up a faithful priest, after my own heart; I will bless his house, and he shall serve me in my sanctuary all his days, before the face of my anointed. Then the remnant of your house shall come and bow down to the dust before him and cry, 'Oh! give us in mercy some priestly office to support our lives.'"

Nor was Yahweh satisfied with warning Eli once, for he chose the youthful Samuel to bear a second message. In those days the spirit of religion languished, and no one ever saw a vision. But one night when Eli, now blind and feeble from extreme old age, lay on his bed in the sanctuary where the ark of Yahweh stood, early in the morning, before the lights in the temple were lit,² Yahweh called to Samuel, who was sleeping near, by his name. "I am here!" answered the boy, getting up and going to Eli to ask him why he had called him. Eli declared that he had not called him, and told him to go to sleep again. But Samuel soon heard Yahweh's voice again, and the whole scene was repeated without his

¹ See p. 375.

² After an amended version.

suspecting who it was that called him. But when he heard the voice, and came to Eli a third time, the old man saw that Yahweh was about to make some revelation to the boy. So he said, "Samuel, if you hear the voice again, then say, 'Speak, Yahweh! thy servant heareth.'" A few moments afterwards Yahweh came into the chamber, approached the sleeping boy, and cried as before, "Samuel, Samuel!" He answered reverently that he was ready to listen; and Yahweh said, "Behold, I shall soon do that in Israel at which the ears of every one who hears it will tingle. All that I have foretold to Eli concerning himself and his house I shall bring to pass full soon; for I have warned him that he and his remotest posterity shall be punished for the sin of his sons. He himself shares their guilt, for he did not depose them¹ when they treated the deity with contempt. Wherefore I have sworn an oath, that no sacrifice shall ever atone for the sin of Eli's house." After receiving this terrible message, Samuel lay quiet until it was time for him to get up and open the temple doors. He naturally shrank from telling Eli what he had heard; but when the old man not only questioned him about it, but conjured him to hide nothing that Yahweh had said to him, at last he delivered the fearful message. "Let Yahweh do what seems him good," answered the poor old man, more in apathy than resignation.

This was not the only revelation that was made to Samuel. It was well known that he enjoyed the favor of Yahweh. He often appeared to him in Shiloh, enabled him to foresee the future, and allowed none of his prophecies to remain unfulfilled. And thus the report was gradually spread through all the land of Israel, that Samuel was a prophet of Yahweh, or, as people called it then, a "seer."

Meanwhile, Yahweh's threat against Hophni and Phinehas hastened to its fulfilment. In those days, the Israelites and the Philistines were constantly at war, and it so happened that the former suffered a defeat, in which four thousand warriors fell, at Ephek, in the north-west of Judah. By no means disheartened, but burning with shame at their humiliation, and longing for revenge, the Israelites returned to their camp. The leaders held a council of war at once, and discussed the question, "Why did not Yahweh help us in the battle with the Philistines to-day? Why did he suffer us to be defeated?" No one could give a satisfactory answer; but one thing was certain, — namely, that the battle must be renewed, and that

¹ After an amended version.

Yahweh must be induced to lend more powerful aid. But how were they to compel him to do so? The ark must be brought from Shiloh; for then Yahweh would be with them, and would secure them the victory. The suggestion was carried out at once. The ark was brought; and, when the two priests, Hophni and Phinehas, came to the camp with it, the Israelites raised such a mighty shout of triumph, that the earth shook with their cry. Now they were sure of victory!

When the Philistines learned what had happened, and heard why the Israelites were so triumphant, they could not escape a certain sense of fear, for they, too, thought that these gods of the Hebrews were very mighty. But they did not lose their courage. "Be brave," they cried to one another, "and quit yourselves like men, O Philistines! or else you will become the slaves of the Hebrews just as they have been your slaves hitherto. Be men!" They did indeed fight bravely, and now the Israelites learned that the presence of the ark alone did not make them invincible, for they were not only defeated, but completely scattered. They lost three thousand men. The ark of God itself fell into the hands of the enemy, and Hophni and Phinehas, the priests who bore it, were slain in the battle.

The sad news was brought to Shiloh by a Benjamite. With his clothes rent and with ashes on his head, the fugitive entered the city, and cries of woe soon rose on every side. The blind Eli, now ninety-eight years of age, sat at the city gate in anxious expectation, thinking of the fate of the ark. He soon perceived that something unusual was going on, and sent for the messenger. "I have come from the camp. I have escaped," he answered hesitatingly to the old man's pressing questions. "Speak out," repeated Eli, "and tell me how things stand." Alas! he was prepared for evil tidings, but when he heard the whole truth it completely overwhelmed him: "Israel is defeated—the loss of life is heavy—both your sons are slain—and . . . the ark of God is in the hands of the Philistines!" That last word—"the ark is lost!"—was too much for the faithful servant of the sanctuary of Yahweh. He fell backwards from his seat and—was gone. He had ruled Israel as a judge for forty years.

On this same day of sorrow Eli's daughter-in-law, the wife of Phinehas, brought a child into the world whose birth was hastened by the shock of the ill-news, and cost his mother her life. When she heard that she had given birth to a son, she thought of the great blow which had fallen that day upon Israel,

and her pale lips murmured: "Call him Ichabod (or, *where is the glory?*), for Israel's glory is in the power of the foe."

We must now make a few remarks upon certain points in the narrative just given, and in the first place upon Samuel's extraction.

The story begins by a perfectly distinct statement that Samuel's father was a Zuphite of the tribe of Ephraim. On the other hand the writer of the book of Chronicles gives us two pedigrees, according to which he was a Kohathite of the tribe of Levi.¹ These two accounts of his origin cannot both be true. It was no more possible for Samuel to be both a Levite and an Ephraimite by descent than for the Levite Jonathan, of whom we have already heard,² to belong to the tribe of Judah. These passages in the book of Chronicles, written about three centuries before Christ, show us how little harm people saw, at that time, in inventing genealogies. Indeed the same practice was still common at a much later date.³ It is easy to understand what it was that impelled the chronicler to make out by hook or by crook that Samuel was a Levite. The son of Elkanah had been a servant of the temple, and had more than once offered sacrifices and performed other priestly functions.⁴ In the eyes of the writer of the Chronicles this was scandalous to the last degree, for in his time none but sons of Aaron were permitted to officiate as priests, and only Levites might assist them in the service of the temple. He was not aware that these regulations were of comparatively recent origin, but imagined that they dated from the time of Moses, in whose name they were enforced. How was it possible, then, that so pious a man as Samuel should transgress these divine decrees? It could not be. Nor would God have allowed so great a sin to go unpunished. Samuel, therefore, must have been a Levite. This was the first step towards the invention of these pedigrees. But the truth is, as we have observed more than once already, that it was not till five centuries after Samuel's time that the Levites established their exclusive right to the exercise of priestly functions, and it was quite a century later yet before the rights and duties of the Aaronites and the other Levites were accurately defined and the forms of worship regulated in accordance with the new ideas. In Samuel's time no one had the remotest conception of any such laws, and there was no religious objection to any individual's sacrificing where and when he chose.

¹ 1 Chronicles vi. 16-28, 33 38. ² See pp. 379, 380.

³ See vol. iii. chapter i.

⁴ 1 Samuel vii. 9, ix. 13, x. 8, xvi. 2 ff.

From the consideration of Samuel's extraction, we naturally go on to the account of what took place before his birth. There is nothing impossible in what we are told about it — that Hannah had long waited for the joy of motherhood before she had a child, and that she looked upon the birth of her son as a sign that Yahweh had heard her prayers. But there is one feature in the story which is certainly fictitious — I mean the statement that Hannah called her child Samuel, "because she had gained him from Yahweh by her prayer;" for "Samuel" cannot possibly mean "the prayed for," or anything of the kind. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the materials of the story itself were, to some extent, supplied by this false derivation of the name. It seems natural enough that people should have been ready to believe that any extraordinary man had been long hoped and waited for;¹ and the stories of the birth of Isaac, of Esau and Jacob, of Samson, and of John the Baptist, together with many parallel stories found amongst other peoples, all show how readily this idea occurred to people's minds.

As to the further account of Samuel's early life, this much is certain, that he enjoyed great fame as a seer. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that what he witnessed at the sanctuary first roused the prophetic impulse within him, and that his first prophecy — uttered, it may be, after many a bitter struggle with himself — was an announcement of the fall of the priests of Shiloh, as a punishment of their impiety. But however willing we may be to admit the truth of this, it does not at all follow that we are to accept the whole narrative as it stands, without further examination. Indeed, we cannot possibly do so; for the actual appearance of Yahweh to Samuel, the connection of Hannah's prayer and Eli's promise with the child's birth, and, subsequently, with that of his brothers and sisters, and the circumstantial prediction of the unknown prophet who first warned Eli, are all of them accepted by our author with the same unquestioning belief.

In conclusion, let us turn our attention to the contents of this anonymous prophecy. It gives us the key to the writer's meaning, and so puts us in a position to take a general view of the whole narrative. That this prophecy was written some time after the date at which it is supposed to have been uttered, is obvious from what it says of the faithful priest who was to supersede the house of Eli. This priest is to walk "before the face of Yahweh's anointed;"² and in Hannah's song of

¹ See vol. iii. chapter ii.

² 1 Samuel ii. 35.

praise this "anointed of Yahweh" appears again.¹ The expression can only mean the king of Israel; and in Samuel's youth, when Israel had no king, it would have had no meaning. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion, therefore, that both Hannah's song of praise and this prophecy date from a time when Israel was governed by a king.

To understand the story rightly it will be necessary to anticipate the course of the history, and to describe the condition of the priests of Shiloh under the first kings of Israel. Several descendants of Eli still appear as friends of Saul and David, but the sanctuary at Shiloh had seen its best days when the ark fell into the hands of the Philistines. In David's time it was gradually overshadowed by Jerusalem, to which city the ark had been removed, and its glory faded quite away when Solomon built the temple on Mount Zion, which at once became the great national sanctuary, to which the tribes went up on pilgrimage. No grandchildren of Hophni and Phinehas, but Zadok and his family were the priests of this new temple, and any descendant of Eli who desired to earn his bread in some priestly capacity was dependent upon these Zadokites. It must have been when Zadok "walked before the face of Yahweh's anointed," that is David or Solomon, and was blessed as a "faithful priest," that this oracle was really composed, though put into the mouth of a prophet of the time of Samuel's youth. The writer, who was a supporter of Zadok, looked back upon the former fame and influence of Eli's priestly house, and strove to give a reason for its fall. As far as he knew, this family had served the altar of Yahweh ever since the Israelites came out of Egypt. Whether this was really so or whether Eli's ancestors had at least been connected with the ark at Shiloh ever since the conquest, we can no longer tell, for we know nothing of the previous history of the family. We cannot even say to which tribe it belonged. The book of Chronicles does indeed make Ahimelech, one of Eli's progeny, a descendant of Ithamar, the son of Aaron;² but this proves nothing, since the writer could not have conceived such a thing as a high priest who did not belong to the house of Aaron.³

It is not of much consequence to what tribe Eli's house belonged; but the history of the fall of this priestly family gives us abundant food for reflection. Once it was prosperous and influential. The priests of the most celebrated sanctuary in Israel could not but be powerful; for popular assemblies would

¹ 1 Samuel ii. 10.

² 1 Chronicles xxiv. 3.

³ See p. 442.

often be held in their neighborhood, especially at the time of the great feasts, questions of varied interest would be raised, and divine responses often asked. In that time of confusion, when as yet there was no king in Israel, the priests at Shiloh were doubtless looked upon by many Israelites as their natural guides and rulers. But in the course of time all this was changed. Shiloh was thrown into the shade by Jerusalem, and Eli's house by Zadok and his sons. How did this come to pass? The writer of the prophecy and of the whole legend to which it belongs answers: Through the sins of Eli's sons and the weakness of their father. History gives other reasons. The loss of the ark, the rise of David the Judean to the throne, the erection of the temple at Zion, — these are so many causes of the fall of the priests of Shiloh, which have nothing to do with their virtue or vice. If they had done their part, let another take up the task! This is how the work of the world is done, and we can reconcile ourselves to it easily enough if only all is done to the glory of God. But alas! the family of Eli fell ingloriously, and to some extent at least by its own fault. Wealth and honor had made it overweening. Its long hold of power had made it careless and reckless. It ceased to honor the god whose altar it served. It had long been the salt of Israel, but now the salt had lost its savor and must be thrown aside.

What a striking type of many a community and many an institution for philanthropical objects or the spread of the kingdom of God! They, too, grow old in the course of time. Their machinery grows stiff. The spirit has gone out of them. At last they are superseded by others. Let them go!

But from the midst of these mournful relics of what was once a spiritual power, new life springs up. Eli's race becomes degenerate; but Samuel grows up in the midst of it and brings new life with him, while Eli's place is taken by another. The corruption of this or that family, people, community, or Church may delay the coming of God's kingdom, but cannot prevent it.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SAMUEL'S WORK.

1 SAMUEL VII. 2-17.

WE shall presently see what became of the ark, and how, after all kinds of adventures, it rested for a time at Kirjath-jearim. Meanwhile we must try to discover the special characteristics of Samuel's work. The task is far from easy, and if our object were simply to reproduce the substance of the Bible stories, we might almost entirely save ourselves the trouble of dealing with the character of Samuel's work at all. But since we are attempting to sketch the history of Israel and its religion in connection with these stories, we must not omit to describe the special movements due to Samuel.

When the ark had been twenty years at Kirjath-jearim the complaints of the Israelites under the heavy yoke of the Philistines began to grow louder and louder. They could bear it no longer. The time was therefore come when Samuel's words might find a hearing. He directed his people to the only true means of deliverance; he urged them to repent. "Turn with all your soul to Yahweh, and put away the strange gods and Astartes! Give your whole heart to Yahweh, and serve him alone!" The Israelites, in their dire necessity, gave ear to his reproof, and forsook the worship of their Baals and Astartes. Thus deliverance became possible, and accordingly Samuel summoned the whole people to Mizpeh to join with him in prayer for Israel.

The sons of Israel drew together in great numbers. The solemn day arrived. A universal fast was observed. The priests poured out water by Yahweh's altar, and crying "Lord! we are lost, even as water that is poured out!" besought him for deliverance. The people lay down in sack-cloth and ashes, and smote their breasts, sighing, "We have sinned!" and Samuel sat in judgment over them. Woe to him who was charged with any offence to which the people's misery might in some measure be assigned! Woe to him who had "committed folly in Israel!" He had small mercy to expect from either judge or people, and the stern sentence was ruthlessly carried out. Thus was Israel purified at Mizpeh.

But the Philistines had heard that there was to be an assembly of the people, and fearing that the Israelites would rebel, they had determined to be beforehand with them. Their princes, accordingly, had called their troops together, and at that very moment they were all marching upon Mizpeh. Consternation seizes the Israelites. They are undone! Samuel is besieged with supplications: "Oh, pray to Yahweh for us, and cease not! Our god must rescue us! Withdraw not your help from us!" With unshaken faith in Yahweh's mighty help Samuel girds himself to battle with the foe; but it is not with spear and bow that he enters on the fight. All his hopes are fixed on Yahweh. He draws up the Israelites in battle array, and raises an altar on the hill. The Philistines draw near. The sons of Israel can see the glitter of their spear-heads, they can hear the arrows rattling in the quivers, and the deafening war-cries that foretell the fall of Israel. . . . But meanwhile Samuel has sacrificed a sucking lamb; the smoke curls upwards, and the prophet lifts up his hands to heaven. "O Yahweh, rescue Israel! Give not thy people into the hands of the uncircumcised!" So he prays, and behold! Yahweh answers. A fearful peal of thunder rolls overhead. It is the voice of Yahweh. The Philistines stand riveted to the ground. Another and another peal! See! a panic of God has come upon them, and they dash against each other in confused and hurried flight, while the men of Israel pursue them.

Well might Samuel raise a great stone near Mizpeh when the victory was won, and call it Eben-ezer (or *stone of help*): for had not Yahweh thus far helped the people? Yes, and with no grudging hand; for the Philistines were so humbled that they surrendered all the cities they had previously taken from the Israelites, and even gave them Gath and Ekron. It need hardly be said, therefore, that as long as Samuel lived they did not show themselves upon Israel's territory again, for Yahweh's hand was heavy on them all this time. And since there was peace between Israel and the Canaanites also, it was a time of general prosperity.

Samuel was the recognized judge of all the tribes. He lived in Ramah, where he had built an altar; and many pilgrims came there to submit their difficulties to his decision. But, with the view of maintaining order and justice as effectually as possible, he now and then made a journey through the surrounding districts and visited Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh every year.

We have already seen, from more than one example, that the people revered certain sacred stones, and treated them with superstitious regard long after their original significance had been forgotten. In such cases the advocates of the exclusive worship of Yahweh often declared that the stones were monuments of some event which would bring them into harmless connection with the service of Yahweh.¹ It is natural to suppose therefore that this was the case with the "Eben-ezer" near Mizpeh; but it is also quite possible that the inhabitants of the neighborhood did really associate with this piece of rock the memory of a victory won by Samuel at the spot. In any case, however, the story of this judge's warlike fame is not only highly colored but monstrously exaggerated by the legend; for we shall presently see that in his days the Israelites were so completely in the power of the Philistines that they were compelled to give up their weapons, while all the smiths were carried away out of the land, and there were only two Israelite warriors who possessed weapons forged of steel. Nay! if a man's ploughshare, or any other metal implement, wanted sharpening, he was actually obliged to take it to the country of the Philistines, and have it seen to there.² It was David who first completely conquered the Philistines and made them powerless against Israel. Our writer took for granted that Samuel had secured his people prosperity and success, and had triumphed over their enemies; for he could not imagine that Yahweh would have refused to hear and accept the prayer of such a pious man. His supposition is, however, contradicted by the sequel of the history. For if Samuel had really overcome the Philistines, Israel would never have chosen a king. His attempts to deliver his people, so far from being successful, completely failed. Nor is it true — as we shall presently see — that there was peace in his days between the Israelites and the Canaanites.

Samuel's great services did not consist in military successes, but in what he accomplished for the religious life of his people; and to form a true estimate of his work we must have a clear idea of what was going on in the heads and hearts of the best Israelites of his age.

It was a time of general spiritual awakening. The precise occasion of the movement is no longer known to us, but it is evident that just at this period the most zealous worshippers

¹ Compare pp. 105, 175 ff., 196; pp. 341, 354.

² 1 Samuel xiii. 19-22, after an amended version.

of Yahweh and champions of his people gathered strength, and made themselves felt as they had not been before. The sanctuary at Shiloh was diligently sought, and Eli, the chief priest there, acquired so much influence that he is even called a judge.¹ This enthusiasm was constantly stimulated by the special circumstances of the people at the time, for we must not forget that zeal for Yahweh and zeal for Israel always went hand in hand, and indeed, as a rule, were almost identical. It was becoming clearer and clearer to the thoughtful Israelites that the great question they had to decide was this: "Are we to melt away and disappear amongst the Canaanites, or are we to maintain our special Israelitish character based on the worship of Yahweh, cost what it may?" There was no other choice. If the sons of Israel went on in the path they had trodden hitherto, and were not prepared to make any extraordinary effort, then the customs, the religious practices, and the modes of thought of Canaan would gain the mastery, and Israel would never attain a distinct national existence. Yahweh would gradually give place to some Baal, or perhaps be superseded by a Philistine deity, until at last his worship would only survive in a few private families. If the people of Yahweh was ever to master the land of Canaan, it must be now — now or never!

This conviction was gaining ground more and more rapidly when Samuel succeeded to Eli's position and made his influence deeply felt. To enable us to understand his work it will be well to consider three subjects in succession: The exercise of his office as judge, the foundation of the schools of the prophets, and the order of the Nazarites.

We are obliged to have recourse to conjecture in attempting to form an idea of the "judging" of the men who gave the period between Joshua and Saul its name. Indeed the name itself is very misleading, for the heroes who rescued Israel from its foes had, as a rule, very little of the character of judges, and should rather receive some such title as rulers, princes, or chieftains.² Samuel is the first whose activity as a judge is in any degree known to us, and it is but very little we know even in this case. We are told of three places which he visited every year in his capacity as judge. These places — Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpeh — were none of them very far from his dwelling-place at Ramah; and though he is said in general terms to have judged "Israel," we may be sure that a comparatively small area was the principal scene

¹ 1 Samuel iv. 18.

² See pp. 364, 365.

of his activity. When Samuel was still at Shiloh, all Israel, from Dan to Beersheba, knew that Yahweh had chosen him as his messenger,¹ but the difficulties of travelling were such that but few would come to Ramah from the outlying districts of the country to seek advice from Samuel; nor would he, on his part, be aware of what took place at a distance from Benjamin's territory. But though his influence was most powerfully felt in his own city and its neighborhood, it doubtless spread from this centre over the whole country, especially as the Israelites were more closely united to each other in his days than they had ever been before.

We have no direct information as to Samuel's principles of government or the objects he strove to realize as a ruler; but indirectly we learn several important facts, and from these again we may fairly draw yet further conclusions. We know that in the early part of his reign king Saul ruled in the spirit of Samuel, and we can therefore argue from the actions of the monarch to the principles of the judge. Now, we find it recorded of Saul² that he banished the soothsayers and necromancers out of Israel, and forbade the practice of their arts upon pain of death. In the same spirit one of the most ancient Israelite codes of law³ ordains with abrupt simplicity: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." We are safe in assuming, therefore, that Samuel persecuted all those who were reputed to be inspired by a soothsaying spirit or to have the power of calling up the dead from the land of shadows. It is not easy to tell exactly what difference there was supposed to be between these soothsayers and a man like Samuel himself, who was known as a "seer." For he too was believed to have the power of gaining information inaccessible by any natural means, and even of revealing the future.⁴ But the distinction, whatever it may have been, was still preserved in the later legislation.⁵ It certainly was not supposed that while the seer or prophet of Yahweh did really understand the future, the soothsayer or necromancer was an impostor. The case is precisely similar to that of the magicians in Egypt, against whom Moses and Aaron contended. According to the old narrator these magicians were able to perform real miracles,⁶ and in the same way the Israelites believed that the soothsayers foretold the future with perfect accuracy, and that the necromancers actually summoned the shades from the

¹ 1 Samuel iii. 20.

² 1 Samuel xxviii. 3, 9.

³ Exodus xxii. 18.

⁴ 1 Samuel iii. ix. 6, 15 ff., x. 2 ff., xv. 10 ff., xvi.

⁵ Deuteronomy xviii. 10-15.

⁶ Compare pp. 271-273.

world below.¹ The difference between these heathens and the pious worshippers of Yahweh depended entirely upon the source from which they derived their respective powers. In the one case the power to foretell the future was derived from Yahweh, in the other it was conferred by the soothsaying spirits. The orthodox Israelites by no means denied the existence of these spirits. On the contrary one of the law-givers defines a magician as "one in whom there is a soothsaying spirit."² But a faithful worshipper of Yahweh must not listen to them, must not "lust after them," as it was called.³

We may treat these persecutions of the wizards and witches therefore as a proof of hostility to heathenism and a desire to maintain the true Israelitish characteristics of the people. In this case they form part of the same policy which dictated the oppression of the Canaanites that is also ascribed to Saul. "In his zeal for the sons of Israel," we are told,⁴ he endeavored to root out the Gibeonites. These Gibeonites were a remnant of the old population; but they do not appear in the character of slaves of the temple, as the writer of the book of Joshua makes them,⁵ but as independent freemen. Saul would certainly have hesitated to rob an Israelitish sanctuary of its servants. The Gibeonites evidently formed a little Canaanite kingdom which the Israelites were bound, by an ancient and solemn treaty, not to molest. But their territory lay in the midst of the tribe of Benjamin, which was the centre of the revival of the religious life of Israel, and it was therefore a greater source of irritation to the Israelites than any similar kingdom which had survived from the olden time. In neglecting the ancient treaties with the Canaanites, whom he oppressed and in many cases actually put to death, Saul was doubtless acting in the spirit of Samuel. Simeon and Levi, as sketched in the legend, avenging their sister's shame with the edge of the sword, careless of the hatred they roused in the hearts of the still powerful Canaanites, and the danger to which they exposed the lives of their relatives,⁶—these were the men after Samuel's heart. "Let everything go to ruin sooner than that Israel should intermarry with the stranger," was his cry. We can imagine how, when he held judgment, or had any other opportunity of influencing his countrymen, he fostered the Israelite's feeling of his national

¹ See chapter xxx. p. 525.

² 2 Samuel xxi. 2.

³ Leviticus xx. 27.

⁴ See p. 340.

⁵ Leviticus xx. 6.

⁶ See pp. 396-403.

dignity, stimulated his hatred of the Canaanites, prevented or dissolved mixed marriages, urged his hearers to deeds of violence against the Canaanites, destroyed their temples, and made the worshippers feel the weight of his wrath in word and deed.

We have assumed that Samuel vindicated the slighted honor of Israel's god, so closely connected with that of the people, by deeds of violence and even of bloodshed; and we are justified in so doing, for antiquity knew no weapon but the sword for securing the triumph of truth; and Yahweh was a terrible fire-god, who would not suffer himself to be insulted unavenged, and who delighted in offerings of blood. Moreover we shall see that on the few occasions when Samuel was in a position to act with severity, he was invariably the advocate of sanguinary measures. It was he who commanded Saul to lay a whole people under the ban, and who "hewed" a captive prince "in pieces before Yahweh"¹ with his own hand. All his relations to Saul mark him as stern and inexorable. The ordinances of Yahweh which he enforced were doubtless the severe and sanguinary customs which were already beginning here and there to give place to gentler practices. If Samuel could prevent it no blood-redeemer should suffer himself to be appeased by money, and no vow should be broken by the redemption of the consecrated object. Whoever committed an act of gross unchastity, or laid his hand on that which was holy, was stoned to death, together with all his family, that his name might be rooted out from among the holy people of Yahweh.

Such was the spirit in which Samuel pronounced judgment and ruled in Israel.

"What is now called a *prophet* used formerly (in Samuel's time) to be known as a *seer*." This noteworthy assertion is made by a writer who lived in the golden age of prophecy;² and it is confirmed by several other passages, which show that the name of "seer" was still in use even after Samuel's time.³ There is no difficulty in understanding what was meant by the word. It meant a soothsayer; one whom his god favored from time to time with glimpses of the future, by dreams or otherwise. We saw just now that if the Israelite rejected soothsaying, he did so only in as far as it was connected with heathenism, and that the functions

¹ 1 Samuel xv. 1 ff., 33.

² 1 Samuel ix. 9.

³ 2 Samuel xxiv. 11; 1 Chronicle xxi. 9.

of a seer of Yahweh were essentially the same as those of a heathen wizard. The statement that a prophet was formerly called a seer seems to show that at that time the distinguishing mark of a prophet was his power of reading the future. Unquestionably the prophets themselves laid claim to this power, and the Israelites of every age believed that the difference between a true and a false prophet was simply this: that the true prophet drew his inspiration from Yahweh, and the false prophet derived it from some other source. And yet we should be doing the Israelite prophets great injustice if we looked upon their calling as no better than the practice of magic. It is true that the prophets usually appeared in the character of soothsayers, and that many of them were really nothing better. But it is something far nobler which gives them their irresistible claim to our attention. It is the religious enthusiasm which in its several degrees was common to them all.

The word *prophet* is from the Greek, and means "one who foretells;" but the Hebrew word *nabi*, which we translate *prophet*, has a different meaning. The exact interpretation of the word is uncertain, but it is used of one in a state of ecstasy or transport. The verb derived from it, which we translate "to prophesy," was sometimes even used in a bad sense of being raving mad.¹ The prophet, then, was known by the ecstatic utterances of an enthusiasm and excitement attributed to the inspiration of some deity. He was not always under this influence, but only by fits and starts, when the spirit of God came upon him, or rested on him as it was called. When these seasons or moments of spiritual excitement were over the prophet was once more an ordinary man; perhaps quite as calm as his neighbors.² Sometimes, therefore, when he wished to be inspired, but "the hand of his god was not upon him," he would try to bring himself into the desired frame of mind by means of stimulating music.³

* Such phenomena were by no means rare in the religious life of the ancients. We find them, for instance, amongst the Canaanites,⁴ and they still reappear from time to time when men of low intellectual development are seized by some religious idea and give the rein to their emotion till it passes into a frenzy. These "revivals" are generally of a decidedly morbid character, and bear little or no good fruit. Nay,

¹ 1 Samuel xviii. 10.

² Numbers xi. 25.

³ 2 Kings iii. 15. Compare 1 Samuel x. 5.

⁴ 1 Kings xviii. 19 ff.

under the guidance of ignorant enthusiasts, they have often become the means of trampling down the truth. In itself, therefore, the appearance of these "inspired" Israelites proves nothing to the nation's credit. Baal, too, had his prophets. Everything depends upon the religious truth which the prophet had grasped, and the exaltation of the ideas for which his enthusiasm glowed. We shall often observe in the sequel of the history that the moral tone of many of the Israelite prophets left much to be desired. They spoke in Yahweh's name, indeed, but their conception of Yahweh and his will was extremely narrow. Others, however, must take rank amongst the greatest and noblest of mankind, and it was they who preserved Israel from destruction. Now this Israelitish prophecy, like every other special manifestation of the religious life, has had its history, its rise, its glory, its decay, its fall; and at present we have to consider its rise.

Moses is called a prophet more than once;¹ Deborah also bears this name,² and on several occasions the historians bring a prophet upon the scene even before Samuel's time.³ But this does not prove that prophecy had really taken root amongst the Israelites as early as the exodus from Egypt; it simply shows that the prophets recognized spirits kindred to their own in Moses and in some of the judges;— while the prophet who warns Israel⁴ and the man of God who comes to Eli⁵ are historical fictions to be classed with the angel of Yahweh who is said in another passage to have exhorted the people at Bochim.⁶ As for Moses, we are expressly told that his power was not derived from the fitful inspiration which specially characterized the prophets.⁷ But still we may take it for granted that religious phenomena similar to those of prophecy did now and then appear even before Samuel. In speaking, then, of the rise of prophecy in connection with his work, we do not mean that it suddenly sprang into existence just at this time, still less that Samuel called it into existence; but in the first place that it was in his time and partly through his influence that it became a power in Israel, and in the second place that he endeavored to direct the spiritual life that was being awakened all around him, and to make it subservient to the welfare of the people.

In the times of spiritual and political tension during

¹ Deuteronomy xviii. 15, 18, xxxiv. 10-12, and elsewhere.

² Judges iv. 4.

³ Judges vi. 7-10.

⁴ Judges ii. 1-5.

⁵ Numbers xi. 16 ff.; Judges vi. 8-10.

⁶ 1 Samuel ii. 27.

⁷ Numbers xii. 6-8.

which the sons of Israel looked up to Samuel as the seer of Yahweh, it sometimes happened that certain zealots of Yahweh were seized by a religious enthusiasm for which the raptures of the prophets of Baal and other Canaanite gods and goddesses served to some extent as a model; for enthusiasm is infectious. When several of these zealots met together, they were particularly liable to fall into such ecstasies. Bands of fanatics would sometimes storm through the country with wild music and half-frenzied songs. Woe to the Canaanite who met them on their way! Whatever had been consecrated to the religion of the former masters of the land was destroyed as soon as the eyes of the "inspired" band fell upon it; and it went hard with the Israelite whose indifference in his people's cause had roused their indignation. After a time, regular companies of these young zealots came to be formed here and there. Thus they quickened one another's enthusiasm, until their meetings gradually became the centres of the political and religious life of the people. These communities are usually called the "schools of the prophets." There is no particular objection to this name as long as we do not allow it to suggest an institution in which young men were taught the art of prophesying; for this art could not be taught. The young prophets all lived together; and the name of "cloister" would, therefore, be better than "school," were it not that the word makes us think involuntarily of a place in which the inmates are compelled to remain. This was not the case with the prophets, for they were entirely free, and some of them were married. The Hebrew name for the "school" or "cloister" (*naioth*) we are not able to interpret; and our authorized version has simply left it untranslated in the only passage in which it occurs.² The cloister there alluded to is that in Ramah, Samuel's dwelling-place. Samuel himself stood at the head of this institution, or at least prophesied amongst its members. Such a leader was called the "father," while the disciples were known as "sons of the prophets." Such at least was the custom two centuries later.

The Nazarite vow is very properly classed with the rise of prophecy³ as an expression of the awakened life of the people. In other respects the two movements have little in common. A Nazarite of Yahweh (the word either means *one consecrated* or *an abstainer*) was one who abstained from wine

¹ 2 Kings vi. 1 ff. ² 1 Samuel xix. 18-xx. 1. ³ Compare Amos ii. 11.

and intoxicating drinks, and everything produced by the vine. As an outward sign he wore his hair uncut. We have already had instances of this vow in the stories of the birth of Samson and of Samuel. A law written after the captivity¹ contains certain regulations as to the temporary form of the Nazarite vow. In addition to abstaining from wine, and letting his hair grow, the Nazarite must be careful not to become unclean by contact with a dead body. If he has been so unfortunate as to break his vow accidentally, he is told how he must expiate his offence, and at the close of the period of his abstinence he must perform certain ceremonies and sacrifices which are accurately defined. This temporary abstinence, however, is but a feeble echo of the original vow which was taken for life.

We can easily understand what it was that gave rise to this movement. The most essential feature of the vow of the Nazarites is abstinence from wine.² They were not alone in this custom, but found allies in the Rechabites, a section of the Kenites.³ These Rechabites not only abstained from wine, but refused to live in settled homes. This they did in obedience to the command of their forefather Jonadab,⁴ a zealous worshipper of Yahweh, who lived in the time of king Jehu,⁵ about 880 B.C. His motive in giving this command was probably the same as that of the Nazarites in the time of the Judges. When the Israelites had thrown off the yoke of Egyptian slavery they grew accustomed to a rough and simple style of life in the wilderness; but when they settled in Canaan they came into contact with more highly cultivated and luxurious manners, tasted their enjoyment, and perceived their danger. In their vow of abstinence the Nazarites declared war upon this luxury, and thus became the representatives not only of a moral principle, but of everything in which the genuine old-fashioned Israelite character was opposed to that of the Canaanites.

We cannot say with certainty why the Nazarites let their hair grow long. Indeed it is only a conjecture that this order was instituted, as we have supposed, at the close of the period of the Judges. But since Samson and Samuel are the only Nazarites of whom we read, it is natural to suppose that the order flourished at the time in which their history places us. Again, the prophet Amos seems to connect the rise of this order with the early period of prophecy, for he repre-

¹ Numbers vi. 1-21.

² Amos ii. 12.

³ Compare pp. 367, 367 ff. ⁴ Jeremiah xxxv. ⁵ 2 Kings x. 15, 16.

sents Yahweh as saying,¹ "I have raised up prophets from your sons and Nazarites from your young men." Moreover we should naturally expect that such an institution might arise during the period of religious ferment and exaltation which preceded the foundation of the monarchy in Israel.

We have now collected all the available materials for forming an estimate of Samuel's work amongst his people. We cannot tell how long his labors lasted; for though we are told that he began his active work twenty years after the ark had come to Kirjath-jearim, the statement does not help us much, since it belongs to the artificial system of chronology that makes the framework of the book of Judges, allowing exactly four hundred and eighty years to elapse between the exodus from Egypt and the building of Solomon's temple.² Tradition represents Samuel as administering justice, year by year, in different places in the neighborhood of Ramah, and as ruling Israel till he had reached extreme old age.³ We may suppose, therefore, that he labored for his people many years.

The nature of his work may be shortly summed up thus: He gave a powerful stimulus to the religious life of the Israelites, and guided it with a firm hand. Since he was himself both a Nazarite and a prophet, he doubtless contributed greatly to the institution of the prophetic schools, and urged others to take the vow of the Nazarites. We find him constantly engaged in offering sacrifices to Yahweh, and assembling at the sacrificial meal the elders of the places where the rites were performed.⁴ On these occasions we can fancy how his inspiring exhortations would rouse his fellow believers to glorify Yahweh and be zealous for his people. Again, he took every opportunity of maintaining the principles of Yahweh-worship in the spirit of Moses, upholding all that was genuinely Israelitish, and combating the Canaanitish principles and customs.

By these means he doubtless hoped to rescue Israel and make it independent. "O Israel! If you turn with all your heart to Yahweh, he will deliver you from the hand of the Philistines!" Such are the words put into Samuel's mouth by one of the historians,⁵ and they doubtless express his opinions perfectly. Religious reformation, zeal in the worship of Yahweh, he thought, was the only way to prosperity.

¹ Amos ii. 11.

² See p. 365.

³ 1 Samuel viii. 1, xxviii. 14.

⁴ 1 Samuel ix. 12 ff., x. 8, xi. 15, xiii. 10, xvi. 2 ff.

⁵ 1 Samuel vii. 8.

Was the desired end obtained in this way? History answers in the negative. Unless the people — far less pious than Samuel, but far more sensible — had demanded a king, Israel would have been undone. This is quite obvious. Though sin is a stain upon the life of a people, and superstition coupled with immorality sooner or later brings a nation to destruction, yet something more than piety on the part of its inhabitants is needed to make a country rich and powerful. The deliberation of a wise statesmanship is indispensable, the exercise of arts and sciences most valuable, commerce and industry absolutely necessary; and the awakening of fresh religious life, so far from necessarily producing all these things, may, under certain circumstances, be eminently hostile to them. For a people that follows one-sided principles, proclaimed in the name of God, will often endanger and even throw away its own prosperity. The history of Israel furnishes many striking examples of this very fact.

Samuel was on the high-road towards compassing his people's ruin. "There was peace in his days between Israel and the Amorites," says our narrator.¹ The statement is as far from the truth as the same author's account of the humiliation of the Philistines by his hero. Samuel was not the man to be at peace with the Amorites or any other Canaanites. He strove tooth and nail to root out everything Canaanitish, cost what it might. It was just because the inhabitants of Canaan were thus at daggers drawn with each other, that they were so powerless against the Philistines and Amorites.

If the people had allowed Samuel to pursue his course, he would have brought Israel to destruction. But it would have fallen gloriously, for it would have sacrificed itself to its higher interests — to its religion. Samuel may have been a bad statesman, but he was a noble champion of religion. He was one of those immovable men of principle who would involve the world in ruin, if they reigned supreme, because the rules of their religious and moral systems are incapable, at present, of being put into practice. But yet these men are the salt of the earth. For surely the world would grow corrupt and degenerate, and its statecraft would sink into a slough of commonplace, selfish meanness did not such men urge it forward towards their ideals, and constantly remind it of the motives by which it ought to be actuated.

¹ 1 Samuel vii. 14 b.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HOW SAUL BECAME KING OF ISRAEL.

1 SAMUEL VIII.—XII.

THE institution of the monarchy in Israel was a step of the utmost importance to the people; nor was it finally accomplished without violent opposition. The verdict of posterity, too, was far from unanimous on it; and since the Israelite historians were in the habit of clothing their opinions in the form of historical narratives, we cannot be surprised to find different accounts of the manner in which Saul became king. These accounts contradict each other throughout, and in many respects the one breathes quite a different spirit from the other; but yet they are placed side by side in the section of the first book of Samuel referred to at the head of the chapter. We will consult the oldest tradition first.¹ It runs as follows:

In the days of Samuel there lived a certain valiant Benjamite whose name was Kish. His son Saul was a goodly man. In stature he was a head taller than ordinary men, and in all other respects he was without a peer in Israel. Now it happened one day that his father sent him with one of the slaves to look for some she-asses that had strayed. So Saul and his servant searched the whole country round, but all in vain, for they could not find the asses. When they came near Ramah Saul began to think they had better go home again, for he was afraid his father might be growing uneasy at his long absence. But the servant had another plan. They were now close to Ramah, where there dwelt a man of God—a seer whose fame had spread far and wide, for all his predictions turned out true. Why should they not apply to him? Perhaps he would be able to tell them where the lost asses were. Saul would have been ready enough to consult the seer if he had had anything to offer him as a present; but they could not approach the soothsayer with empty hands: their provisions were exhausted, and Saul had nothing else about him that would answer his purpose. Fortunately, however, the servant happened to have a quarter of a shekel of silver (about *eight-pence* of our money) with him. They had no doubt that the seer would consult his god for this fee; so they went together to Ramah.

¹ 1 Samuel ix. 1–x. 16.



At the foot of the hill on which the city stood ("Ramah" means *hill*) they found some girls drawing water, and asked them where they could find the seer. They were told that he was at home just then, but that they had better make haste, for he would soon be on his way to the *bamah*, the sacred height near the city. A great sacrificial feast was to be held there, and the guests would not begin the meal until the seer had pronounced his blessing over it. On hearing this, they made the best of their way up the hill into Ramah. They were almost too late as it was, for in the middle of the city they met Samuel, who had just set off for the *bamah*.

Little did Saul suspect what was going on in the heart of the seer, whom neither he nor his companion knew by sight. The day before, Yahweh had told Samuel that he had heard the lamentations of his people, and that on the following day he should send a Benjamite to him whom he must anoint as prince, and who should rescue Israel out of the power of the Philistines. Now as soon as Samuel's eye had fallen on Saul, Yahweh said to him, "This is the man of whom I spoke to you. He shall rule over Israel." No wonder, then, that when Saul addressed him, and inquired for the seer's house, Samuel was too full of what Yahweh had revealed to him to be content with giving a simple answer to the question. "I am the seer," he cried; "come with me to the altar on the hill, and share the sacrificial meal. To-morrow morning I will let you go, and will answer all that is in your heart to ask me; but as for the she-asses that were lost, for which you have been searching hard upon three days, they are found already. And why should you trouble yourself about them? Shall not all the treasures of Israel be yours and your family's?"¹ "Mine!" cried Saul, in amazement. "Why, I belong to the little tribe of Benjamin, and to one of the smallest clans of the tribe!"

But no further explanation of these extraordinary words appeared to be forthcoming. Samuel led the way in silence, and Saul and his servant followed him to the place of sacrifice. About thirty persons were assembled in the hall where the feast was to be held, and places of honor were assigned to both the strangers. The seer had evidently expected them, for he beckoned to the cook and said, "Bring the piece of meat that I told you to set aside!" Upon this the cook brought him a whole ox-thigh, well fleshed and fat—a royal dish! Samuel had it set before Saul, and said, "Take this,

¹ After an amended version.

for it was set aside for none but you, as a sign to the people¹ that the royal share is yours."

When they had finished their meal, they returned from the *bamukh* to Samuel's house, where a bed was prepared for Saul upon the roof.¹ Early the next morning Samuel roused him, and offered to accompany him on his way home. As soon as they were outside the city, Samuel requested Saul to send his servant on in front, and to stay behind himself to hear the word of God.

Then the man of God took a horn full of oil, poured the contents over the head of Saul, and then, as he kissed his cheek in homage, he exclaimed, "Yahweh anoints you prince of his heritage. You shall rescue it out of the hand of the Philistines. And these three signs shall prove the truth of what I say: When you go hence you will meet two men by Rachel's grave, and they will tell you that the she-asses have come home, and that your father is now only anxious about you yourself. After that you will meet three men at Deborah's oak,² on their way to the sanctuary at Bethel, the first carrying three kids, the second three loaves of bread, the third a bottle of wine. They will salute you and offer you two loaves of bread, which you must accept. Then, when you come to Gibeah (that is *the hill*) of God, where the trophy³ of the Philistines stands, a band of prophets will meet you at the entrance of the city. They will come down from the *bimah*, with drums and tambourines, flutes and harps, playing before them, while they themselves are prophesying. Then the spirit of Yahweh will come upon you too; you will break into a holy ecstasy and become another man. When these signs have made you confident that Yahweh has indeed called you, then you yourself will know what next to do, for your god will help you. But when you come to Gilgal wait there seven days, for I shall come there too to offer sacrifices. Then I will tell you what to do."

Hardly had Saul bid adieu to Samuel and turned to pursue his journey when he felt a change come over his whole nature. One after another the signs came true. At last, as they drew near to Gibeah, the band of prophets, in their wild ecstasy, confronted them; and lo! the spirit of Yahweh came upon Saul, and he too prophesied. His friends looked on in amazement, and said, "What has come over the son of Kish? Is

¹ After an amended version.

² After an amended version. See Genesis xxiv. 8.

³ After an amended version.

Saul among the prophets?" "How comes he to be amongst them," cried another? "Who is his father? Is it not Kish?"¹ This event gave rise to the proverbial expression, "Saul among the prophets." Unconscious of the surprise of his acquaintances, Saul went on prophesying till he came to Gibeah.² He had an uncle living at Gibeah, and, when questioned by him, he told him all that Samuel had said about the asses. But he did not say a single word about his having been anointed.

This narrative was evidently composed long after Saul's appearance as a public man. For it attempts to explain the proverbial expression, "Saul among the prophets!"—an exclamation of surprise used when a man was found in company where no one would have thought of looking for him. Elsewhere we have another and far more probable interpretation of the expression,² and, at any rate, the one we are now considering cannot be the true one; for Saul must have been very generally known before his joining with the prophets could give rise to a popular proverb expressive of surprise. Indeed the proverb seems to imply that when it came into use Saul had already manifested a hostile disposition towards the prophets; and this, as we shall see, carries us down to a later period of his reign.

But in other respects this narrative reflects the real position of things in Israel very faithfully. It assumes that the Israelites were oppressed by the Philistines, and that the chief task of the new ruler would be to deliver them from this foe. Again, Samuel is truly represented as exercising far less power than is assigned to him in a preceding³ and also in a subsequent story. Here he is simply a seer, who has indeed a great reputation, but of whose existence Saul has to be reminded by his servant. He by no means appears as the acknowledged ruler of the land. It also deserves notice that in this story Saul is never called "king," but always "prince." All this shows that the writer could readily adopt, or perhaps naturally shared in, the style of thought and language usual in the times of which he wrote; and this gives his narrative a certain air of historical fidelity.

And yet we cannot accept it as history, and we soon perceive that its purpose is to glorify Samuel, the seer. He receives revelations from his god even about trifling details, such as the safe return of the asses that Kish had lost, and the pro-

¹ After an amended version. ² 1 Samuel xix. 24. ³ See pp. 448, 449

visions carried by certain pilgrims who met Saul. If we ask how Saul became king, the only answer given us is that Samuel, by command of his god, anointed him, and that Yahweh confirmed the act by a number of signs, and by sending his spirit upon Saul to make him prophesy. But we cannot rest satisfied for a moment with such an answer. In itself it is incredible, and the sequel of the history makes it repugnant to our moral sense. For hardly had Saul, by dint of all this miraculous guidance and divine revelation, ascended the throne, when he was rejected by this same Samuel as not being a king after Yahweh's heart. What a host of miracles all for nothing!

This narrative, then, does not help us much in our attempt to answer the questions: How was the monarchy established in Israel? and, Why was Saul chosen king? Let us see whether a second account throws any more light on the subject.

This second story runs as follows¹:—

When Samuel had grown too old to perform in person all his duties as judge, he appointed his sons Joel and Abiah to be his assistants. But these unworthy sons of a noble father accepted bribes and pronounced unjust sentences. In grief and anger the elders of the Israelites came to Samuel at Ramah and begged him to appoint a king, in accordance with the custom of all the surrounding nations, since he himself was now so old and his sons behaved so wickedly.

Samuel took the request very ill. What! Was this the reward of all his faithful services to his people? He prayed, in his deep depression, to Yahweh, and his god acknowledged the justice of his complaint, but reminded him that the Israelites did but treat him with the same ingratitude they manifested towards their god. Ever since they had come out of Egypt they had shown their rebellious spirit by neglecting the worship of Yahweh, and serving other gods; and even now it was not Samuel so much as Yahweh, their lawful king, whom they rejected. Samuel was to yield to their request, however, but not until he had warned them what treatment they had to expect from a king, that they might know what they were doing.

Samuel brought Yahweh's answer to the representatives of his people, and told them distinctly what a heavy yoke they were laying on their necks in asking for a king. The monarch would take their sons to form a mounted bodyguard and to

¹ 1 Samuel viii., x. 17-27, xi., xii.

man his war-chariots. He would press into his service all that were capable of bearing arms, would choose his officers of all ranks from amongst them, and would set others to plough his lands, to reap his harvests, and to manufacture implements and chariots of war. Even their daughters would be required for his court, to serve as ointment makers, confectioners, and bakers. When they had a king, they would never know what to call their own; for when the fancy took him he would seize their choicest fields, vine-hills, or olive gardens, and give them to his favorites. He would demand tithes of all the produce of their lands and trees to pay his chamberlains and other servants. He would seize his people's slaves, cattle and asses, and make them work for him, and would exact tithes of their sheep and goats. In a word, they would be the monarch's slaves. "And when," said Samuel in conclusion, "you are oppressed by the king you have chosen for yourselves, you will cry to Yahweh for help; but he will not give ear to your cry."

Thus did Samuel attempt to dissuade the people; but they had set their hearts upon having a king, and answered, "Come what may, we will not be left behind by the other nations! They are all governed by kings, and we will have one too. He shall judge us, and go out before us to war." Disappointed to find that his countrymen could not be shaken in their determination, Samuel laid their answer before Yahweh, and was ordered by him to fulfil their wish. Upon this he dismissed the elders with a promise to make the needful preparations.

Samuel soon redeemed his promise, and summoned a popular assembly at the sanctuary of Yahweh, at Mizpeh. Here he distinctly warned the people again that their desire to be ruled by a king was a violation of their duty towards Yahweh, who had always delivered them in times of need. After this he went on to choose a king by lot. The lot first pointed to the tribe of Benjamin, and then to the family of Matri; till finally it appeared that Saul, the son of Kish, was the man chosen by Yahweh. He was quite unknown to those present, and they were obliged to apply to a priest or seer to learn of Yahweh himself whether Saul would appear in the assembly. "He will," was the divine response. "He is even now amongst the baggage." Search was made immediately, and there, sure enough, Saul was found. He was led into the midst of the people, and behold he was a head taller than any one of them. Truly Yahweh, who sees in secret, had

found a goodly man ! " This," cried Samuel, " is the chosen of Yahweh ! There is none like him among all the people ; " and a great cry rose, " Long live the king ! "

Then Samuel told the people what the rights of the crown were to be. He wrote them all down himself, and placed the document in the sanctuary ; after which he dismissed the assembly.

Upon this every one returned to his house, and Saul to his abode in Gibeah. The king did not return alone, however, for he was accompanied by certain righteous men whose hearts God had touched, so that they joined themselves to him at once. But it was not every one that was so well disposed. There were certain good-for-nothing fellows, sons of Belial, who asked contemptuously, " What ! Is this to be our deliverer ? " and refused to offer him any presents.

Now about a month afterwards,¹ Nahash, king of the Ammonites, came and laid siege to Jabesh, in Gilead. The inhabitants of the city, feeling that they were no match for him, were compelled to enter into negotiations, and promised to submit to him. Nahash was willing to spare their lives, but only on condition that he might put out their right eyes as an insult to all Israel. The elders of Israel begged for seven days' respite, and at once sent messengers to every quarter of the land of Israel to pray for help. The sad news of the men of Jabesh spread horror and amazement everywhere ; weeping and lamentations answered them on every side, but no help seemed to be forthcoming. At last the Gileadites came to Gibeah, where Saul was dwelling. Here, as elsewhere, they delivered their dread message, and appealed to their brothers for help. It was not in vain this time ; for while all who had heard the news were filling the air with their lamentations, a certain man approached, driving his oxen home from the plough. It was Saul. He perceived the signs of general distress, asked the cause, and soon learned the news which the Gileadites had brought. The moment he heard it he was seized by the spirit of God. Burning with indignation, he hewed his two oxen into pieces on the spot, and sent messengers to bear the reeking fragments throughout the land. The threat resounded on every side : " Thus shall it be done to the oxen of every man who comes not out to follow Saul and Samuel." Then the fear of Yahweh fell upon the people, and they gathered like one man around their bold leader, who soon found himself at the head of three hundred thousand

¹ After an amended version.

men of Israel and thirty thousand men of Judah, assembled at Bezek. He could confidently promise the messengers from Jabesh that he would come the next day and relieve the city. We can imagine with what joy the news was received at Jabesh. To ensure the success of the expedition the inhabitants threw Nahash off his guard by promising to surrender the city on the following day; but that very night Saul divided his troops into three companies, broke into the middle of the Ammonite camp towards morning, put to flight the enemy, and scattered and pursued them till no two of them were left together.

Then the sons of Belial, who had refused to acknowledge Saul, were ready enough to withdraw their opposition; for the people declared themselves unanimously in his favor, and even desired to put all those to death who had at first opposed him. But Saul himself defended them, and declared, "Not a creature shall be put to death this day, for Yahweh has delivered Israel."

The time had now arrived for doing solemn homage to the chosen prince. So Samuel called the people together at Gilgal, and there, amidst sacrifices and shouts of triumph, Saul was proclaimed king before the face of Yahweh. Then Samuel addressed the people: "Behold," he said, "I have done as you desired in everything, and have given you a king. There he stands before you! I am old and gray-headed, and I have spent all my life amongst you; and now I call upon you all, in Yahweh's presence, to bear witness against me. Say, have I taken any man's ox or ass? Have I oppressed or wronged any one of you? Have I ever been bribed by any man? If so, then I will return what I have gained unjustly." Voices rose on every side to acquit him of any such charges, and to sound his praise in all things. Then he began again: "Yahweh and his anointed king are witnesses that you have found no kind of fault in me." "So be it!" answered they. "Then," continued he, "let me pronounce your sentence in the presence of Yahweh. He has done great things for you. He has helped you from the time when Jacob went down to Egypt; he sent you Moses and Aaron; he led your fathers out of Egypt, and caused them to settle here. But when they forgot Yahweh, he sold them to Sisera, and afterwards to the Philistines and the Moabites. Then, when they called upon him again, confessed their sin, returned to him, and promised that they would serve him if he would but rescue them, he sent them deliverers one after another — Jerubbaal, Abdon, Jephthah, or Samson. Thus was peace restored. But

when you saw that Nahash, king of the Ammonites, was coming up against you, in spite of all these proofs of the faithfulness and power of your god, you were afraid and desired a king, though your true king was Yahweh. And there stands the man whom you have chosen! Yahweh has given you a king. If you obey your god henceforth, you shall live, and he will bless you; but if not, Yahweh's hand shall lie heavily upon you and upon your ruler. But that you may all know full well that you have committed a great sin in asking for a king, Yahweh will send rain and thunder this day, although it is the time of wheat harvest." Having spoken thus, Samuel raised his hands to heaven, and at once the thunder rolled and the rain came down in torrents. Then great fear of Yahweh and of Samuel fell upon the Israelites, and they humbly implored the man of God to pray for them, and preserve them from destruction, confessing, at the same time, that they had sinned in asking for a king. Samuel put their fears to rest, and again exhorted them never to neglect the service of Yahweh, or to worship the impotent idols who could not deliver them. At the same time, he assured them that since Yahweh had, once for all, chosen Israel as his heritage, he would never reject his people, lest his glory should be tarnished. Then he gave them the comforting assurance, "Be it far from me to sin against Yahweh by ceasing to pray for you! No, I will still serve Yahweh, and will still show you the right and true way;" after which he concluded by repeating yet again the exhortation: "Only fear Yahweh, and serve him in integrity with all your heart. For you see what a marvellous sign he has wrought this day. If you do evil, both you and your king shall perish."

This story is wonderfully self-contradictory. In one place fear of Nahash is mentioned¹ as the cause of the people's desire for a king. But how does this accord with the subsequent events? The people, terrified by the approach of Nahash, demand a king. Samuel calls a general assembly in which Saul is proclaimed king. But yet he goes home quite quietly and does nothing for a whole month. Then we discover again that Nahash is coming to besiege Jabesh. The inhabitants of the city are not at all aware that there is a king in Israel, for they send messengers throughout all the land. Saul casually hears of the affair, and at once God's spirit comes over him. We are left in complete ignorance as

¹ 1 Samuel xii. 12.

to what had become of the men who were moved by God to accompany him. And yet the story of Saul's victory over the Ammonites, and that of his election by lot, form parts of a single whole. The connection between them, in the mind of the writer, appears to have been something as follows: When Saul had been chosen by lot, he had still to show by his deeds that he really was the man to deliver Israel. It was not till after his victory that the voice of opposition died away and he could receive public homage. Such was the writer's own idea. But a careful examination of his story convinces us that he found the account of Saul's triumph over Nahash already in existence, and merely worked it into his own narrative. This account, indeed, rests upon a tradition, the main features of which are thoroughly historical. We shall return to this old tradition presently, but must first dwell on the other portions of the narrative, which are pure inventions.

A little careful consideration reveals their unhistorical nature.

We have already observed, in the last chapter, that it is a mistake to represent Samuel as a warrior, who humbled the Philistines; on the contrary, he attempted to improve the miserable condition to which the country had been reduced, by such moral means as raising the religious life of his people, and quickening their zeal for Yahweh and his people; and it was the utter failure of these efforts that induced the people to adopt the monarchical form of government. But in this, as in several other stories, the true position of affairs is completely ignored. The demand of the Israelites for a king is not made to rest upon any reasonable grounds. The condition of the country appears to be all that could be desired. The fear of Nahash, the prince of the Ammonites, is indeed just mentioned, but is not considered even a reasonable excuse, still less a sufficient reason for the desire for a change. The misgovernment of Samuel's sons might of course be the occasion, but it could not be the cause of the people's wish for a king. For these unjust judges might have been deposed, and how could any one tell that a king would be any more impartial than a judge? The only other reason given for the wish is the fact that other nations had kings. But surely this is not enough. Is it possible that the whole people — for they seem to have been unanimous in the matter — should have desired, for such frivolous reasons, a change which would affect their lives so profoundly, and would even reduce them to slavery? They accepted undoubtedly the appalling picture drawn by

Samuel of what they would suffer at the hands of a king, and yet persisted in their wish to have one. The writer's idea seems to be that the Israelites asked for a king under the influence of some perverse and sinful whim, or at most of a sudden dread of Nahash. But such a supposition is absurd.

And then how extraordinarily submissive to Samuel the Israelites are! They come to him and ask him for a king, and then take no further action whatever. Samuel manages everything himself, and gives his people a ruler. Where can a second example of such submission to a prophet be found? Surely Samuel had no reason to complain that the people had rejected him. The attitude of the people towards Samuel is quite incredible; and so is their method of choosing a king, by casting lots. The result is the selection of a man who is entirely unknown, and who had not the least idea himself of the possibility of his being appointed; for we are not to suppose that his being absent amongst the baggage was the result of modesty. It was purely accidental. Imagine a nation choosing a king by lot! What reason could there be for such an extravagant proceeding? They can hardly have thought that one man was as fit to be king as another. At any rate, they would not have liked to have one of Samuel's sons, for instance, as their prince. Did they act from a religious feeling, then, thinking that Yahweh would thus point out the most suitable man? This is certainly the meaning of the narrative. The unknown Saul, we are to believe, with his bold demeanor and imposing stature, was definitely selected by Yahweh, who caused the lot to fall to him, and then indicated where he was to be found. All this was far from incredible to an Israelite who believed that "the lot is cast into the bosom, but the result is ruled by Yahweh."¹ Indeed it was quite in the spirit of antiquity and of people who believed in presages, soothsaying, and supernatural revelations of the deity, to leave the decision of important questions to the lot, or some other chance indication.² Thus the legend tells us that Darius Hystaspes was chosen king of Persia because, when the pretenders to the throne met by agreement, his horse was the first to neigh. But however religious these actions may have appeared in ancient times, I very much doubt whether any sensible man ever adopted such a method of deciding an important question, unless he had first exhausted all other means of coming to a decision. It

¹ Proverbs xvi. 33.

² See pp. 158-161.

is only fanatics who do such things. If the Israelites in Samuel's time allowed the man of God to choose them a king by lot, then surely Yahweh had as little cause as Samuel to complain of the people's apostasy and disobedience.

And then what a gloomy commencement for the monarchy in Israel! Samuel, while solemnly conferring authority upon Saul, makes a speech in which he reproaches the people with their sins, and which a miraculous thunder-storm renders doubly impressive. On this the people confess their guilt. They have sinned in asking for a king. But, if they really mean it, what is to prevent them from retracing their evil steps? The way is still open for a return. The confession of a sin coupled with its continuance is little better than hypocrisy. And yet not only Samuel, but Yahweh himself who commands the thunder-storm, accepts the confession as a sufficient sign of repentance. The whole story is obviously legendary.

But in one respect this fiction represents the fact; for it is true that the monarchical form of government was not introduced into Israel without opposition. In our story Samuel stands alone in his opposition; but in reality many Israelites had the strongest objection to the monarchy. This aversion is clearly reflected in the so-called fable of Jotham. It appears in the book of Judges out of its proper connection,¹ though in all probability it does really date from the period of the judges or possibly from that of Saul. At any rate it admirably describes the feelings of the party that opposed the monarchy in the interests of freedom. It runs as follows²:—

Once on a time, the trees came out to anoint a king. First they went to the olive, and cried to him: "Come, and be our king!" But the olive answered: "Shall I leave the oil for which gods and men honor me, and go to wave my branches over the trees?" After this ignominious repulse, the trees went with the same request to the fig-tree. But he, too, preferred his sweet and precious fruit to the empty honors of royalty. Then they tried the vine. But he, too, refused to entertain their offer for a moment, and answered: "Shall I leave the wine that makes gods and men rejoice to exercise lordship over the trees? Not I!" Quite at a loss what to do next, the trees at last, by common consent, turned to the bramble-bush, and offered him the crown. He was greatly pleased by the honor, and said with an impor-

¹ See p. 395.

² Judges ix. 8-15.

tant air: "If you really anoint me king in good faith, then you may come and rest under my shadow. But if not, then let fire come out of the bramble-bush and consume the very cedars of Lebanon themselves!"

What contempt for the monarchy this fable breathes! A noble tree has no desire to be king, but thinks itself too good for such an office. It is only the bramble-bush, that has nothing to lose and can do nothing better, that consents to be crowned.

We can easily understand this opposition to the monarchy; for the account of a royal court put into the mouth of Samuel was drawn from the life. Kings exacted constant service, heaped capricious favors on their courtiers, dealt with the property and the persons of their subjects just as they chose, kept luxurious courts and surrounded themselves with guards. In a word they were despots, and their people were slaves. Such was monarchy in these ancient times. Our "constitutions," with their more or less elaborate regulation of the mutual rights and duties of prince and people, were as yet unknown. The power of the king was unlimited.¹ We do indeed read that Samuel publicly announced the rights of the monarchy and even reduced them to writing;² but all this was certainly nothing more than, at most, an exhortation addressed to the king. He was bound by nothing but his own conscience and public opinion, fear of tumult or the desire to win the love of his people. A nation, therefore, that chose a king surrendered its own liberty, and it is not surprising that Israel long refused to throw itself upon the mercy of a single ruler. It was not till the weakness caused by division absolutely compelled them to find some centre of union that the Israelites chose a king. A nation without a king was but a certain number of disconnected families, clans or tribes; a nation under a king was a united and powerful whole.

One of the writers of the book of Judges shows a warm appreciation of the regal form of government; for he tries to explain the confusion of the period before Saul, by saying,³ "There was no king in Israel then;" and sometimes he adds,⁴ "Every one did what he pleased." In Samuel's days there were many Israelites who noticed the comparative quiet that reigned in other lands under the government of a king, and contrasted it with the divisions and dissensions that were

¹ Compare pp. 231-234.

² Judges xviii. 1, xix. 1.

³ 1 Samuel x. 25.

⁴ Judges xvii. 6, xxi. 25.

always disturbing the peace of their own. They envied the decision and efficiency with which these other nations were able to take the field against their foes, and the unity and strength they enjoyed under their kings, and they too desired to enjoy the same privileges.

But the Israelites were not united on this point. We may be sure that many a proud and independent spirit would hesitate to submit to the restrictions of a monarchy, and would only yield to the force of public opinion. Samuel, too, and his friends the prophets were probably opposed to the appointment of a king, for reasons which we can easily guess. We have seen¹ that the means by which the prophets themselves sought to deliver Israel were very different from a change in the form of government, and consisted in various measures of what they regarded as moral reformation. When a man is engaged in such a work as this, he is, of course, never satisfied, for there is always room enough for improvement left. It is difficult therefore to convince him that success cannot be obtained by his methods, for he still hopes that if only every one would really be virtuous the day of deliverance would come. We see the same kind of thing still. When a great calamity, such as a cattle-plague, or an epidemic of small-pox or typhus, threatens or afflicts a nation, a certain set of people always cry out that the disaster may be turned aside by repentance and prayer. These men are seldom warm promoters of sanitary precautions, such as vaccination or cleansing dwelling-places, and so checking the spread of disease; for they place all their reliance upon the miraculous and immediate help of God. In the same way Samuel and most of the prophets, doubtless, opposed the appointment of a king of Israel, because they looked upon it as a sign of want of faith in the power of their god. Surely he could rescue his people, and was ready to do so if they would but serve him with a perfect heart.

And now let us ask ourselves what was the real course of events. For a satisfactory answer we must turn to the account of Saul's triumph over the Ammonites.

The details of this exploit are not all correctly recorded. It certainly is not true, for instance, that when Saul called upon the Israelites to gather round him, he associated Samuel's name with his own. This touch was added by the later writer, who inserts the old tradition into his narrative,

¹ See pp. 457, 458.

but makes Samuel prominent throughout. There are other things in the story which we cannot possibly accept as true. The good nature of the Ammonites in granting the besieged a respite of seven days for the express purpose of enabling them to send to their brethren for help is surely without a parallel. And what an incredible amount is accomplished within a single week! The envoys cross the Jordan, traverse the country, and come to Gibeah. Saul sends messengers throughout the land to call all the men of military age to battle. An army of a hundred thousand strong is got into marching order, and seven days after the messengers left Jabesh the army of the Ammonites is defeated! Even in these days of telegraphs and railways no monarch could bring an army into the field and engage in battle at so short a notice. It is inconceivable that so numerous an army should have been able to cross the Jordan and reach Jabesh in a single day; but it is still more impossible that it should have penetrated the enemy's camp unobserved by night. It is as if the Ammonites had made all their arrangements with a special view to being routed. But though the truth has been greatly embellished and distorted, no doubt the main facts of the story are historical, and they are confirmed by the gratitude shown to Saul, even after his death, by the Gileadites, and more especially by the men of Jabesh. We may take it as a fact, then, that Saul delivered Jabesh from the power of the Ammonites, and was made king in consequence.

We may now sum up our conclusions in a few words.

When the sons of Israel and their allies penetrated into Canaan they knew no form of government except the so-called patriarchal rule. That is to say, the head of the household ruled his children and his slaves. Since the sons of one household generally preferred to keep near each other even after they were married, and the members of the family had many interests in common, it generally happened that each clan, almost without intending it, had a special leader. The eldest brother was the natural occupant of this position, but sometimes a younger member became the head of the family, in virtue of his superior ability or for some other reason. Sometimes, when special circumstances demanded it, larger sections — a whole tribe or even several tribes — gathered under the banner of a single man, but only to fall apart again as soon as the object of their temporary alliance was accomplished. These loose and undefined relations to

each other did well enough for a number of wandering tribes, but were by no means sufficient for the different sections of a single nation that had acquired a settled territory. There were no judges, there was no one to see to the public safety. Every one had to look after himself. No one undertook what the general interest demanded. Feuds between private individuals, villages, or clans dragged on and on because there was no recognized authority to decide the quarrels and compel the disputants to make up their differences and live at peace. This state of things could not go on for ever, and attempts were naturally made to put an end to it, especially when foreign foes threatened the independence of the nation. Such was Israel's condition during the period of the judges. Now and then we see some such power established as that of Jephthah in Gilead, or of Abimelech in Shechem and the neighborhood, but never with any permanent result. The tribes were still too fond of freedom, and the danger was not yet pressing enough. But gradually it became clear that the tribes would be swallowed up unless they joined hands and elected a single chief to be their supreme judge in times of peace and their commander in times of war.

In Samuel's time the danger was most threatening. The Philistines were masters of the greater part of the land. The Ammonites were developing a formidable power to the east. The religious revival that had expressed itself in the rise of the prophets and the Nazarites, no doubt directed the thoughts of the Israelites to the delivering might of Yahweh, and so diverted their attention in many cases from all earthly means of salvation; but at the same time it strengthened the separate tribes in the feeling that they were all members of one and the same nation, and in this way it indirectly prepared them for united action. Israel was therefore ripe for union under the banner of a single ruler. A great victory over the Ammonites brought Saul into prominence. A leader was wanted to take the field against the Philistines, and as the victorious troops returned from Jabesh, they raised Saul upon a shield, and shouted "Long live the king!" The prophets, carried away by the general enthusiasm, anointed the successful warrior, and proclaimed him the chosen of Yahweh, or at any rate kept silence, despairing of their power to resist the mighty stream, and hoping the best of the powerful ruler who now held sway over Yahweh's heritage.

CHAPTER XXV.

SAUL DELIVERS ISRAEL.

1 SAMUEL XIII. AND XIV.

WE do not know how old Saul was when he gained his victory over the Ammonites, and was proclaimed king by the people. The narrative we are to examine next begins with the words: "Saul was . . . years¹ old when he became king, and he reigned two years over Israel." The number before "years" is wanting. One of the stories, as we have seen, represents Saul as a mere lad, sent out by his father to look for some stray asses, and causing him great anxiety by his protracted absence; but in reality he was a man of at least middle age, for at the very beginning of his reign his son Jonathan was a full-grown man — one of the most valiant of the Israelite heroes, and entrusted by his father with an important command.

Now that he was anointed king, Saul availed himself of his authority at once. Instead of disbanding all the troops with which he had relieved Jabesh, he kept three thousand of them under arms about him. For Nahash was not the only foe that the Israelites had to fear, nor indeed the principal one. The Philistines were their great oppressors. The whole of Canaan this side the Jordan was in their power. Some parts of the Israelite territory were treated so completely as Philistine provinces that many of the inhabitants were forced to serve in the Philistine armies. Indeed, the Israelites were brought so low that all the smiths (who were probably not very numerous) were carried away out of the land, at any rate if they attempted to settle anywhere near the Philistine cities. The object of this measure was to prevent the Israelites obtaining swords or steel spears. Even when their ploughs, spades, bill-hooks, or scythes required sharpening, they had to take them to be done by the Philistines, who made them pay a good round price — three shekels for each implement.¹ It need hardly be said that Saul's thoughts turned at once to these Philistines, and that he watched for an opportunity of attacking them. For the present, therefore, he kept two thousand warriors about himself,

¹ After an amended version.

encamped in two divisions at Michmash and Bethel, while he gave Jonathan command of a thousand more whose quarters were at Gibeah.

There, at Gibeah, the Philistines had set up a trophy of war,¹ that vexed the soul of every good Israelite who saw it. But woe to the man who should dare to throw it down! It would be regarded as a declaration of war. Not long after the defeat of Nahash, the report spread like fire through the land of Israel that Saul had thrown down this triumphal monument of the Philistines, and so given the sign for insurrection. The report was true. Jonathan, at his father's command, had overthrown the trophy; and now heralds, despatched by Saul, traversed the land in every direction, trumpet in hand. In every city or village through which they passed they blew the horn and cried, "Let the Hebrews rise and fight!"¹ proclaiming to all who heard them that Saul had summoned every man who could bear arms to battle.

Meanwhile, of course, the Philistines were not idle. They had hardly heard that the Hebrews had laid presumptuous hands upon their triumphal column before they seized their arms to punish such audacity and quell the insurrection. At Michmash, south-east of Beth-horon,¹ a prodigious army soon assembled. There were a thousand¹ chariots, six thousand horsemen, and a countless host of foot soldiers. Then terror fell upon the hearts of the Israelites. Many of them fled back from the camp; ¹ some concealed themselves among the thickets of densely-wooded districts, others hid their wives and children in caves, and some even fled with their families across the Jordan to the land of the Gadites and Gileadites. Thus the district which was first exposed to the vengeance of the Philistines was almost depopulated. Saul's army melted away till there were but six hundred warriors left, and even they were so badly armed that not one of them, except Saul and Jonathan, possessed a sword or a lance. The others were at best armed only with clubs, stones, bill-hooks, slings, bows and arrows without metal heads. What could Saul do with such troops against all the well-armed warriors of the Philistines? And yet it was no fool-hardiness that kept him so near the enemy, for between Michmash and Gibeah there was a mountain pass, the sides of which were so abrupt that even a small band could hold the position against a vastly superior power. The Philistines, however, availed themselves of their numbers to devastate the country. Their picked battalion,

¹ After an amended version.

known as "the destroyer," was separated into three divisions, each of which took a different road, and destroyed everything it could lay hold of. The Philistines hoped by this means to draw the Israelites from their impregnable position. Meanwhile the main army remained at Michmash, with its outposts stationed at the mountain pass.

Saul's headquarters were at some little distance from the pass, in the direction of Gibeah, at the pomegranate tree. Tradition long pointed out the very spot. Here he was surrounded by his six hundred men, and Ahiah, the son of Ahitub, the brother of Eli's grandson Ichabod,¹ "bore the *ephod*:" that is to say, consulted Yahweh for him. One day Jonathan had wandered away from the headquarters without his father's knowledge, and accompanied by no one but his armor-bearer. Presently he came to a rock called Bozez, from which he could see certain Philistine warriors standing on a higher rock right opposite, called Seneh. The sight was more than he could bear. His blood boiled. "Shall we fall upon these uncircumcised?" he cried indignantly, as he turned to his companion. "It is as easy for Yahweh to give the victory to few as to many!" His armor-bearer declared that he was perfectly ready to follow him. But would Yahweh help them? Was it his will that they should undertake this desperate adventure? This was the only question they need ask, and Jonathan knew how to find the answer. "Let us stand where those fellows can see us," he said to his attendant, "and if they say 'Wait till we come to you!' then we will stay here; but if they say 'Come up here if you dare! we'll teach you who you are!' then we will take them at their word, for it will be a sign that Yahweh has given them into our hands." Upon this they came out into the sight of the Philistines, who greeted them with a shout of contemptuous laughter the moment they saw them. "Only look," they cried, "here are the Hebrews creeping out of their holes! Come up here, and we'll teach you who you are!" "Follow me!" cried Jonathan to his companion, "for Yahweh has given the Philistines into the hand of Israel!" And to the amazement of the Philistines, the bold warrior, followed by his armor-bearer, began scrambling up the slope on his hands and knees. Terror seized the Philistines. They gazed in breathless amazement at their desperate assailants, and were too completely stupefied to strike them down as they crept towards them. Before they had recovered their

¹ See pp. 441, 442.

senses the two were upon them. Jonathan had already struck down several of their number, while his armor-bearer followed him and made sure his work. Thus, twenty of them fell under the hero's arrows and stones.¹ The panic spread. It seized the whole army, not only the ill-armed and ill-organized mass that generally constituted the bulk of an ancient army, but the chosen troops themselves. The earth trembled. It was a "panic of God." The flight was universal.

Saul's watchmen observed the commotion, and reported it to their prince. He was not a little surprised, and gave orders at once that search should be made to see whether any of his warriors were absent. The truth was soon discovered. Jonathan and his armor-bearer were nowhere to be found. Abiah was sent for without loss of time, and he soon stood with his *ephod*¹ before Saul ready to consult Yahweh. Saul asked him whether he should attack the Philistines or remain in his own camp. Meanwhile the army of the Philistines broke into general and open flight. "Hold," cried Saul to the priest, "no need to consult Yahweh now!" "To arms!" they shout on every side, as they rush upon the foe. The Philistines are beside themselves with terror. Believing themselves to be betrayed they turn their weapons upon each other, unable in their panic fear to distinguish friend from foe, and all is utter confusion!

The fate of the Philistine army was soon decided. The slaves¹ who had been compelled to serve in it now took the side of Saul and Jonathan. The Israelites who had hidden in Mount Ephraim, in the rear of the hostile army, came out at the news of the defeat and fell upon the foe from every side. Saul's band of six hundred soon swelled to ten thousand, and the flying enemy was followed with unwearying persistence into every corner of Mount Ephraim.

But now Saul made a great mistake.¹ He feared that his people, many of whom no doubt had tasted but little food during the last few days, might lag behind in the pursuit, and stay to eat the provisions that fell into their hands, so he cried aloud, "A curse upon the man who tastes food before the evening, or who eats anything till the measure of my vengeance on my foes is full!" So every one fasted, and even when the warriors came to a thicket where honey was dropping on every side they dare not so much as taste it, for fear of the curse.

¹ After an amended version.

But Jonathan had not heard his father's oath, and as he was faint with hunger, he plunged his stick into the honey as he hastened past and tasted it. He was told at once by one of the soldiers what his father had said; but he did not at all approve of it. He was naturally vexed to see that the fruits of his heroism would not be so rich as he had hoped, and as they might have been. "My father," he said, "is spoiling everything! Look how my eyes have been cleared by just tasting this honey! What a glorious day this would be if every one might eat freely what he could find, for they are all weak and exhausted for want of food. We shall have but a paltry victory after all."

At last the evening came. The Israelites had pursued the Philistines to Ajalon, and now they could go no further. Their hands were full of booty, including a number of oxen, sheep, and calves. Nothing could have been more welcome under the special circumstances. The sharp tooth of hunger drove them to a course from which they would otherwise have shrunk. To slaughter the cattle in the usual manner would have taken too long, especially as they had no metal weapons, so they dashed the animals upon the ground, tore off pieces of the flesh and devoured it, blood and all.¹ This was a sin against Yahweh, and as such it roused the indignation of Saul to the utmost. As soon as he heard what was going on he did all that could be done to put an end to it. He ordered his immediate followers to bring him a huge stone, and then go round amongst the scattered groups of the people and tell them to bring their cattle there to be slaughtered. The people obeyed. Every one brought his prize to the spot. Saul devoted himself to slaughtering the animals for his people upon the stone he had set up for the purpose, taking care that in every case the blood should flow off properly. He afterwards dedicated the stone, all deluged with blood, as an altar to Yahweh. This was the first altar he raised.

When the hungry soldiers were satisfied, and were therefore in a condition to pursue the enemy still further, as the smoke of the sacrifice rose into the air from the newly-erected altar, Saul's warlike zeal broke forth again with new strength. "Come," he cried to his warriors, "let us spend the whole night in pursuing the Philistines! Let us plunder them till morning breaks; not one of them must be left alive!" Many of his wearied followers must have longed for a good night's rest, after such a trying day and such a hurried meal; but be

¹ See p. 86.

this as it may, they all declared themselves ready for the pursuit. The priest, however, who had offered the sacrifice now interposed, and recommended Saul to consult the deity before undertaking a further pursuit. The prince, full of reverence for Yahweh, at once assented; and when the priest had put on his *ephod*, Saul asked, "Am I to pursue the Philistines?"

Our knowledge of the way in which an Israelite priest of those days consulted his god is far from complete. The apparatus he used was probably concealed in the *ephod*, and was called either *Urim* alone, or more fully *Urim* and *Thummim*; that is, *light* and *truth*. It consisted, at any rate in part, of some kind of apparatus for casting lots. We shall presently give an account of its employment, which is not to be found in our authorized version, however, since the text from which it is taken is restored from the Greek and Latin translations. We shall see from this account that if the question put to the deity admitted of but two answers, the person consulting the oracle might say, Give *Urim* in the one case and *Thummim* in the other. We know that the divining apparatus of a certain Arab tribe consists of two arrows, upon one of which is written "Yes," and upon the other "No." But the *Urim* and *Thummim* cannot have been anything exactly like this, for in that case a definite answer of some sort must always have been obtained. But this was not so with the Israelites. Sometimes Yahweh gave no answer at all by the *Urim*. How this appeared we cannot tell.

On the occasion of which we are speaking this very thing happened. When Saul asked whether he was to continue the pursuit, Yahweh kept silence and refused to give an answer. This was certainly a sign of anger: Saul was much disturbed, and immediately summoned all the troops. "A sin has been committed," he cried, "and therefore Yahweh will not answer me. The guilty man must be discovered; and though it be my son Jonathan himself, yet as sure as Yahweh lives he shall be put to death!" A shudder ran through every frame to think that the dreaded Yahweh was wroth, and that no man knew the cause! The bravest heart beat fast. What sacrifice would the stern god demand? Who was not conscious of some sin? Just now, for instance, they had eaten blood. Could that be the cause of Yahweh's wrath? And then the fearful oath of Saul, the zealot, the devoted worshipper of Yahweh! He was not the man to break his vow. A stillness as of death followed the monarch's words.

To show that he was thoroughly in earnest, Saul took his

stand with Jonathan, over against the people and said, "We will ask Yahweh whether the guilty man is one of us two or one of you!" The people tremblingly assented, and Saul went on. "O Yahweh, God of Israel! Why hast thou not answered thy servant? If I or my son Jonathan have sinned, then give *Urim*; and if the guilty one is among the people, then give *Thummim*!"¹ Then the lots were cast, and Yahweh acquitted the people, and declared that the guilt lay with Saul or with his son. Then the king said, "We two will cast lots, and he upon whom the lot falls shall die." "Never! never!" cried the people in horror; but Saul persisted.¹ The lots were cast between himself and his son, and the lot fell upon Jonathan. The guilty man was now discovered, and Saul turned to him and exclaimed, "My son, confess your guilt. What is it you have done?" Then Jonathan remembered what had taken place a few hours before, and felt convinced that it was he who had caused the wrath of Yahweh. "As we were pursuing the enemy," he said, "I put a little honey to my mouth with the end of my stick. Thus did I break your oath; and now I am ready to die for it." It was all clear now. Saul had discovered the cause of Yahweh's wrath, and however deeply moved at the thought of losing his son, he was ready to sacrifice his feelings as a father to the demands of his faith. "May God requite me," he cried, "if you do not die this very day!"¹ But here the people interposed. "What! Jonathan to be put to death! The hero to whom we owe this mighty victory!" "Never! never! As sure as Yahweh lives, not a hair of his head shall be touched!" they cried on every side. Saul's chief men threw themselves between the fanatical monarch and his son. Half convinced, half overpowered, at last he relinquished his design, and a ransom was paid for Jonathan. We are not told what this ransom was. It may have been a certain number of prisoners of war, or a great herd of cattle and sheep. But the sacrifice offered in the place of the offender must certainly have been a costly one, or it could not in any degree have satisfied the conscience of Saul. Thus Jonathan's life was spared.

Meanwhile the idea of pursuing the Philistines that night had been given up, and they were allowed to escape to their own country. But this great victory had confirmed Saul on the throne of Israel. As king of Israel, Saul waged many wars to defend his people from the oppression of their neigh-

¹ After an amended version.

bors on every side; and in whatever direction he turned his arms he was always victorious. The Edomites, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the kings of Zobah, in fact all the peoples upon Israel's eastern border, were humbled by him. The Philistines could not stand before him. He even collected a great army, with which he so crippled the Amalekites and other robber tribes of the south, that they were compelled to desist from their constant incursions into Canaan.

As to his family affairs we are told that he had four sons — Jonathan, Abinadab, Melchishuah, and Ishbaal or Ishbosheth¹ — and two daughters, Merab and Michal, by his wife Ahinoam. His commander-in-chief was Abner, who was his cousin; for Ner, Abner's father, and Kish, the father of Saul, were brothers, sons of Abiel.²

This account, which appears to be very trustworthy, has been preserved by the same writer who told us how Samuel anointed Saul at Ramah.³ He certainly derived it from some earlier authority, but he did not hand it down unaltered. On the other hand he inserted a passage towards the beginning of the account which introduces such confusion into the narrative itself, and makes Saul's character appear so extraordinary, that I have left it out. When telling us how Saul was anointed king, this writer made Samuel say: "You must wait for me seven days at Gilgal, till I join you there and offer the sacrifices and tell you what to do."⁴ It is to this injunction that the writer now refers us back. He makes Saul summon the people to Gilgal,⁵ and then goes on as follows⁶: —

In obedience to the seer's words Saul waited at Gilgal. How he longed to advance at once against the Philistines! But he curbed his impetuous desire. At last the seventh day broke, but no Samuel appeared. The army was melting away hour by hour. Nothing but some bold and decisive step such as an order to march against the enemy could prevent his being deserted by all his troops. But he could not issue any such order before the solemn sacrifice had been offered, and who knew whether the Philistines might not attack him at Gilgal before the ceremony was performed? The day drew to a close, and Samuel was still absent. At last Saul could bear it no longer. He had all the preparations made, and then offered the burnt sacrifice himself. Hardly had he done so when Samuel was seen approaching.

¹ See p. 392.

² 1 Samuel ix. 1-x. 16.

³ 1 Samuel xiii. 4.

⁴ After an amended version.

⁵ 1 Samuel x. 8.

⁶ Vv. 7b-15a.

Saul advanced respectfully to greet the seer, but Samuel sternly required him to answer for what he had done. Saul told him how it had happened. "The people were melting away," he said, "and you came not at the appointed time. The Philistines are encamped at Michmash, and I was afraid that they might attack me and compel me to join battle with them before I had called upon Yahweh. And so I took courage to offer the sacrifice myself." But Samuel would accept no excuse. "You have done ill," he replied, "for you have not obeyed the commandment of Yahweh, your god. Had you obeyed, then Yahweh would have confirmed your rule over Israel this day; but now your power shall not endure, and Yahweh will seek out a man after his own heart to take your place and to be the prince of his people." With these words the seer left Gilgal and departed to Gibeah in Benjamin.

It is well for the fair fame of Samuel that this story is obviously untrue. It is really difficult to see what Saul's offence was supposed to be. At any rate we try in vain to discover anything that he had done to deserve so heavy a punishment. We must remember that the writer does not blame Saul for exercising the functions of a priest, and offering a sacrifice, for this was not considered unlawful in his days, but merely for not waiting long enough for Samuel. He seems to intend us to understand that the seventh day was not quite gone when Saul's patience was exhausted; but he does not exactly say that it was so. In fact he says distinctly, "He waited seven days, until the time that Samuel had appointed." He makes the difficulty in which Saul found himself appear so great that one would think it was his express purpose to throw blame upon Samuel's conduct. But this cannot really have been his intention. He doubtless wished to teach his readers that a prophet of Yahweh had a claim to absolute obedience, and that no excuses, however good they might appear, were to be accepted for transgressing any command, however hard or extraordinary. But this cannot have been the real course of events. It is impossible to believe that such a man as Samuel would have wished to make Saul an absolute slave, or would have overthrown the kingdom he had just helped to establish, for such a trivial cause as this. To do so would be to play fast and loose with Israel's independence, in a manner utterly unworthy of a patriot. But this is not the only reason for refusing to accept the narrative as true. Would Saul desert his strong position opposite the Philistines, and go and waste

his time at Gilgal, just at the very moment when he dreaded an attack? If so, the Israelites had good reason for distrusting such a clumsy and reckless leader. The Philistines, too, appear to have quietly waited until the Israelites returned and reoccupied the mountain pass they had deserted. Again, we are left entirely without information as to the moment at which these seven days of Saul's stay at Gilgal were supposed to begin. Lastly, Saul's zeal and courage do not appear from the narrative to have been damped in the least degree by Samuel's announcement that Yahweh had rejected him, and this is contrary to all that we know of his disposition. We shall therefore put this account of the meeting between Saul and Samuel entirely on one side for the present.

When this addition is struck out, the narrative itself throws some light upon several subjects that we have discussed already, and in its turn receives some light from them.

In the first place, it illustrates the remark we have already made,¹ that in ancient times the Israelites considered that a man's guilt was not in any way affected by the intention with which he had done anything. They simply asked whether the deed was in itself a trespass. If one man had killed another he must be put to death, whether he had done it by accident or on purpose; and in the same way Jonathan was condemned to death because he had tasted food after his father had pronounced a curse upon any one who should do so. It is true that the command was very ill-advised, as the writer himself does his best to show us; true that Jonathan merely transgressed the letter and not the spirit, for he only tasted the honey as he passed without pausing a moment in the pursuit; it is even true that he had not so much as heard of his father's prohibition: but for all that he was guilty, and it was therefore he that had drawn down Yahweh's wrath upon the people. Such was Saul's belief, the people did not dispute it for a moment, and the writer himself obviously holds the same view. The Israelites were better than their belief, but their belief was that it was Jonathan's act that had made Yahweh wroth. It was for this reason that Jonathan had to be redeemed or bought off, for the people could never have been satisfied until their angry god had been appeased.

In the next place this narrative shows that we did not exaggerate the ferocity that was characteristic of Samuel's activity as a judge;² for this action of Saul is quite in the

¹ See pp. 81, 82.

² See pp. 452, 453.

spirit of Samuel — the spirit of zeal for the service of Yahweh, in accordance with the character ascribed to that god in the eleventh century before Christ. In this scene Saul appears before us as the true type of the faithful and zealous worshipper of the fearful god. Yahweh's demands are terrible, but for his true servant nothing is too hard. Saul casts lots between himself and Jonathan. He is willing to lay down his own life, should it appear by the answer of the god that he has unwittingly sinned against him; and when Jonathan turns out to be the guilty man, Saul smothers even his affection for his son, and is ready to offer him as a sacrifice. This is a sample of the kind of honor paid at this time to Yahweh, Israel's god, by the most zealous of his worshippers.

After studying this narrative we shall find nothing to surprise us in the later deeds of Saul, to which we have referred already in describing Samuel's activity,¹ — his persecution of the ventriloquists and the magicians, for instance, or his attempt to root out the Gibeonites. These were but fresh manifestations of the spirit he displayed in his treatment of his eldest son when he had transgressed. Saul was fanatical in his zeal for Yahweh. The struggle for Israel's freedom and power, to which he summoned the tribes, was to him a religious war. It was faith in the mighty Yahweh's help that enabled the Israelites under Saul's guidance to perform such heroic deeds, and that finally delivered the people from their foes. As in the times of Deborah and Jephthah, so now too it was in Yahweh's name that the enemy was routed. But in one important respect this period differed from those that had preceded it; for when Saul had gained his first victory he kept the reins of government in his hands, and, instead of disbanding his army, took up an offensive attitude towards his neighbors. He found pretexts for engaging in war first with one and then with another of the surrounding peoples, and under his rule therefore Israel was for the first time recognized as a united and formidable nation.

Saul's numerous victories, and the prosperity and glory which they brought to Israel, appear not only from the short account that closes the narrative we have just examined, but also from the dirge composed by David after the death of Saul and his sons. It is as follows²: —

O Israel! thy glory lies slain on thy hills!
How are the heroes fallen!
Tell it not in Gath,
Publish it not in the streets of Askelon;

¹ See pp. 449 ff.

² 2 Samuel i. 19-27.

Lest the Philistine girls rejoice,
 And the daughters of the uncircumcised dance for joy.
 O mountains of Gilboa, let no dew or rain fall on you,
 Ye fields and hills of death!¹
 For there was the hero's shield cast away,
 The shield of Saul, bespattered, all unanointed with oil.¹
 Without the blood of the slaughtered, without the fat of heroes
 The bow of Jonathan turned not back;
 The sword of Saul returned not empty.
 Saul and Jonathan, the beloved and beauteous,
 Were never parted in life or death;
 They were swifter than eagles,
 They were stronger than lions.
 Ye daughters of Israel! weep for Saul,
 Who clothed you in purple and splendor,
 And threw jewels of gold round your necks.
 How are the heroes fallen in battle,
 And Jonathan slain on the heights!
 I am grieved by thy loss, my brother Jonathan!
 Thou wast very dear to me;
 More precious to me was thy love than the love of women.
 Alas! the heroes are fallen,
 And their weapons of war have perished!

That Saul was no ordinary man, and well knew how to gain the love of his subjects is also shown by the sequel of the history, for the greater part of the Israelite nation clung to his house with a deep affection which long survived the accession of David to the throne.

We have no means of knowing how long Saul's reign lasted. At the beginning of this narrative, the period of his reign is given as two years. But this cannot be correct. Much more than this is required to allow time for everything that happened in his reign. For instance, while he was king, David rose to fame, was persecuted and compelled to pass sixteen months among the Philistines. We have no trustworthy information as to the length of Saul's reign elsewhere. We are told in the book of Acts² that he reigned forty years, and Josephus assigns him either forty or twenty years, it is not quite clear which. But the statements of these writers are of no value, for they had no sources of information except the old Scriptures. It has been conjectured that the two years of which the book of Samuel speaks cover the period of the king's friendship with Samuel, and that he was then declared to be deposed, though as a matter of fact he reigned for five years more. We shall touch upon the arguments in favor of this supposition presently; but even a period of seven years is hardly long enough for all that took place in this reign.

Saul had done great things for Israel. He had proved

¹ After an amended version.

² Acts xiii. 21.

decisively that the Israelites were capable of being formed into a single nation; and had richly earned the title of Israel's deliverer. And yet his family fell with him. How it was that so brilliant a constellation set so soon we shall consider in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SAUL REJECTED BY YAHWEH.

1 SAMUEL XV.

THE following story is intended to explain why Saul's dynasty never took root in Israel:—

One day Samuel said to Saul: "It was I whom Yahweh sent to anoint you king over his people Israel. Listen therefore to the commands which he sends you by my mouth. Thus speaks Yahweh of Armies: 'I remember the evil that the Amalekites did to the Israelites as they came up out of Egypt; and now they must be chastised for it. Rise up, therefore, and lay the Amalekites under the ban. Spare them not; but put men and women, nay, the very children and the sucking babes to death; and slaughter the cattle and the sheep, the camels and the asses.'" In obedience to Yahweh's command Saul summoned the men of military age to Gilgal,¹ and soon found himself in command of two hundred thousand Israelites, and ten thousand Judæans.

With this formidable army he advanced against the Amalekites; but first, he warned the Kenites not to make common cause with them, for the Kenites had always been friendly to Israel, and Saul was anxious not to injure them. He now routed his enemies so utterly, that all their territory came into his power; and Agag himself, the king of the Amalekites, fell into his hands alive. Then Samuel's injunctions were carried into effect, Amalek was destroyed by fire and sword. Agag himself however was not slain, but was carried off as a prisoner, and Saul allowed some of the choicest cattle to be kept alive and driven off as booty.

He had to pay dearly for this act of folly. Yahweh was not to be mocked. Saul returned in triumph; raising a

¹ After an amended version.

triumphal column at Carmel, in the desert of Judah. But as he was on his way to Gilgal, Yahweh revealed himself to Samuel. "I repent," said he in wrath, "that I ever made Saul king; for he is disobedient, and now he shall be rejected!" Full of grief and terror, Samuel cried all night to his god, beseeching him to mitigate the sentence. But it was all in vain. He must himself bear Yahweh's message to the king.

Samuel went to meet Saul at Gilgal and found the victorious prince in the very act of offering a sacrifice to Yahweh from the first fruits of the booty.¹ He advanced to meet the prophet, and joyfully exclaimed, "May Yahweh bless thee! I have fulfilled his command!" But Samuel answered severely, "Then what is this sound I hear? What means this lowing of cattle and bleating of sheep?" Saul answered in some confusion, but still quite unconscious of having committed any serious fault, "These are some of the best of the Amalekites' cattle. The people spared them for a sacrifice to Yahweh, your god. But all the rest I have laid under the ban." Supposing that he had now completely justified himself, Saul tried to lead Samuel to the altar, but the prophet resisted his attempt and exclaimed, "Stay! I must deliver the message which Yahweh uttered to me in the night." "Speak on!" said Saul, auguring little good from Samuel's voice and manner. Then the prophet strove to make him feel his shameful disobedience. "Were you not little in your own sight when Yahweh anointed you king of Israel? How dared you then to rebel? And when he commanded you utterly to destroy the miserable Amalekites how dared you to neglect his word, to keep the spoil, and so to do evil in his sight?" Then Saul, perceiving that the prophet was in terrible earnest, endeavored to excuse himself: "I yielded to the people's wish,"¹ he said. "But I did obey the commandment of Yahweh, and though I have kept Agag alive yet I have rooted out the Amalekites. Only the people chose the best of the cattle and the other spoil to bring here to Gilgal, to sacrifice to Yahweh, your god." As if the sparing of Agag were a mere trifle! As if king Saul—taken in the very act of offering the sacrifice with his own hands—did not share in his people's guilt! Samuel passed over these excuses, as though Saul himself must know them to be idle, and merely answered the single plea that the cattle had been kept for a sacrifice. "Think you," he demanded

¹ After an amended version.

sternly, "that Yahweh delights in any sacrifice as much as in the obedience of his worshippers? Of a truth, obedience is better than any sacrifice;¹ to give ear to his words is better than the fat of rams; for disobedience is as great a sin as witchcraft, and obstinacy is as bad as the worship of *teraphim*.¹ Since you have despised the commands of Yahweh, he has deemed you unworthy to be king of Israel."

Humbled by these threatening words, Saul confessed his guilt in yielding to the wishes of his people, and implored forgiveness, at the same time begging Samuel to join with him in worshipping Yahweh. But Samuel had uttered no idle threat. Saul could not wash out his guilt by confessing it. He was once for all rejected of Yahweh. It was not till Samuel answered, "I will not go with you; for since you have transgressed Yahweh's commandment, he has rejected you utterly!" that Saul understood the full extent of his punishment. Upon this Samuel turned away to go; but Saul strove to detain him, and, in his despair, seized him by his mantle so violently as to tear off the flap. But Samuel only took occasion to repeat in another form the sentence of his god: "So Yahweh tears the kingdom of Israel from your hand this day, and gives it to another who is better than you. He who gives Israel victory lies not and changes not his thoughts; for he never repents, like a man, of what he has determined to do." Perceiving, at last, that the sentence was irrevocable, Saul exclaimed: "I have sinned. But yet support my authority before the nobles and all the people. Follow me and take part in the sacrifices and prayers in honor of Yahweh, your god." To this request Samuel assented.

When Saul began the sacrifice, and the sacred trumpets sounded, and the air rang with shouts of victory in honor of Yahweh, Samuel cried, "Bring forth Agag, king of the Amalekites!" The captive knew what he had to expect. He drew near the place of slaughter trembling, and cried aloud, "Oh! how bitter it is to die!"¹ But Samuel was not touched by his misery. His eye flashed with the fire of fanatical reverence for Yahweh and hatred of his people's enemies. Turning to the captive, he exclaimed passionately, "As your sword has made many women childless, so shall your mother be bereft of her son!" Upon this he swung the sacrificial axe on high and hewed Agag in pieces to the glory of Yahweh.

¹ After an amended version.

When the feast held in honor of the victory was over, Samuel went to his dwelling-place at Ramah, and Saul returned to Gibeah. From that day forward they never met again.

This story reminds us at once of the account of Saul's impatience at Gilgal, and the sentence which it drew upon his head.¹ The two stories have much in common. In both of them Saul's offence is disobedience to Samuel's command; in both his punishment is the fall of his dynasty, and both imply that Yahweh had already chosen his successor. The two cannot be reconciled, for the first does not speak of a provisional sentence, the execution of which might be averted by strict obedience. It speaks just as clearly as the second of an irrevocable decree of Yahweh. And in the second there is not the smallest reference to any previous announcement of Yahweh's displeasure.

The story we are now considering is no nearer the truth than the other. It was written centuries after the time of Saul, as we may see from the very fact of its putting into the mouth of Samuel such lofty thoughts as to the worship acceptable to Yahweh; for these ideas were first conceived and expressed by the great prophets of the eighth century before Christ, by such men, for instance, as Michah or Isaiah. The unhistorical character of the story is further evident from the impossible pretext given for the declaration of war against Amalek, from the exaggeration of the number of the warriors Saul is said to have had under his banner, and from the statement that Amalek was utterly destroyed, whereas we know that so soon as in David's time this people was again in a position to threaten Israel's safety.² But, apart from these details, the main idea of the story is untrue. For, like the other account, this also makes a single definite trespass — and a very trivial one — cause the ruin of Saul. It is impossible to believe that it was so really. To begin with, of course, we could not speak of Saul's being rejected by *God* upon such grounds; for Samuel's order to lay all Amalek under the ban is so repugnant to our feelings as Christians, that we should certainly never dream of ascribing it to God. But even if we overlook the fact that the writer believes Saul to have been rejected by Yahweh, and take the narrative simply to mean that he was rejected by Samuel, it is still incredible. Surely Samuel cannot have required such absolute submission on the part of the king that he declared himself against him, and took

¹ See p. 422.

² 1 Samuel xxvii. 8; 2 Samuel viii. 12.

steps to dethrone him on the strength of one trifling act of disobedience. At any rate, if it were so, it would be a specimen of the most unscrupulous ambition and the most culpable levity in all that concerned the interests of the people.

We cannot regard this story as anything but an attempt to answer a question that suggested itself to the thoughtful Israelites of a later age. It was this: "How was it that Saul's family did not remain upon the throne of Israel, but that David succeeded to it?" A faithful worshipper of Yahweh would never think of looking for natural causes, such as the recent establishment of the monarchy, the character of Saul, his Benjamite extraction, Samuel's personal qualities, the defeat and death of Saul, or the incapacity of his surviving son. All this was nothing. The only answer that could satisfy him was that Yahweh had rejected Saul, whence it followed that Saul had committed some sin. This idea was worked out by the writers of both the legends of the rejection of Saul. Their purpose probably was to exhort their contemporaries to stricter obedience. It would be good for them, they thought, to be told that Saul's sin consisted in disobeying the commands of the prophets.

But in all probability there lies a certain truth at the bottom of both these stories: the truth that Saul quarrelled with Samuel, and that the opposition of the prophets contributed in no small degree to the fall of his house. It is easy to see in what particulars Saul would find himself unable permanently to act with Samuel, and in this respect our story has preserved a very correct impression of the real state of things. Let us try to recall the circumstances under which Saul became king, and the policy he first adopted.

The tribes of Israel were divided amongst themselves and were oppressed by hosts of enemies when a great religious revival, partly stimulated by Samuel, took place among the worshippers of Yahweh. The prophets formed societies; the Nazarites constantly increased in numbers, and many a heart was fired by the thought that the people of Yahweh must never mingle their blood with that of the Canaanites, and that the sons of Israel must regard everything heathenish as impure. But the ferment caused by these zealots, with Samuel at their head, would have resulted in Israel's downfall; for now that the injured Canaanites made common cause with the foreign foe, Israel would have been too weak to resist. It was, therefore, a great gain for the Israelites to find a man like Saul, who would watch over their general interests, lead them to

battle, retain a number of their fighting men under arms and enforce general obedience. Saul's skill and courage saved Israel from destruction.

But he too availed himself of the religious enthusiasm of the people, and, supported by the prophets, he summoned the tribes to battle in Yahweh's name. It was but natural, then, that in all respects he should adopt the principles of the zealots; for he was a thorough-going supporter of Samuel's policy, which, of course, he now put into action. The first legend of his rejection by Samuel is quite wrong in making him quarrel with the seer at the beginning of his reign; for he ruled entirely in his spirit for some time. He raised altars to Yahweh, and when he had made an oath to him he enforced it with such terrible severity as not to shrink from sacrificing his own life or that of his son to maintain its sanctity. He persecuted the ventriloquists and wizards to the very death. He would have no treaty of peace with the Canaanites; and in Gibeon and the neighborhood, as well as elsewhere, numbers of them fell beneath his hand, in honor of Yahweh.

But this could not last. In the first flush of excitement caused by the election of a king, while the impression made by his successful campaigns was still fresh, such a policy might be carried out. But Saul soon perceived that the path he was treading must inevitably lead the people to destruction in the end. He could not go through with these measures. The Israelites were too weak and his own throne was too insecure for this to be possible; and doubtless many of his subjects murmured against a policy which they had such good reason to regard as hazardous.

When the first excitement was over and the most pressing dangers averted, Saul, no longer surrounded by the incessant whirl and din of battle, began to consider his line of action more calmly, and to act with greater moderation. We may suppose that his heart, too, protested against the wholesale bloodshed involved in the strict maintenance of Yahweh's command to root out all heathens and sinners with fire and sword. A hint to this effect is still preserved in the story of his war with Amalek and his neglecting fully to enforce all the horrors of the ban.

But by this milder policy he came into collision with the zealots; for they knew no pity. They are fitly represented by the fierce, inexorable Samuel, who would not have the sucking child of an Amalekite spared, and hewed Agag into pieces with his own hand, at Yahweh's altar. These zealots

began to oppose the king from the very moment that his policy became milder, for they thought that he was kindling the wrath of Yahweh by his weakness, and so bringing ruin upon Israel. Away with him then !

But the great mass of the people by no means shared the views of the zealots and remained faithful to Saul. Nevertheless these circumstances were a source of strength to his enemies, and his own rashness gave them only too many opportunities of turning their advantages to account. But we shall return to this subject presently.

This story of Saul's rejection by Yahweh, then, has little value as history ; at the most it does but indicate the line we must follow in order to gain a true idea of what occurred. But there are certain great religious truths expressed in it which make the whole scene rich and beautiful in many ways. It urges us to fulfil the commandments of God to the very uttermost, making no reservations. It teaches us that nothing can make up for disobedience to the will of God.

God does not command us to commit horrors in his name, to shed human blood, or to show our zeal for the truth by deeds of violence ; but he commands us to be loving, helpful, strict in the performance of our duties, just, diligent, and self-denying. Though it is often man that makes these duties clear to us, yet we know by the echo which they wake in our hearts that they are the commands of God, and that, as such, they demand our unconditional obedience.

Alas ! how often we find ourselves, like Saul, but half fulfilling the command, and then deceiving ourselves and others by saying, " I have done as the Lord commanded me ! " Such words could only be true on the lips of one who had fallen short in no respect of fulfilling God's commands. Jesus gives striking utterance to the same truth in his parable of the " unprofitable servant,"¹ in which he teaches us that the man who has done everything that he ought to do has after all only done just enough. Every instance of neglect of perfect obedience makes us guilty before God.

And these deficiencies cannot be made good by burnt offerings or by any other means. In all ages men have imagined that they could, and have tried to make up for their neglected duties by presents to the deity, or some other outward sign of honor, such as prayers, fasts, alms, going to church, sound doctrine, correct forms of worship, or a will in which some

¹ Luke xvii. 7-10.

small part of their ill-earned wealth is bestowed upon charitable objects. It is all in vain. "Obedience is better than any sacrifice." This is the most precious truth preached to us by the mouth of Samuel. Let us strive never to forget it!

CHAPTER XXVII.

YAHWEH'S CHOSEN ONE AT THE COURT OF SAUL.

1 SAMUEL XVI., XVIII. 5-18.

"**S**AMUEL never saw Saul again all his life; but he grieved for him deeply. Whereas Yahweh repented that he had made Saul king over Israel." Such are the final words of the prophetic narrative we have last considered. That which follows is closely connected with it, and breathes the same spirit. Some time after the events at Gilgal, Yahweh said to Samuel, "How long will you go on mourning over Saul, whom I have deemed unworthy to rule over Israel? Fill your horn with oil, for I will send you to Jesse, the Bethlehemite, one of whose sons I have chosen to be king." But the prophet hesitated to obey the command, and exclaimed, "How can I go to Bethlehem for such a purpose? If Saul should hear of it he would take my life." But Yahweh answered, "Take a young ox with you, and tell them at Bethlehem that you have come to make a sacrifice to me. Ask Jesse to the feast, and I will tell you what next to do. You have only to anoint as king him whom I show to you." Thus Samuel's objection was overruled, and he declared himself ready to obey.

When the news of his approach reached Bethlehem, consternation seized the inhabitants; for Samuel's visits seldom boded good. He was the stern instrument of Yahweh's judgments; and corpses hanging on the gibbet, or buried under great heaps of stones raised to perpetuate their shame, fields smitten by the ban and condemned to lie untilled, or dwellings cursed and levelled with the ground—such were, too often, the monuments that kept the memory of Samuel's visits fresh. Had any one at Bethlehem been guilty of a crime or folly that called for fire and sword to expiate it? Who could tell? Samuel was so stern in judgment! The elders of the city went trembling to meet him,

but what a weight was lifted from their hearts when, in answer to the question, "O seer, comest thou in peace?" Samuel replied, "I come in peace; to offer a sacrifice to Yahweh. Consecrate yourselves, and celebrate with me a feast of joy."¹

Samuel took up his abode with Jesse, whom he invited, together with all his sons, to the sacrifice, promising at the same time personally to superintend the consecrations and purifications that they must perform ere they could appear before Yahweh's face. While still in the house, he requested Jesse to present all his sons to him, one by one, and when Eliab, the eldest, entered, he thought, "Surely, this is the anointed one whom Yahweh has chosen!" But his god said to him, "Think not so much of his appearance and the height of his stature, for I have rejected him. I judge not as a man judges; for man is astonished by the outward show, but Yahweh thinks only of the disposition of the heart." Then Jesse let Abinadab follow; but neither did he appear to be the chosen one of Yahweh. The same lot fell to Shammah and all the seven sons of Jesse. Then Samuel asked, "Have you no other sons?" "Yes," was the reply, "there is one more, the youngest, whom you have not seen; but he is not here, for he is pasturing the flocks." "Send for him, then," said the seer, "for we will not march round the altar² till he is here."³ Then Jesse sent for his youngest son, David, and when he entered, with his fair complexion, his beautiful eyes, and his noble presence, Yahweh said to Samuel, "Stand up and anoint him, for this is he!" So the man of God took his oil-horn, and anointed David king in the midst of his brothers; and straightway the spirit of Yahweh came upon him, and remained with him from that day forward. As soon as he had superintended the sacrificial feast, Samuel returned to Ramah.

Saul had soon cause to know that he was rejected, and that Yahweh deemed another the true king of Israel; for the spirit of Yahweh, which had so often, hitherto, kindled a holy zeal within him and led him on to victory, now departed from him. But Yahweh sent instead an evil spirit, that made him fearful, despondent, and passionate. His attendants soon noticed his fits of partial madness, and rightly guessed their cause. "It is an evil spirit of God," they said to their prince, "that troubles you. Let us seek out a skilful player on the harp,

¹ After an amended version.

² Compare Psalm xxvi. 6.

³ After an amended version.

that his music may put the demon to flight, and that you may be at peace." Saul accepted their advice, and before long one of his servants told him of David, who united in himself all possible attractions. He played skilfully on the harp, was courageous in battle, a warrior from top to toe, eloquent in speech, beautiful in person, and evidently beloved of Yahweh. The king longed to see this wonderful young Bethlehemite at his court, and sent to ask Jesse to let his son come to him. The father could hardly refuse the request; so he sent David to Saul with a present of a kid, a skin of wine, and as much bread as could be made from a *gomer* (about five and a half bushels) of corn. Thus David came to Saul, who soon became much attached to him, made him his armor-bearer, and begged Jesse to allow him to stay with him for good. His skill in playing the harp was a great blessing to his master, for when the evil spirit came upon Saul, David would touch his harp, and at once the king would be relieved, and the demon would depart from him. But David distinguished himself in other ways, and it soon became evident that his courage and skill in handling his weapons had not been exaggerated. In fact, whatever Saul gave him to do, he accomplished with such brilliant success that he was soon set over the royal life-guards, and stood high in the favor both of the people and of Saul's courtiers. But this very success was near costing him his life; for once, as he was returning in triumph, laden with booty, from a raid upon the Philistines, Saul joined him and accompanied him, at the head of the forces, to Gibeah, where a troop of girls and women from all the cities of Israel had assembled to greet the king with music and song. But no sooner had one chorus cried, "Saul has struck his thousands down," than the other responded in triumph, "and David his ten thousands!" If the people had done it on purpose, they could not have found a surer means of bringing their favorite to disgrace; for these words roused the king's jealousy against his too successful servant. "They have given me thousands only," he was heard to mutter, "but they talk of David's ten thousands! What does he lack except the crown?" From this moment Saul laid snares for David's life. The very next day his hatred broke out with the utmost violence. One of his fits had hurled him raving to the ground in his own house, and David attempted, as usual, to drive away the evil spirit by playing on the harp. But the madman seized his lance, and cried, "I will pin David to the wall." His intended victim darted from his presence, but soon

returned once more to try the strength of his music against the demon that tormented his lord. No sooner had he returned than the spear quivered in the hand of Saul, and fire flashed from his eyes. David's music had lost its power, for the prince had conceived a dread of an attendant so evidently protected by Yahweh, while he himself was deserted. Saul, therefore, removed David from the court, and gave him command of a troop stationed elsewhere. But, of course, this change did not prevent the people from keeping their eyes fixed upon David, and duly observing all his exploits.

The account of Samuel's anointing David king is obviously legendary. Such conversations between Yahweh and Samuel, as are here recorded, could not really take place. Is it possible to believe that Samuel was informed by a direct communication from Yahweh that David, a man utterly unknown to him, was to be Saul's successor? It is in vain to answer, "Why! does not God foresee everything?" for, in the first place, God never unveils the details of the future in this way to any man; and, in the second place, what right have we to identify the Yahweh here spoken of with God whom we adore and love? Remember that this Yahweh instructs Samuel to invent a false pretext for going to Bethlehem, in order to make it safe to do so. Is this dishonesty worthy of God? We have had so many proofs already¹ of the want of any fine perception in such matters on the part of the Israelite historians, that this trait does not at all surprise us; but we must not translate "Yahweh" by "God," and then appeal to *God's* knowledge of the future in support of the story that Samuel foretold David's future lot. A still further proof of the unhistorical nature of the whole narrative may be found in the circumstance that, though Samuel is in great terror of incurring the wrath of Saul before he sets out for Bethlehem, he nevertheless anoints David "in the midst of his brethren." Did he imagine that a secret known to so many could still be kept? But, after all, the strongest objection to the truth of the story is derived from the subsequent conduct of David. Unless we regard him as a thorough-going scoundrel, we cannot believe that he could have acted as he did if he had really been anointed king by Samuel at the beginning of his career. We shall touch upon this point once more in another connection.

As to the way in which David first gained access to the court of Saul the traditions vary. One of them, to be given

¹ See pp. 189 ff.; pp. 260, 353.

in the following chapter, makes him owe his introduction to Saul to a great feat of arms — his victory over Goliath — and represents him as being quite unknown both to Saul and to all his courtiers before this exploit. This account cannot be reconciled with the one we have just considered. It is true that the writer who wove the two together tells us that David went home again¹ before the fight with the Philistine giant from which his fame as a warrior sprang. But even this does not remove the contradiction; for it is impossible that Saul could have so completely forgotten the man who had for a time rescued him by his music from the demon that tormented him, whom he had made his shield-bearer, and whom, as we are expressly told, he had learned to love. Besides, the first story tells us distinctly that David stayed at court, and did not go home. It is of small consequence, however, whether David first distinguished himself at court as a musician or as a warrior. A bard who could wake a rousing or voluptuous strain as he sang of war or love, and could sound the praises of departed or still living heroes, was sure to be a welcome guest; while a bold warrior who could point to a heap of Philistine heads as witnesses to his strong arm, his steady hand, and his quick eye, would be greeted with yet louder acclaim. All the traditions speak of David especially as a valiant warrior; but there appears also to be some truth in the story of his skill upon the harp, and the influence it exercised over Saul.

The whole story we are now considering naturally falls into three sections, which tell us respectively: (1) How David was anointed; (2) how he came to the court; and (3) how his life was threatened by Saul. But the three sections are united into a well-proportioned whole, in which a single leading thought is consistently worked out. It is by no means accidental that the account of Samuel's anointing David is immediately followed by the words, "Then the spirit of Yahweh departed from Saul, and an evil spirit troubled him." From the writer's point of view, these two events are closely connected with each other. The spirit of Yahweh passed over from Saul to David. Thus, although Saul continued to reign as a matter of fact, yet in Yahweh's eye he was already succeeded by David, who therefore enjoyed the blessing and protection of his God. The writer wishes to impress us with the fact that Yahweh had no sooner rejected Saul than he selected another king. David's ascent of the throne, there-

¹ 1 Samuel xvii. 15.

fore, is not to be attributed to the natural course of events, to the many circumstances which heightened the natural effect produced by his character and achievements, but simply to the supreme will and pleasure of Yahweh, who "slays and makes alive, bruises and heals, from whose hand there is no deliverance,"¹ who raises up kings and deposes them after his own good pleasure.

There is certainly a kind of sublimity in this conception. It converts history from a mass of disconnected facts, a mere succession of accidents, into a single whole, a chain every link of which is essential. And if we think of Him whose supreme will reveals itself in the fall of this and the exaltation of that monarch, as wisdom, holiness, and love, there is deep comfort in the thought that He rules all things. But on the other hand, if, instead of confining ourselves to generalities, we take up some special portion of the history of mankind, and call some single fact, taken by itself, a revelation of the will of God, there is great danger of our blunting our moral perceptions. Take this very instance: Saul's dynasty fell. This was the natural consequence of a hundred different circumstances. Are we then, without any qualification or reserve, to say that it was the expression of God's will? Suppose it should appear that David supplanted Saul by underhand devices and illicit practices, and, further, that his throne stood firmer than Saul's had done, not because it was founded on a better right, but because it was occupied by a man who knew better than his predecessor how to accommodate himself to circumstances: suppose for a moment that all this were to appear, should we be justified in saying that God gives his sanction to such deeds? Surely not.

The Israelite writer, as a friend of David's dynasty, and as a prophet who believed that Yahweh had created good and evil alike, had no hesitation in ascribing the rise of his hero's house to the over-ruling power of his god; and he required no further explanation. But if we follow him in this, we incur two dangers. In the first place we lose all inclination to examine the various circumstances which led to David's becoming king and superseding the family of Saul. We simply say "the Lord ordained it," and look no further. But the second and by far the greater danger is that of becoming blind to Saul's virtues and to David's faults. This danger was partially realized in the case of this Israelitish writer, for

¹ Deuteronomy xxxii. 39.

he darkens the character of Saul, and loads David with praises. But we are in danger of carrying it yet further, for we think of God as a far purer being than this Israelite's Yahweh was to him. If we say that *God* willed that David should succeed Saul, because he was a prince more nearly after His heart, we cannot help thinking of David as nobler than Saul; whereas the writer of this story half-unconsciously started from the belief that whichever turned out to be the stronger must be the one whom Yahweh had chosen. Let us ever be on our guard against this idea. In this world the crown of victory is often worn by sin, and the side that is worsted for the time is often the side of God.

In this story, as well as in that of the rejection of Saul, some fine thoughts are well expressed. We are struck by the words, "Man judges by the outward show, but Yahweh looks within;" that is to say, "The world, as a rule, values a rich, handsome, powerful man above a poor, deformed, and weak one; but Yahweh judges a man by his heart, by the measure of his righteousness." This is nobly said; but it is curious to notice how, when Saul is chosen king, our attention is fixed upon his physical superiority. Samuel points out his great stature, and says to the people, "See what a king Yahweh has chosen; for there is not his like among all the people."¹ Even our writer himself, though he has just declared that Yahweh thinks only of that which is within, cannot help telling us with delight of David's fair complexion, beautiful eyes, and noble appearance, when first he brings him upon the stage. His instincts were too strong for his convictions!

Our story tells us that the spirit of Yahweh left Saul, and that an evil spirit sent by Yahweh troubled him. This points to a change for the worse in Saul's character; and it is a fact that his life is divided into two periods, in the latter of which he appears in a much less favorable light than in the former. The change did not take place suddenly, nor was it the result of Samuel's journey to Bethlehem; but it came about gradually, and can be explained without much difficulty from the special circumstances of the case. We have already seen² that Saul was at first a zealous partisan of Samuel's school, but that he afterwards changed his policy. He saw that if he continued his jealous defence of Yahweh's glory in the mode encouraged by the fanaticism of the prophets he would soon bring Israel to destruction, and

¹ 1 Samuel x. 23, 24.

² See p. 492.

he was therefore compelled gradually to change his tactics, to live at peace with the Canaanites, to tolerate heathen practices, and to relax to some extent his strenuous efforts to enforce the full demands of Yahweh in all their rigor. His character suffered greatly by this change; not so much because he incurred the displeasure of the prophets as because he was acting more or less against the conviction of his own conscience. If the prophetic rapture had been altogether outside his own experience, if he had been of a naturally cool and calculating disposition, he would have been able to bear the fanatical opposition of his old allies far better. But Saul was of a highly-wrought and passionate temperament. Hitherto the stormy violence of his nature had expressed itself in zeal for Yahweh's glory, but now this vent was closed against it by the dictates of prudence. The fire, thus confined, could not but break through in some other direction, and reveal itself in bursts of frenzy. And, again, what is harder to bear than the opposition of former friends, especially when their opinions still find an echo in our hearts in spite of ourselves?

Neither music nor anything else could avail in the long run to divert these bursts of madness. The evil was too deep-rooted. If Saul could be at peace once more with himself and with the policy he found himself pursuing, if his bloodthirsty zeal for Yahweh could be transformed into a holy zeal for God, then, but then only, would the demon depart from him. As it was, his moral nature could not bear the strain of these two hostile forces tearing him two ways—his fanatical zeal for Yahweh, and his rational love of his people.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JONATHAN AND DAVID.

1 SAMUEL XVII. 1-XVIII. 4, XVIII. 17-XX.

“ALL the time that Saul was king the war between the Israelites and the Philistines was raging fiercely; and Saul endeavored, as far as he could, to collect all the heroes round his person.” These are the concluding words of the account of the first victory which Saul gained over

the Philistines through the valor of Jonathan,¹ and they serve to connect that story with the one that follows.

War had broken out again. The Philistines had led their troops into the field, and had penetrated to Shochoh, a city of Judah, where their progress had been stayed by the Israelite army. The two camps were separated only by a single valley. One army was encamped on each of the opposing slopes, but neither dared to quit its own position and endeavor to storm that of the enemy. After a time, however, a certain Goliath of Gath advanced as a champion from the Philistine ranks. He was a terrible opponent: six ells and a span (nearly ten feet) in height, his head cased in a brazen helmet, a scaled coat of mail, weighing five thousand shekels (about three quarters of a hundredweight), on his breast, his legs protected by brazen greaves, a war-mace of the same material hanging between his shoulders, the shaft of his spear like a weaver's beam, and its head weighing more than six hundred shekels. His armor-bearer carried a huge shield before him. Such was the dread champion who stepped from the ranks of the Philistines and scornfully cried to the Israelites, "Why draw yourselves up in battle array? Am not I a Philistine, and are not all you servants of Saul? Choose a champion, then, and let him come out and face me! If he can slay me, then we will submit to you; but if I prevail, you shall serve us." So cried the Philistine; and when he saw that none of the Israelites would venture on single combat with him, he broke into contemptuous taunts. "Dare you not? I defy the armies of Israel! Come, choose your man, for I am ready." But no one dared to accept his challenge. All the heroes that surrounded Saul felt their hearts sink within them when they looked upon the giant. Every day he came out again and uttered bitter taunts, "forty days" long.

Such was the state of things when a certain David arrived at the camp of Israel. He was the son of a Bethlehemite named Jesse, who was already far advanced in years. His three elder brothers, Eliab, Abinadab, and Shaimmah, were serving in Saul's army; whereas he himself, being the youngest, had remained at home. In consequence of no one's accepting the challenge of Goliath, the campaign had been dragged out until Jesse was sure his sons would want more provisions,—for each soldier had to provide for himself. Accordingly he sent David with an ephah (about half

¹ 1 Samuel xiv. 52.

a bushel) of parched corn and ten loaves of bread for his brothers, besides ten pieces of cheese as a present for their captain. He was also to ask after their welfare, and see whether they were in want of anything.¹ It was morning when he reached the army of the Israelites, closely beset by the foe, and the soldiers were just being drawn out in battle array. David left the provisions in charge of the keepers of the baggage, went to the front, found his brothers, and asked after their welfare. As they were standing together talking, the giant advanced again and hurled his boastful defiance at the Israelites. Mortified, humiliated, and amazed, David inquired what all this meant, and was soon informed how scornfully the Philistine champion dared the Israelite army to battle, and what magnificent promises the king had made to any one who should succeed in slaying him; how he would load him with riches, give him his daughter to wife, and release his whole family from military duties. "What!" exclaimed David; "Is the man who slays this Philistine to receive so much? Is so great a reward to be given for so small a service? What is this uncircumcised Philistine that he should defy the army of the living God?" On repeating his question again and again he always received the same answer, till at last his language attracted the attention of several of the Israelites, and amongst them of Eliab, his eldest brother. Eliab resented the contemptuous tone in which his young brother spoke, and said, "What have you come here for? To see the battle, I suppose! Why did you not stay to look after the sheep? I know you well. You are capable of any piece of madness." "Why, surely," answered David, "there is no harm in asking! You need not be so angry." Upon this he went to another part of the camp, saw the Philistine again, heard the horror-stricken soldiers speak about him, found himself less and less able to contain his indignation, and gave out more and more distinctly and decidedly that he at least had courage to accept the challenge. At length the news reached Saul that there was a young man in the camp who seemed inclined to undertake the combat, and accordingly David was led into the royal presence.

No sooner was he brought before Saul than he cried out, in a burst of warlike zeal, "Let not my liege's heart fail him because of this Philistine! I will go out and fight with him." But Saul hesitated to accept him as Israel's cham-

¹ After an amended version

pion. "Do you know what you are doing?" he asked. "Surely you are no match for him! You are but a lad, and he has been trained to war from his youth." But David answered, "It is no mere folly in me to dare to do this thing; for once when I was pasturing my father's flocks, we were surprised by a lion, and he stole one of the sheep. So I gave him chase, and struck at him till he let go the sheep. Then he turned round upon me; but I seized him by the throat and throttled him. And another time I did the same to a bear. I have conquered a lion and a bear, and surely this Philistine is no stronger than they were! Why should not I go out and lay him low, and take away the shame of Israel? For who is this uncircumcised wretch, that he should dare to insult the army of the living God? Yahweh defended me against the lion and the bear, and he will bring me back as scathless from the battle with this Philistine." Saul's hesitation was now completely overcome. He saw that however young his champion might be, he was no mere reckless boy. With the words, "Go! and may Yahweh help you!" he accepted David's championship. In order to give the young hero every chance, Saul wished to equip him with his own armor and his own weapons. David allowed himself to be thus prepared for the battle, but when he had placed the helmet on his head and the armor on his limbs, and had girt the sword to his side, he found that these unaccustomed arms so encumbered his movements that, after a second trial,¹ he laid them aside. So he went to meet the Philistine in his own dress, in which he felt at ease, his shepherd's staff in his hand, five smooth stones in his wallet, and no weapon but his sling. A stream of curses poured from the savage lips of his opponent when he saw him approach. What! a fair-fleshed, blooming boy with nothing but a stick in his hand, to be matched with him, armed as he was from head to foot, and with his shield-bearer at his side! "Am I a dog?" he cried in fury. "Come near, and as sure as Dagon lives I will give your flesh to the wolves and vultures!" "Nay," answered David, "but that fate is yours and your countrymen's, for you have insulted the armies of Israel's God. You trust in sword and lance and shield, but I repose on Yahweh's might. This day shall it be seen that victory waits not on the strength of arms, but on Yahweh's will alone."

¹ After an amended version.

With these words the champions rushed upon each other; but the combat was soon decided, for before Goliath could so much as come near David, a stone from the shepherd's sling struck his forehead with such force that it sank into his head, and the giant fell to the earth. David sprang upon his foe, placed his foot upon his body, and, having no sword of his own, drew that of Goliath from its sheath and struck off his head with it. The Philistines instantly turned in hurried flight, while the Israelites pursued them to Gath, nay to the very gates of Ekron, and the whole way was strewn with corpses. Then they returned and plundered the deserted camp.

But we must go back to David. He brought the Philistine's head to Jerusalem, and afterwards hung up his armor in his own tent. But first, of course, he had an interview with Saul. He was quite unknown to the king. When first he went to meet the Philistines Saul said to his general, Abner, "Do you know who he is, Abner?" And Abner could only answer, "As sure as I live, I know not." Saul told him at once to make inquiries; but as David returned with Goliath's head in his hand Saul himself questioned him, and he replied, "I am David the son of Jesse the Bethlehemite." Well may the hearts of Saul and his followers have been filled at that moment with gratitude to the hero who had taken away the reproach of Israel, and delight in his youth and beauty, mingled with a tinge of jealousy at the thought that one so young should have put to shame so many veteran warriors! But there was one especially who felt drawn irresistibly to the victorious shepherd boy. It was Jonathan. And when Saul insisted that Goliath's conqueror should not return home but should remain with him, David soon learned to return Jonathan's friendship with all his heart. In soldier style they sealed the bond of friendship by exchanging their clothes and weapons, so that Jonathan gave David his mantle and coat of mail, together with his sword, his bow, and his girdle.

The story of this victory over Goliath cannot be accepted as a correct account of the way in which David and Saul became known to each other. We have seen already that it contradicts the story that precedes it, and a few small inaccuracies show that its author lived after the time of David. For instance, he says that Goliath's head was carried to Jerusalem,¹ whereas that city was still in the hands of the Can-

¹ 1 Samuel xvii. 54.

aanites at the time. Again, in the words that he puts into his hero's mouth, we recognize the religious conceptions of the prophets of a later age; for he makes David declare that his victory would prove that success depends upon Yahweh's will rather than upon strength of arms.¹ All this, however, would give us no right to deny the historical character of the main facts of the story, were it not for the circumstance that elsewhere in the book of Samuel² the honor of having slain Goliath is attributed to another man. The passage referred to runs: ³ "When there was war again with the Philistines, at Gezer, Elhanan, the son of Jair, the Bethlehemite, slew Goliath of Gath, the shaft of whose spear was like a weaver's beam." There cannot be the smallest doubt that the Goliath mentioned here is the same as the Goliath of our story. Now he cannot have been slain both by David and by Elhanan; and since popular legends are always prone to heap upon a single favorite the achievements of a number of less celebrated heroes,⁴ it is far more likely that the credit of Elhanan's exploit should have been given to David than that anything which David had really done should have been attributed to a warrior otherwise unknown. The writer of the book of Chronicles noticed the contradiction, and tried to remove it; for we can hardly suppose his version of the affair to be due to a mere slip of the pen. He says,⁵ "And Elhanan, the son of Jair, slew Lachmi (N.B. 'Beth-halachmi' is the Hebrew for 'the Bethlehemite'), the brother of Goliath, the Gittite, the shaft of whose spear was like a weaver's beam." This is an example of the way in which the Israelites of the third century before Christ were prepared to pervert a text rather than admit that two passages of the Holy Scripture contained contradictory accounts. Similar motives urged our own translators to imitate the Chronicler; and in the "Authorized Version" the passage in the book of Samuel itself is given thus: ⁶ "Elhanan, the son of Jaareoregim, a Bethlehemite, slew the brother of Goliath the Gittite," though the Hebrew says nothing of the kind. This is but a specimen of the dangers into which we are brought by the conviction that there *can* be no contradictions in the Bible. It is so apt to make our work dishonest.

But if David did not slay Goliath, he certainly gained great glory as a brave and skilful warrior, and soon earned a place

¹ Compare pp. 24, 25, 290, 291.

² After an amended version.

³ 1 Chronicles xx. 5.

⁴ 2 Samuel xxi. 19.

⁵ See pp. 233, 254.

⁶ 2 Samuel xxi. 19.

by the side of his friend Jonathan, who had been the first to venture upon attacking the Philistines. When Jonathan entered on his league of friendship with David, and exchanged arms with him, doubtless he, the prince, had a great deal the worst of the bargain; and this first passage strikingly foreshadows the whole history of their friendship. For though it was equally sincere on both sides, yet it so happened that Jonathan was involved in the greatest perplexities by his attachment to David, which proved, however, an unmixed advantage to his friend. All this will be abundantly illustrated as we go on with the history.

After Goliath's death there were chances enough for Saul's heroes to gain distinction in the war with the Philistines. David's fame soon towered above that of all his rivals, and he became the darling of his people. But for that very reason Saul began to regard him with growing distrust and even fear, till at last he wished to get rid of him. To accomplish this end he offered him his eldest daughter, Merab, to wife, on condition of his distinguishing himself still further in the "war of Yahweh" against the Philistines. He hoped that David's rashness might bring him to his death in this enterprise. But in this he was disappointed, and fearing that David would become too powerful if he married his eldest daughter, he broke his promise, and gave her to a certain Adriel of Meholah. But Saul's second daughter, Michal, had fallen in love with David, and her father made use of this attachment to set the same trap again. He told his courtiers to sound David on the subject, and when David repeated what he had said before, that he was too poor a man to dare to raise his eyes so high as to the daughter of the king, he was given to understand that Saul would require no other gift from him, as the price of the bride, than proof that he had slain two hundred Philistines. David soon accomplished this task, and Saul was obliged to give him Michal. She was deeply attached to her husband, and proved a faithful ally to him against the machinations of her father, whose hostility and desire to get rid of David only increased as time went on.

Once, when David had gained fresh laurels, Saul could conceal his suspicion and hatred no longer, and openly declared to Jonathan and his courtiers how gladly he would be freed from his prosperous son-in-law. The sincerity of Jonathan's friendship was now put to the test. He first warned

David of what was going on, and then, cautiously but straightforwardly, represented to his father how wrong he was to seek the life of this man, who had relieved him from such misery and conferred such blessings upon Israel by slaying the Philistine, and had never done him any wrong. Blessed are the peacemakers! Jonathan was successful, this time, in bringing his father to a better frame of mind, and David returned to court as before.

But when, some time afterwards, he had gained another victory over the Philistines, Saul, in a burst of frenzy, hurled a javelin at his head as he sat playing the harp before him. His intended victim darted aside and left him, but Saul sent a band of soldiers to surround the door of his house and slay him in the morning. And now Michal's affection stood David in good stead, for she warned him of his danger, and he let himself down from a window and escaped. Meanwhile Michal laid the *teraphim* in his bed, and when Saul's soldiers entered she pointed to it and said that her husband was ill. When the trick was discovered her father furiously demanded why she assisted his foes. She excused herself by saying that David had threatened her with death if she did not allow him to escape.

Meanwhile David fled to Samuel at Ramah and told him all that Saul had done. Then they went to the school of the prophets together.¹ But when Saul heard where the fugitive had gone his rage broke forth anew. David gone to Samuel! David in the midst of the prophets! It boded nothing but mischief, for who was now more bitterly hostile to the king than that very party of fanatics with whom he had formerly been at one? He sent a troop of soldiers in all haste to Ramah with orders to seize David; but they were doubtless unwilling, from the first, to carry out their instructions: they were filled with a sacred awe of the holy place, and hardly had they seen the band of prophets advancing with music and dance—Samuel at their head—hardly had they caught the sound of their inspired utterances and cries to Yahweh, when they themselves felt the infection of the religious excitement, and joined in prophesying. The experience of a second and third company of soldiers was the same. On hearing this Saul leaped up in frenzy, and, hardly knowing what he was about, set out himself for Ramah. At the great well, near the city, he was informed, in answer to his questions, that Samuel and David

¹ After an amended version.

were in the prophets' cloister. Thither he directed his steps ; but reminiscences of a former time, reverence for the sacred person of Samuel, penitence for his past conduct, and dissatisfaction with his present purposes, waked a new spirit in him as he went. His anger changed to prophetic inspiration. He flung aside his outer garments, gave way to his enthusiasm, and in the midst of the prophets, whose amazement soon gave way to exultation, he burst into cries of glory to Yahweh and stood up and danced before Samuel. Then exhaustion came upon his overwrought system, and he lay on the ground, stripped of his outer garments, a whole day and night. Thus did Yahweh show his power over his adversary, and hence arose the proverb, "Is Saul, too, among the prophets?"

The account of David's stay at Ramah is immediately followed in the book of Samuel by the story of an act of friendship done to him by Jonathan. This story, however, is quite inconsistent with that of the reconciliation between Saul and David brought about by Jonathan. For in the former story Jonathan appears before Saul as his friend's champion, whereas in this he is still quite unconscious of any hostile intentions on the part of his father. The story runs as follows :—

When David left Ramah he sought an interview with Jonathan and said to him: "What have I done to your father that he should seek my life?" His friend answered in utter amazement, "He never dreamed of taking your life! My father does nothing without first consulting me; and surely he would never have kept anything of such importance as this a secret from me!" David swore a great oath that it was as he had said, and as for Jonathan's objection it was soon met. "Your father knows well enough," he said, "that I have found favor in your eyes. So he thinks to himself, 'Why should I tell Jonathan? It would only grieve him.' But as sure as Yahweh lives there is but a step between me and death." Dismayed by the words of his friend, and half convinced of their truth, Jonathan answered, "Then what would you have me do?" David suggested a means by which he might discover the king's real disposition towards him. The next day happened to be the feast of the new moon, and David determined to absent himself from his usual place at the king's table.¹ In explanation of his absence Jonathan was to say that he

¹ After an amended version.

had asked leave to go to celebrate a family festival at Bethlehem. If the king graciously accepted this excuse it would show that David had only fancied that he was out of favor. If, on the other hand, his suspicions were correct, Saul would be sure to give some indication of their truth. "And then," concluded David, "be merciful to me, for we have sworn by Yahweh to be true in our friendship. If I have done wrong then slay me yourself; but betray me not to your father." Jonathan promised faithfully to report how things stood. Then they went out into the fields together to arrange some signal by which Jonathan might tell David what to do, in case they could not have another interview. There they renewed their vows of friendship, and Jonathan even made David promise not to put him to death—or his posterity should he be dead himself already—when he became Saul's successor.

The day of the new moon broke. The sacrifice was offered, and the banquet was prepared. Saul took his usual place against the wall of his house. Next him, on one side, sat Abner, while David's empty seat stood by him on the other side. Jonathan, instead of sitting as usual at his father's side, took his seat opposite him, that he might be able to observe him more narrowly. The king said nothing about David's absence. No doubt he thought that some accident had made him unclean, and so prevented his being able to take part in a sacrificial meal. But when David's place was still empty on the following day, he said to Jonathan, "Why has not the son of Jesse been present at the banquet either yesterday or to-day?" Jonathan answered as had been agreed, "David entreated me to let him go to Bethlehem, for there was a family sacrifice there to which his brothers had invited him. He wanted to see his relatives again, and that is why he is not at the king's table." Upon this Saul's rage boiled over. "Child of a rebellious woman," he burst out, "did I not know that you had conspired with Jesse's son against me? You are bringing shame upon yourself and upon your mother. For know that as long as he is alive you will never rest securely on the throne. Come, then, bring him here to me, for he must be put to death!" But Jonathan answered boldly, "Why must he die? What has he done wrong?" When Saul was in a passion it was not safe to be near him. His hand was already laid on his javelin, and Jonathan retired hastily and remained apart. He saw but too clearly how things stood,

and in mingled indignation and sorrow he fasted all that day because his father was so unjust to David.

The next morning he went to the appointed place in the fields accompanied by a boy. He told his slave to go and collect the arrows he shot, and as they flew far on beyond him he cried out, "Run! run! for they are far ahead. Make haste!" That was the sign of danger upon which he had agreed with David. If he had cried, "This way! Go no further!" then his friend might have returned securely to the court. But this, "Run! make haste!" was the friendly counsel to fly. The boy, who knew nothing of the matter, brought back the arrow shot by his master, and since Jonathan saw that there was no danger of being seen, he sent him back with his bow and arrows to the city, but stayed behind himself till his friend should appear. Then David came from behind the heap of stones where he had lain concealed. It was a tender and a solemn greeting. Three times he threw himself upon the ground before his faithful friend. Then they embraced each other in silence. Their tears choked their utterance, until at last David burst into the most passionate cries of grief. It was so terrible for him to have to part with his friend, to part with everything he loved, and go—he knew not whither. At last Jonathan said to him, "Go in peace! Let the oath we both have sworn to Yahweh remain unbroken. May the bond of eternal friendship bind you to me, and your posterity to mine!" And thus they parted.

Before giving this story I mentioned in passing that it was inconsistent with the one that preceded it. For there Saul's hostility towards David was treated as a fact notorious to every one—to Jonathan amongst the rest—and bands of soldiers were sent to seize him. Here David has to open Jonathan's eyes to his father's change of disposition and the danger that threatens him. If both narratives were historical, therefore, we should have to reverse their order. But even this could not save them both, for this latter story is evidently meant for an account of the last farewell of the two friends. There is nothing left but to take these stories as two different accounts of the first outburst of Saul's suspicious hatred and the way in which David escaped from court. The latter story certainly bears the stamp of truth, but there is much that sounds natural and true in the other also. It is not of much consequence, however, that we should know exactly how Saul's fury first displayed itself.

Our stories evidently give a true account of the real cause of this fury itself. Saul, knowing as he did that many of his subjects were opposed to him, and that the prophets especially were now disaffected, naturally became suspicious. David was the darling of the people, and, as the story of his stay at Ramah indicates, stood high in favor with Samuel and his powerful following. Nothing was more natural, therefore, than that Saul, dissatisfied with himself, with the course that events were taking, and with the party of the prophets, should presently have yielded to his own suspicions, given the reins to his violent and passionate nature, and plotted against the life of his too successful son-in-law.

Jonathan's friendship was certainly not displayed exactly as our narrator would have us believe. For he makes him foresee that David is to become king, and even beg him to spare his posterity when that time should come. The writer himself knew the course that events had actually taken, and therefore — with small knowledge of human nature — placed these anticipations in the mouth of Jonathan. But in reality neither Jonathan nor David could have known beforehand that the latter would become king. Nay, if David had intended to aim at the crown, he would have been acting most dishonorably both towards Saul and Jonathan his heir. Nor must we be content to form an unnatural conception of Jonathan himself. A story is elsewhere told us¹ of his coming to David some time after open hostilities between him and Saul had broken out, and saying, "My father will never get you into his power, but you will become the king of Israel, and I shall be next to you in the kingdom. My father knows this well." This is incredible. Why should Jonathan have voluntarily resigned the throne to David? Surely it is much more natural to suppose that he believed with all his heart in the innocence of his friend, and in his loyalty to his father the king. Regarded in this light his conduct is still noble, while David's perfect confidence in his friend argues well for the characters of both.

Let us now consider the conduct of Jonathan once more. He undertakes the difficult and dangerous task of a peace-maker; he dares to speak a word on behalf of his absent friend to his infuriated father; he aids him in his escape, at the risk of being accused of high treason, in which case even his life would no longer be safe from such a man as Saul. And he does all this out of love to one who had given no proof

¹ 1 Samuel xxiii. 16-18.

as yet of any sinister design ; but whose extraordinary success in war, whose marriage with the king's daughter, and whose popularity alike with the people and the prophets might well make him a formidable subject at some future time. But love thinks no evil, believes and hopes all things. We may think of Jonathan, after David's flight, endeavoring to console himself for the absence of his friend by carrying his thoughts on into the future. He saw himself on the throne of Israel, and David, his bosom friend, at his side. He thought how they would rush together to battle with the uncircumcised, while no ignoble jealousies wasted the strength of Israel, and they two, with united powers, raised the people to greatness. He foresaw not — it is well for man that the future is veiled from him — that the hour of his father's death was to be his own last hour too, and that only one of his sons would reap the fruits of his generous friendship, and — eat the bread of charity at David's table.



CHAPTER XXIX.

SAUL PERSECUTES DAVID.

1 SAMUEL XXI. 1-10 *a*, XXII. 1-XXIII. 15, XXIII. 19-XXVII. 4.

DAVID had now no course but instant flight, for a moment's delay might cost him his life. Accordingly he fled, as might have been expected, southwards towards Beth-lehem, and came to Nob, not far from Jebus (or Jerusalem). At this place there was a temple, consecrated to Yahweh, at which a certain Ahimelech, the son of Ahitub, did duty as chief priest. Now when this Ahimelech saw David drawing near he went to meet him trembling. "The king's son-in-law!" he said to himself, "what can that mean?" For messengers from court were seldom bearers of good news any more than the prophets were. "How come you here alone and unattended?" he asked in amazement; and without a moment's hesitation David answered, "The king has sent me on secret business. I have told my men to meet me elsewhere. Pray give me four or five loaves of bread, or whatever else you happen to have, as quickly as possible." The priest was ready enough to help him, but he had no common bread at hand; all he had was the shew-bread, which was reserved for

the special use of the priests. However, he said he would give him even this if his followers were not unclean. "Never fear!" answered David, keeping up the falsehood, "we were all clean when we started from home." Thus reassured Ahimelech gave him the bread. But David was not yet content. "Have you a sword or spear by you?" he asked, "for the king's business was so urgent that I had no time even to snatch up a weapon." "We have no weapons here," answered the priest, "except the sword of Goliath, whom you slew. It is hanging up, wrapped in a cloth, behind the *ephod*." "That is the very thing!" cried David. "There is not another like it on earth! Give it me at once!" Thus provided with the sword and the loaves of bread, the fugitive pursued his way.

He took refuge near Bethlehem, in a rocky stronghold probably formed by a cave. This place was almost inaccessible, and could easily be defended. It was called the cave of Adullam. Here David soon collected a number of followers. They consisted in the first place of nearly all his own relatives, for now that he was out of favor his family feared, or had perhaps already felt, the wrath of Saul. Besides these there were certain malcontents who were dissatisfied with Saul's rule, hopeless debtors and refugees of every description. Altogether they made up a troop of about four hundred men, and they all acknowledged David as their leader and threw in their lot with his. But their position was a very wretched one. How could they hope in the long run to escape the sword of Saul? And how were they to live meanwhile? David saw all the dangers that surrounded him, and his first care was for his parents. At their time of life they could never bear the privations and perils of a bandit's life. So, regardless of the risk he ran, he secretly crossed the Jordan, just by Jericho, alone or accompanied only by one or two special friends, and begged the king of Moab to receive and protect his parents until his own affairs should take a favorable turn. The prince, who was of course no friend to Saul, seized this opportunity of laying an obligation on so valiant and renowned an opponent of his neighbor, and willingly granted the request. The aged pair were then brought with all speed to Moab, and placed in safety there. It was not a moment too soon; for David himself could now no longer remain near Bethlehem. It was too close to Gibeah.

It may be asked why David himself did not seek refuge

with the Moabites or Philistines, and indeed we shall see that he was compelled to do so in the end. But we may well believe that such a course was looked on in those days as a last and desperate resource. Even now it is hard enough for any one to be compelled to leave his country, though he can easily become the citizen of another land. Our manners and customs are not so very different from those of other civilized peoples, and we soon feel more or less at home amongst them. We find much the same style of life as our own, and what is more, the same religious wants, and substantially the same modes of meeting them in all the most highly civilized countries. We find Christianity everywhere. But in ancient times this was not so. Each country was a little world in itself, and was cut off by an almost impassable barrier from everything that lay outside. If any one moved from the land of the Israelites into that of the Syrians, the Phœnicians, the Philistines, or even the kindred tribes of Moab or of Edom, he was transported into an entirely new world, in which, for many reasons, he could never feel at home, most of all because he found a strange religion there. For Yahweh was worshipped in Canaan, but nowhere else; and whoever left the land bid farewell to his god, and lost all that made him an Israelite.¹ And this was why the crime of stealing an Israelite — to sell him as a slave into a foreign land of course — was punished by death.² But for a warrior such as David there was another and a special difficulty in living anywhere but in Canaan. Of course no friend of Saul would think of receiving him, and an enemy of Israel would insist upon his making war upon his own people, and so breaking with them for ever. And this, of course, David was unwilling to do.

As long as it was in any way possible, therefore, he remained in his own land. We must remember, too, that he had many friends at court, who kept him informed of what was going on there. It is only natural to suppose that these friends belonged to the party of the prophets; and we know that at any rate on one occasion a certain prophet of the name of Gad came to David in the stronghold of Adullam, and warned him that Saul was preparing to attack him there, and that he would do well to change his present place of refuge for some other. Upon hearing this David hastened further south into Judah.

It is not much that escapes the eyes of a king, how-

¹ 1 Samuel xxvi. 19.

² Exodus xxi. 16; Deuteronomy xxiv. 7.

ever. Saul knew well enough that some of his courtiers were in communication with David, and his indignation knew no bounds. Once, as he was sitting under the tamarisk at Gibeah, with his spear in his hand and all his courtiers about him, he looked darkly round upon them, and his suspicious glance rested first upon this captain or minister then upon that. "Listen to me, you Benjamites!" he broke out at last. "Are you so sure that Jesse's son will give you corn-lands and vineyards as I have done, and make you all captains of thousands and of hundreds? Why should you all conspire against me? Why did not a single one of you tell me that my own son upheld that wretched man? Have none of you any pity left for me, that you never told me how my son was stirring up my subject to lay snares for me? Yet so it is." The reproach was received in silence; but a certain Doeg, an Edomite, the overseer of Saul's mules, was present. He happened, by an accident, to have witnessed David's interview with Ahimelech, for he was shut up in the sanctuary at the time, "before Yahweh's face," perhaps on account of leprosy, or some other cause of uncleanness upon which the priests had to decide. This Doeg now came forward and took advantage of what he had seen at Nob to curry favor with the king by defaming Ahimelech. He told him how the priest had given David provisions and Goliath's sword, and by way of improving the story a little added that he had consulted the oracle for him. Alas for Ahimelech! Saul leapt up from his seat on hearing Doeg's words. He could well believe that David had been helped by a priest, for he was such a favorite with prophets, priests, Nazarites, and all such men! Ahimelech and all the priests at whose head he stood were summoned at once before the king. "Listen to me, thou son of Ahitub!" thundered Saul. "I await my liege's commands," answered the trembling priest, who drew no comfort from the looks or tones of the infuriated monarch. But he was filled with utter dismay when he heard the words, "Why do you plot with Jesse's son against me? What need had you to give him bread, to give him a sword, to consult the very oracle for him, and make him a rebel against me, as he is this day?" Ahimelech, who had never heard a word of this before, could scarcely believe his ears. "What!" he gasped, "David! Which of all your servants was more loyal than he — the king's son-in-law, the captain of the body-guard,"¹

¹ After an amended version.

the most honored man at court? But who accused me of having dared to consult the oracle for him? Never! O my King, lay not this charge upon me or upon my house, for I never heard of it till now." But all this went for nothing with Saul. "Ahimelech," he answered, "you must die, with all your house." And he pronounced their sentence on the spot; for turning to his body-guard he said, "The priests of Yahweh have joined in helping David. They knew that he was flying from me, and they never told me they had seen him. Surround them, and strike them dead." But not one of the lifeguards stirred. The sentence was so glaringly unjust, and the person of a priest was sacred. Boiling with rage, and steeling himself against all pity, Saul now cried to Doeg, "Do you slay them then!" And here he found a ready tool. Ere long five-and-eighty priests, who bore the *ephod*, lay slain by Doeg's sword, while the murderer and his satellites hastened to Nob to carry out the king's sentence there also, and lay both man and beast under the ban.

Only one single priest, Abiathar, the son of Ahimelech, escaped the slaughter. He fled to David, and told him how all the priests of Yahweh had been slain at Saul's command. David was smitten to the heart, and cried, "I feared that Doeg would take word to Saul. And now it is I who have caused the death of all your house. But do you stay with me and fear not, for henceforth your lot is inseparably bound up with mine, and I will protect you." Abiathar had the *ephod* with him, so that David was henceforth able to consult Yahweh.

An occasion for doing so soon arose. As David was wandering about the desert of Judah with his men, the Philistines made an incursion into the district of the Israelitish city Keilah, plundering its granaries and driving off a great quantity of cattle. When the news reached David his blood boiled in his veins. The Philistines in Yahweh's heritage! How often had he smitten them at the head of the troops of Saul, and must he now look on while they vexed Israel unavenged? He told Abiathar to consult the oracle, and was commanded to set out and chastise the Philistines. But his followers murmured and said, "We are scarcely safe here ourselves. What are the raids of the Philistines to us?" To overcome their scruples he consulted Yahweh once again, and still received the answer, "Go forth, for I will deliver the Philistines into your hand." Upon this all opposition died away, and the free-

booters followed their chief with enthusiasm. David led to victory as usual. The Philistines felt the weight of his hand once more, and ere long the delighted inhabitants of Keilah welcomed him as their deliverer within their walls, together with all the cattle he had recovered. But when Saul heard of this his heart was glad. "Now God has put him into my power," he said, "for he has shut himself up in a fortified city." He instantly summoned his army to besiege David and his men in Keilah. But David heard what he was doing, and consulted his god again. "O Yahweh, God of Israel," he asked, "is it true that Saul is coming up against Keilah to besiege it?" "It is," was the reply. "And will the rulers of Keilah give me up to him?" Again the oracle said "Yes;" upon which David and his followers, who were now six hundred in number, left the city. On hearing this, Saul stayed his march, for when David was in the desert, looking for him was a search in the dark! Such were the advantages derived by David from having Abiathar to consult the oracle for him. For some time after these events he continued to wander about in the desert, nor could Saul ever lay hands on him.

The district that lay between the Dead Sea and the eastern and southern slopes of the mountain land of Judah was called the desert of Judah. But we are not to understand under this word a great sandy plain, for the district in question was nothing of the kind. What the Israelites meant by the word generally translated "desert" or "wilderness," was a district rendered, for the most part, unfit for cultivation by want of water or otherwise, and only furnishing fodder for cattle during certain months of the year, when the water-courses that the rainy season had filled had not yet run dry. "Pasture land," or rather "steppe," or "highlands," would, therefore, be quite as good a translation as "desert." This "desert of Judah," then, was a most inhospitable region. Its waste and craggy surface was only here and there relieved by a village or a group of hovels. Huge rocks, pierced by caves in which the wild beasts made their homes — large enough, in some instances, to conceal hundreds of marauders — made the district dangerous to the last degree. These rocks, with the brushwood that covered everything, and the hard, dry soil, gave the whole region such a fantastic and forbidding aspect that superstition drew abundant food from it, and, not unnaturally, peopled the whole place with demons and hobgoblins. Now, this was just the place to afford a refuge to one in David's circumstances, for there were so many places of concealment in

it that it was almost impossible to track a fugitive through it. So he wandered about hither and thither in the desert of Ziph, or in the district variously known as the desert of Maon, of Engedi, or of Tekoa.

The following story gives us some idea of the mode in which a band of freebooters, such as David commanded, gained a subsistence¹: —

In the desert of Maon there dwelt at that time a certain man called Nabal. He was treated with great respect, because he was very rich. On his pasture lands, and in his folds on the neighboring Mount Carmel, he had three thousand sheep and a thousand goats. But he was a surly and wicked man, by descent a Calebite. His wife, Abigail, on the other hand, was equally discreet and beautiful. Now it so happened that this Nabal held a sheep-shearers' feast at his country-house on Mount Carmel at a time when David had established himself in the neighborhood. When David heard of this, he sent ten of his followers to greet him, and to ask him for a present. He thought he had a right to make this request, for not only had he and his men refrained from injuring the flocks and herds of Nabal, but they had even defended them, day and night, from robbers and beasts of prey. Any decent or sensible man would have seen that the request was altogether reasonable, and — in his own interest, if for no other cause — would have made the powerful freebooters some present. But Nabal was drunk when David's messengers arrived, and he answered churlishly, "What do I know of this David? What is this son of Jesse to me? We have turbulent rogues enough in the country! Am I to give these fellows my bread and wine and meat, when I don't so much as know where they come from?" The messengers brought back this answer to David, who received it with the utmost indignation, and immediately called his men to arms. Four hundred of them were soon upon the march, while two hundred stayed with the baggage.

Meanwhile one of Nabal's servants had told Abigail what had happened. He told her, too, what kindness they had all experienced from David and his men. He was afraid that they would have to pay full dearly for his master's words; but then he was such a son of Belial that it was no use speaking to him! Abigail knew too well the truth of what the slave had said, and therefore she determined to do what she could to avert the danger herself, without saying a word to Nabal. Her mind was soon made up. She had her beast

¹ 1 Samuel xxv.

saddled, without her husband's knowledge, and packed a great quantity of provisions, such as bread, wine, meat, parched corn, and raisins, upon asses, which were driven before her. It was well that she had acted as she did! For David, burning with rage at the ill return his goodness to Nabal had met, was approaching with four hundred men, and was already hard by Carmel when she met him. No sooner had his uncouth band come up to her than she alighted from her beast, made a profound obeisance, and greeted the angry bandit with the gentle words: "Lay all the guilt on me, my lord! But trouble not yourself about this worthless Nabal. For he is what he is named — a fool [*nabal* means "fool"]. And I knew not of your message. And now, as Yahweh lives, who holds you back from staining your hands with blood, may all your enemies be as Nabal! See, here is a present that your handmaid brings for your followers. Forgive my sin, for Yahweh will build you up a lasting house, because you wage his wars, and none can lay any evil to your charge. When any one persecutes you, Yahweh shall hold your life safe in the band of the living, but your enemies shall be swung round like a stone in the slinger's thong.¹ And when Yahweh has fulfilled all his promises and made you prince of Israel, let not the thought that you have shed innocent blood rise up to trouble you and weigh down your heart! And when Yahweh blesses you, then remember me!"

Her flattering words succeeded in their purpose, for David exclaimed at once: "Praised be Yahweh who sent you to meet me! A blessing on your courage! A blessing on you for preventing me from shedding blood and becoming my own avenger! For as sure as Yahweh lives, had you not met me here I would not have left a creature in Nabal's house alive by morning." So saying, he accepted the present, and Abigail returned with the reassuring promise that none of her household should suffer any harm.

When she returned, Nabal's feast — and a royal banquet it was! — was at its height. He himself was dead drunk and noticed nothing. But in the morning when he had slept it off and his wife told him what she had done the evening before, he almost died of vexation. Ten days afterwards "Yahweh smote Nabal, and he died." When David heard this he took it as a sign that Yahweh himself had avenged his insult, and thanked his god all the more fervently for having prevented him from avenging himself. The single interview he had had

¹ After an amended version.

with Abigail had made such a deep impression on him that he sent messengers at once to ask her in marriage. When she received his message she bowed down twice to the earth in grateful recognition of the honor he had shown her, and declared her readiness to accompany his messengers in the humble words: "I am ready. I will be the slave to wash the feet of my master's servants." Accompanied by five female slaves she followed David's messengers, and became his wife. He also took to wife a certain Ahinoam of Jezreel — a place in the same neighborhood, most likely; but Saul had given his first wife Michal to a Benjamite of the name of Phalti.

Thus did David and his men live by their swords, now protecting the flocks of their neighbors, now escorting merchants through the desert for a reward, and sometimes, doubtless, when driven by necessity, levying black mail on the district. It was a hard and anxious life. It is true that they seemed tolerably safe from pursuit, the place was so wild and mountainous, and the rocks so full of holes and caverns; but after all, their lives were in constant danger, for a price was set upon their heads. On one occasion, David all but fell into the hands of Saul, for the inhabitants of the desert of Ziph, in which he happened to be, had gone of their own accord to Saul and offered to guide his troops. Their perfect familiarity with all the lurking places in the neighborhood made escape almost impossible. One by one they cut off all the passes, till at last the freebooters were so completely surrounded that only a single hill separated them from their pursuers. They would inevitably have fallen into their hands had not sudden news of an incursion of Philistines compelled Saul to relinquish the pursuit for the moment. Hence this rock was called "the rock of the escape."¹

But no sooner was Saul again at liberty than he collected three thousand picked warriors, and led them to the desert of Engedi to track out David. But this time he was to stay his pursuit for a very different reason from his last. He happened once to enter a cave for a moment, apart from his men. Little did he think that his life hung upon a thread, and that David was standing with his drawn sword behind him! Yet so it was. Concealed in the ample cave was the whole band which he was pursuing. As soon as Saul had entered, David's men said to their chief, in signs more than in words: "Now is the day on which Yahweh fulfils his promise and gives over your enemy to you. Do to him what

¹ 1 Samuel xxiii. 19-23.

you will." David rose and crept up to Saul—but only to cut off the hem of his outer garment. Thus Saul was spared; but as soon as he had gone on his way again no small discontent was expressed within the cavern. David was deeply moved. A host of conflicting emotions rushed through his soul. He had stood behind his enemy with his sword drawn. A single blow would have put an end to his own sufferings and those of his men. He had held back his hand, and it was still unstained by royal blood; Yahweh had preserved him from this sin. But murmurs rose against him on every side. His men were profoundly dissatisfied. The life they led was so hard, and he might so easily have rescued them from it! To all this he had but one answer, "God forbid that I should lay my hand upon the king; for he is Yahweh's anointed!"

But Saul must know how little he really had to fear from David. So the latter made all speed to follow him, called to him, and when he turned round bowed down in reverence to the earth. "Why do you give ear," he cried, "to the calumnies of those who say that I plot mischief against you? Now you may see with your own eyes that it is not true. For in the cave hard by I might have killed you; but I spared your life, for you are Yahweh's anointed. See, here is the hem of your mantle which I cut off. Acknowledge, then, my father, that I harbor no evil thoughts against you in my heart. May Yahweh judge between us! Is not the proverb true that says 'From evil men come evil deeds?' At least there comes no plot against your life from me. Alas! who am I that the king of Israel should chase me? I am but a dead dog! I am but a flea! May Yahweh protect me against you!" Saul—passionate and impressible as he was—burst into tears when he heard these words. "Is it really you David, my son?" he cried. "In truth you are a better man than I. You might have killed me and you did it not. The proverb says, 'If a man meet his enemy in the way will he let him pass by unhurt?' but yet you spared me when Yahweh put me into your power. Now I am sure that you will be king after me, and that your family will keep the throne of Israel after you. Swear to me, then, that you will not root out my family when that time comes." David promised with an oath, and then each of them went his way, Saul to Gibeah, and David to his cave in the desert.

The statement that David returned to his place of concealment contrasts oddly with his solemn oath to Saul not to root

out his posterity ; but then this certain knowledge on the part of Saul that David would succeed him on the throne is as incredible as that Jonathan, in whose mouth the same prophecy is put,¹ should have foreseen the fact, or that David himself should have known it. The narrator, who knew the actual result himself, involuntarily assumed the same knowledge on the part of the actors whom he brought upon the stage, without thinking of the false and impossible positions in which they would have been placed had they really had any such foreknowledge.

The story that David once spared the life of Saul, when the latter was pursuing him, rests upon an old and apparently trustworthy tradition. It appears in another form as follows² : —

When David was in the desert of Ziph, the inhabitants of the district promised Saul that they would hand him over to him, for they knew where he was hiding. With three thousand chosen men Saul undertook the expedition, and was soon encamped close by the spot where his enemy was to be found. But at night no sentinels were set to guard the camp, and David, who had learned from his spies where Saul was lying, managed to pass the barricades and approach his sleeping father-in-law. His cousin, Abishai, Joab's brother, accompanied him on his perilous adventure. Saul lay quietly sleeping in the midst of his warriors. His lance was driven into the ground at his head. "God has given your enemy into your hand," whispered Abishai. "Shall I run him through with his own lance and pin him to the ground? One blow will do it!" But David held back his companion, who had already stretched out his hand to seize Saul's spear. "Do him no injury," he said, "for who would bring upon his head the guilt of slaying Yahweh's anointed? As sure as Yahweh lives," he continued, "Yahweh will bring Saul into some calamity, and his hour will come, in battle or some way else. But Yahweh forbid that I should lay my hand on him! Take his spear and cruse of water with you, and let us go!" It was no sooner said than done. They escaped from the camp unobserved, for "a sleep of Yahweh" had come over Saul and his men. Then David took his stand upon a hill, prudently keeping a considerable distance between himself and the royal troops, and shouted till he waked the general Abner and all the people. "Who is it," exclaimed Abner, "that dares to disturb the king?" "Why,

¹ See p. 512.

² 1 Samuel xxvi.

Abner!" answered David mockingly, "what a man you are! Where is your like in Israel? Why have you kept no better watch over the king? There has been some one into the camp to murder him! By Yahweh, you have done ill in not protecting the anointed of Yahweh better! But now, send a soldier for the king's lance and water-flask that lay at his head." Saul too had heard what passed, and recognized the voice of David in the darkness. "Is not that you, my son David?" he cried. "It is, O King," was the reply. "Why do you persecute me thus? What evil have I done? Nay, do but hear me! If it is Yahweh himself who stirs you up against me, then propitiate him with a sacrifice. But if it is the work of men, may they be cursed by Yahweh, for they are driving me out of his heritage and forcing me to go elsewhere and to serve other gods. Oh, let not my blood be poured out before Yahweh's face! And, after all, what am I that Israel's king should pursue me? I am but a partridge hunted on the hills!" Saul was completely melted, and replied, "I have greatly erred. Come with me home. After what has now befallen me I can never injure you again." But David did not think it prudent to comply. He begged Saul to send for the lance and the flask, and then went his way with the words: "Yahweh will reward every man for his deserts. I have shown that I, at least, will do nothing against the anointed of Yahweh. As your life has been precious in my sight this day, so shall my life be precious to Yahweh, and he will rescue me in every time of need." Saul, on his side, took leave with the exclamation, "Blessed be thou, David, my son! It cannot be but that prosperity and power await thee!" After this he returned to his home.

It is evident that the writer gives his own interpretation of subsequent events in the last words he puts into the mouths of Saul and David. He believes that Yahweh protected David as a reward for his generous conduct towards Saul. In other respects this story is far more probable than the other. At any rate, it is much easier to form a definite conception of what is told us here. The two stories agree, however, in the main point. Not only do they both represent David as having spared the life of Saul, but they both attribute his doing so to his reverence for Yahweh's anointed.

But although Saul was overcome for the moment by David's generosity, although the exile's friends pleaded his cause whenever they dared to do so, although Jonathan's words had doubtless great weight with his father at certain seasons, yet

his suspicions constantly recurred, and fits of furious passion ever urged him on to form fresh plans of vengeance, and drew from his lips such dire curses on his disaffected subjects, above all on David and those who supported him, that a permanent reconciliation was impossible. Saul continued to be David's enemy all his life. We cannot tell how long the fugitive maintained himself in the desert of Judah; but the period must certainly be counted by months rather than years. It would be hard enough for him to find sustenance for himself and his men even for a few months. And then the sword was ever hanging over his head. How easily some traitor might make interest with the king by betraying him! If Saul was really determined to seize him, he was sure to succeed, sooner or later. So he was compelled at last, though sore against his will, to leave his country and throw himself into the arms of the Philistines — the only neighboring people capable of defending him. Accordingly he crossed the border and made his way to Gath, where he placed himself at the service of king Achish. When Saul heard of this he was obliged to relinquish all intention of pursuing him further.

We shall soon return to David, in the land of the Philistines; but first we must speak of the last days of Saul.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE LAST HOURS OF SAUL.

1 SAMUEL XXVIII. 3-25, XXXI.¹

THIS is the account given us of Saul's last hours and death:—

Some months after the time of public mourning for the death of Samuel had come to an end, the Philistines brought their troops into the field again and pitched at Shunem, while Saul took up his position on the hills of Gilboa. But when he saw the hostile army his courage failed him for the first time in his life. He longed for an oracle to restore his confidence as to the result of the battle; but, alas! his desire could not be satisfied, for Yahweh refused to answer him. In vain the dreamers lay upon the consecrated spots, for the

¹ 1 Chronicles x.

deity would not reveal himself to them. The priest could gain no glimpse into the future by *urim and thummim*. None of the prophets were inspired, and the music of the harp and the rumbling of the drum alike failed to bring down the spirit of Yahweh upon them. Clearly the god was unpropitious, and no sacrifice availed to procure his favor. The thought weighed upon the heart of Saul like lead. He saw fear in the looks of the followers, and on the faces of some of those lifeguards who had refused to slay the priests of Yahweh he read the thought, "This is what it has brought us to!" At last he could bear it no longer, and determined to learn the future, let it cost what it might! So he asked some of the friends whom he trusted most whether they could find out a witch for him.

Find out a witch for Saul to consult! Then has it come to this? Was it not Saul who, in very zeal for Yahweh, persecuted the practisers of heathen arts even to death? And is he now brought so low that he himself calls magic to his aid?

His followers can find a witch for him. North of Gilboa, between it and Tabor, lay Endor. In one of the houses of this place, or perhaps in a cave hard by, lived such a woman as they wanted. On hearing this, Saul, accompanied by two of his faithful servants, went to the spot by night, and in disguise. He asked the witch to consult her soothsaying spirit for him, and to call up from the grave the dead man whom he should name to her. At first the woman hesitated to comply, for Saul had forbidden the practice of witchcraft upon pain of death; but when the stranger swore an oath by Yahweh that she should suffer no harm if she granted his request, she consented, and asked him who the dead man was that he wished her to bring up from the world below. "Samuel," answered he.

Then the woman began to prepare her charms and to mutter her incantations,¹ retiring for the purpose, it would seem, into a separate room, or behind a partition that marked off a portion of the cave by the mouth of a cleft in the rock, supposed to be a passage to the world below. Suddenly she shrieked aloud, "You have deceived me! You are Saul himself!" "Fear not," answered the king, deeply moved, "but tell me what you see." "A spirit is rising from the depth," answered she. "What is he like?" asked Saul again. "An old man wrapped in a mantle," said the witch. Then Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and overcome with

¹ Compare Isaiah viii. 19, xxix. 4.

awe he bowed down twice to do him homage. And lo! a voice as from the grave fell upon his ear, and Samuel asked, "Why have you broken my rest in the grave? Why have you brought me here?" "Because I am in sore distress," groaned Saul, "for the Philistines wage war against me, and Yahweh answers me not — neither by prophets nor by dreams. So I have called on you for help. Tell me what I am to do." But he fell to the ground, and his soul died within him, when he heard the words, "Why do you question me, when Yahweh has departed from you and has taken the side of your neighbor David?¹ For Yahweh gives to him the kingdom that he takes from you, according to my words. This day does Yahweh requite you for your disobedience in the war with Amalek, when you refused to execute his wrath. And for your sin Yahweh gives up Israel into the hand of the Philistines, and — to-morrow you and your sons shall be with me."

The apparition vanished, and Saul lay stretched upon the ground. Terror had laid hold upon his heart, and Samuel's words had crushed him utterly. Moreover he had eaten nothing, through sheer anxiety, all the last day and night. The witch now tried to bring him to himself again. "My king," she said, "I have risked my very life to grant your wish. And now do you, in your turn, grant my request, and eat and drink something before you go." He long refused, but at last he yielded to the persistent entreaties of his followers, and accepted the woman's urgent invitation. He rose from the ground, and sat down upon her bed. She hastened to slaughter her fatted calf, prepared the meat, baked some unleavened bread, and set the repast before Saul and his attendants, who ate of what she had prepared and then went on their way.

Next day the Philistines began the attack, and put the Israelites to flight. The hills were soon covered with the bodies of the slain. Saul and his chosen band still manfully held their own; but one by one the king's three sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Melchishuah fell. Saul himself still struck down all who came within his reach. But at last a band of the enemy's archers drew near; their arrows whistled through the air, and the royal hero fell — pierced through the bowels.² He felt that he was mortally wounded, and cried to his shield-bearer, "Draw your sword and run me through, that the uncircumcised may not come and mock

¹ After an amended version.

² After an amended version of 1 Samuel xxxi. 3, and 1 Chronicles x. 3.

me." But his attendant stood appalled, and dare not raise his hand to strike him. Upon this Saul mustered all the little strength he had still left, and, with the weapon he held in his hand, gave himself his own death-blow. His shield-bearer would not survive his master, and fell upon his own sword.

Thus did Saul die a hero's death; but it was a fearful hour for Israel. The army was utterly defeated. The neighboring cities were deserted, for terror of the Philistines, and soon fell into the power of the enemy. Next day the victors, searching the battle-field for plunder, vented their rage on the lifeless bodies of Saul and of his sons. They cut off their heads, stripped the armor from their bodies, and bore these trophies of victory through all their cities with shouts of triumph, as a grateful spectacle to their gods and to their countrymen. Finally they hung up the arms as a consecrated gift in the temple of their goddess Astarte, while the headless trunks were nailed to the wall of the Israelitish city of Beth-shan, hard by the battle-field.

Thus even an honorable burial would have been denied to Saul and to his sons, had not the gratitude of faithful subjects secured them from this last indignity. On the other side of the Jordan, opposite Beth-shan, lay Jabesh. Saul's first great feat of arms had been the rescue of this city; and when the men of Jabesh heard what the Philistines had done to the body of their benefactor, it was more than they could bear. All their fighting men set off by night, crossed the Jordan, took down the corpses of Saul and his sons, and bore them hurriedly back to their own city. There they burned the bodies, apparently to secure them from any further outrage, and buried the bones under the terebinth of Jabesh. Then they observed a fast of seven days.

Such was the end of Saul.

To understand this story we must try to form a clear conception of the ideas entertained by the ancient Israelites concerning the lot of man beyond the grave. They had not yet conceived the hope of a continued life, or a return to life, after death. This seems very strange to us. For it is difficult for us to conceive of an earnest living piety united with the belief that all is over with man the moment he has breathed his last. We have grown so familiar with the idea that our better self survives, that we are apt to think it inseparable from true religion. It is indeed very closely

connected with it, and in fact grows out of it. Hence we often find expressions used by the Israelitish psalmists so full of joyful self-surrender to God and cheerful hope for the future that they seem to us almost necessarily to imply the expectation of a future life. Read the following outpouring of soul, for instance ¹ : —

God is our refuge and our strength,
 A help that fails not in time of trouble.
 Therefore we fear not, though the earth should swing,
 And the mountains tremble in the midst of the sea.
 Let the foaming waters roar,
 Let the mountains rock when the sea rages;
 Yet Yahweh of hosts is with us,
 Our fortress is Jacob's god.

The same spirit is breathed by the following song, incorrectly ascribed to David ² : —

Yahweh, thou art my god!
 Thee do I seek.
 My soul thirsts after thee,
 My flesh yearns toward thee,
 As a parchèd land,
 As a thirsty, waterless plain!
 I long to see thy power and glory
 As I have seen thee in thy sanctuary.
 Because thy favor is better than life
 My lips shall praise thee:
 I will bless thee as long as I live,
 I will lift my hands in thy name.
 As though with the richest banquet, even so my soul is satisfied;
 Therefore my mouth shall praise thee with joyful lips.
 I think of thee in my bed;
 Of thee in the watches of night.
 For thou art my help;
 In the shadow of thy wings I rejoice.
 My soul hangs upon thee,
 For thy right hand upholds me.

What a depth and earnestness of spiritual life breathes through these songs! Can such poets have believed, we ask involuntarily, that when they fell under the sword of their foes, or perished in a storm, or died of some disease, this life with God was at an end for ever? Was such the belief of the holy man who sang ³ : —

When my heart was bitter [because of the prosperity of the godless]
 And my soul disturbed,
 I was ignorant as a brute,
 As a senseless thing before thee.
 For I am always with thee;
 Thou hast taken me by the right hand.
 Thou wilt guide me with thy counsel
 And afterwards lead me to glory.
 I have none but thee in heaven,

¹ Psalm xli. 1-3, 7.

² Psalm lxiii. 1-6.

³ Psalm lxxiii. 21-27.

I desire none other on earth!
 Though my body and soul shall fail,
 My rock and eternal heritage is God.
 For behold! They perish who are far from thee.
 Thou rootest out those who fall off from thee.
 But for me it is joy to be near to God!
 I set my trust on my lord, on Yahweh,
 And will speak of all thy works.

What wonder if Christians have seen in such lines as these the expression of the hope of immortal life, and, interpreting them in this sense, have made use of them as hymns? Assuredly the piety that speaks through them has already overcome the fear of death, and must unconsciously lead up to the hope of everlasting life. But all this does not remove the fact that these same psalmists had no expectation of anything deserving the name of life after death.

The opinions of the Israelites concerning the state of the dead underwent no great alteration for ages, and remained almost unchanged till within the last two centuries before our era. We need therefore have no hesitation in calling witnesses to these beliefs from different periods, widely separated from each other in time, for in substance all antiquity was at one upon this point.

In the belief of the Israelite, then, deep down below the earth, nay, "under the sea and its inhabitants,"¹ lay the realm of shadows, also known as "the abyss," and "destruction." It was sometimes confounded, involuntarily and very naturally, with the grave, from which, however, it is essentially distinct. The name of this place is the word so incorrectly translated "hell" in our authorized version. It was —

"A land of darkness and deathlike shade,
 A land as black as night,
 Where all is pitch dark and confusion,
 Where noon-day is as black as the night."²

In this kingdom of the dead "there is no action, nor understanding, nor knowledge, nor wisdom;"³ God's wonders are unknown in that land of darkness and oblivion;⁴ eternal silence reigns there;⁵ and to glorify God is impossible.⁶ Thus a poet writes⁷:—

Deliver my life, O Yahweh!
 And save me for thy mercies' sake!
 For after death none think of thee,
 And who shall praise thee in the realm of the dead?

¹ Job xxvi. 5, 6.

² Job x. 21, 22.

³ Ecclesiastes ix. 10.

⁴ Psalm lxxxviii. 12.

⁵ Psalm xciv. 17.

⁶ Psalm lxxxviii. 10-12, cxv. 17.

⁷ Psalm vi. 4, 5.

A prophet might now and then speak as though the dead could rise,¹ or as though the shades had some remembrance of their former lives, and could even recognize those that joined them;² but this was only the language of poetic imagery, and, as the passages already quoted show, it by no means proves that the Israelites seriously ascribed such powers to the inhabitants of the shadow-land. Again, the story of Saul and the witch at Endor makes Samuel speak just as he would have done when alive; but this only shows that the Israelites, like the ancient Greeks, believed in the possibility of restoring a kind of momentary life and consciousness to the shades, by means of magic. It by no means follows that they believed these shades to be always possessed of conscious life and memory.

The Israelite's belief in the justice of God and the recompense of virtue and vice stood in no kind of connection with his conception of the land of shadows. He did not think of a man's condition after death as in any degree dependent upon his conduct during life. The realm of the dead was "the place where all mortals meet together."³ If the same lot sometimes befalls the righteous and the wicked even here,⁴ far more is the state of all the same in the land of shadows.⁵ "Every man goes to join the dead. For who is there that escapes? While there is life there is hope; and a living dog is better than a dead lion. For the living know that they will die, but the dead know nothing at all. And they have no reward any more, for the memory of them has perished. And their love and their hate and their envy have long since vanished, and to all eternity they have no share any more in all that is done beneath the sun."⁶ In the same way the writer of this story of the witch makes the pious Samuel say to the king, whom he looks upon as forsaken of God, "To-morrow shall you and your sons be with me!"

In short, the condition of the dead may be indicated in a single word. Though God's eye, according to the outpourings of the poets, reaches even to the realm of shades,⁷ yet "he thinks of its inhabitants no more, and they are cut off from his hand."⁸

The belief was general in ancient times that certain

¹ Isaiah xxvi. 19; Ezekiel xxxvii. 1-14.

² Isaiah xiv. 10.

³ Job xxx. 23.

⁴ Ecclesiastes ix. 2.

⁵ Job iii. 18-19.

⁶ Ecclesiastes ix. 3b-6.

⁷ Job xxvi. 5, 6; Proverbs xv. 11; Psalms cxxxix. 8. ⁸ Psalm lxxxviii. 5

persons understood the art of calling up shades from the realms of the dead. Amongst the Israelites this belief was not confined to a few ignorant and therefore specially superstitious individuals, but, as far as we can make out, it was universal. It is true that Samuel and Saul persecuted these charmers of the dead, or *necromancers*, and forbade the practice of their arts, but this was not due to any disbelief in the powers of such witches and magicians, but to the idea that their arts were heathenish.¹ But when once these practices had been condemned, a great step had been made towards the discovery that they rested on the self-deception of a heated imagination or the deceit of deliberate imposture.²

In the story of the interview with the witch at Endor, we find ourselves, to a large extent, at any rate, in an atmosphere of fiction. It is impossible to form any reasonable and credible conception of what occurred. It has often been suggested that this woman was an impostor, that she recognized Saul by his promise that no harm should befall her, and that she was a good ventriloquist and imitated Samuel's voice — for it deserves notice that no one but the woman herself sees the shade. On this supposition it would be natural enough for her to put a gloomy prophecy into the mouth of Samuel, for she knew the position in which things stood, and might well suppose that when the leader was in such a frame of mind as that of Saul the army was almost certain to be defeated. In this way some of the main features of the story are made to appear credible. But, as a whole, it is still unexplained. For it is quite clear that the writer himself intended nothing of the kind suggested, but firmly believed in the reality of Samuel's appearance, or at any rate found nothing absurd in the idea. He intended to represent Samuel even after his death, as having once more called the past to the memory of Saul. He believed in necromancy just as completely as the writer of the legend of Joseph believed in the significance of dreams.³ The fictitious character of the narrative is further evident from its making Samuel predict the result of the battle in such detail: "To-morrow shall you and your sons be with me!" This, at least, no enchantress, however sagacious, could have known beforehand. Moreover this story contains a reference to that of Saul's rejection by Yahweh; and since we saw reason to reject that as untrustworthy⁴ the historical charac-

¹ See pp. 450, 451.

³ See pp. 207-210.

² See pp. 272, 274.

⁴ See p. 487 ff.

ter of this falls with it. The writer evidently regarded Saul's tragic end as a manifestation of the avenging justice of Yahweh, who now exacted the penalty of former disobedience. But he did not reflect that even pious kings had often met with mournful deaths, and that many good and noble heroes had lost their lives on the battle-field.

Is there no truth at all in the story then? Is it not true, at least, that Saul in his despair sought aid of a necromancer? This is a very difficult question. The writer believed in magic himself, and would not think it any great enormity in Saul to have recourse to a witch when Yahweh would help him no longer. Such a course would appear to him quite natural. He intends the real stress of his narrative to fall upon the truth of the prediction which he puts into the mouth of Samuel. For Samuel himself, the judge whom Saul had superseded, the messenger of God who had foretold his fall, once more to appear in person and repeat his threats on the very eve of their fulfilment, would appear to the writer a most telling and impressive incident. And to secure this Samuel must rise from his grave, and therefore Saul must apply to a witch to raise him. On the other hand, it is far from impossible that Saul, in his despair, was really driven to a means of learning the future which he had himself condemned, though he no more thought of denying its efficacy than did any of his contemporaries.

Our final estimate of Saul will be but little affected whether we accept or reject this journey to Endor as a fact. For a single despairing action is no great evidence against a man. Saul excites our deepest interest. Hardly anywhere else in the Bible do we feel that the hero of a tragedy has passed before us so strongly as in the history of Saul. Of noble form and fiery spirit, religious by nature and inspired by a heartfelt love of his people, courageous and enterprising, he rose as Israel's deliverer and as a zealous servant of Yahweh. But this friend of Samuel, who vindicates the severity of the religious laws, builds altars to Yahweh, strives to exterminate the Canaanites, and chastises all heathen practices, gradually becomes such a bitter foe of Yahweh's messengers that one who finds himself in company where he is utterly out of place comes to be called a "Saul among the prophets." Gradually all the powers of his impulsive and commanding spirit became the slaves of suspicion and hatred, till, in the murder of the priests of Nob, and the stubborn persecution of David, we see what the man had by slow degrees become!

Like every one else who degenerates morally, Saul had himself to blame for his fall, for he had failed to bridle his unruly passions. But there are many extenuating circumstances in his case. We have seen already¹ that he was torn two ways by the dictates of political sagacity on the one hand which urged him to compromise and trim the question of Israel's relations with the heathen, and by his own conscience on the other which drove him to the uncompromising zeal that speaks in deeds of blood. Even when a man is mistaken in his conception of what God demands from him, he never grows better by silencing his conscience and listening to the dictates of prudence. But neither are the prophets and their party altogether free from the guilt of Saul's degeneracy. Fanatics are difficult to work with. As soon as Samuel's friends perceived that Saul was no longer their tool in everything, they began to oppose him; for the least hesitation in maintaining Yahweh's fiercest ordinances was in their eyes desertion of his cause. It was not without reason, therefore, that Saul grew so suspicious. His belief, for instance, that the priests of Yahweh were assisting David, was certainly not unfounded. Priests, Nazarites, and prophets alike desired the downfall of the ruling prince, and surely many of them had already fixed their eyes in eager expectation upon Jesse's son, and hoped that he would make a better king than Saul.



CHAPTER XXXI.

DAVID AT ZIKLAG AND AT HEBRON.

1 SAMUEL XXVII. 5-XXVIII. 2, XXIX. XXX.; 2 SAMUEL I. 1-V. 3.

WHEN last we spoke of David² he and his troop had just entered the service of Achish, king of Gath, because they could no longer maintain themselves upon Saul's territory. We shall now see something of David's life as a vassal of the Philistines. But first I must just mention another story,³ which tells us that David sought refuge with Achish when first he fled from Saul. No sooner had he come to Gath, the story goes on to say, than he was instantly recognized by the court-

¹ See pp. 492, 493, 500, 501. ² See pp. 526, 527. ³ 1 Samuel xxi. 10-15.

iers of Achish, who told their prince that this was "the king of the land," the man in whose honor the women had sung—

"Saul has laid his thousands low,
But David his ten thousands."

So when David saw that he was recognized, he pretended to be mad, and was therefore driven away by the king. This story is a string of improbabilities. In the first place a Philistine city could only be the very last refuge of a man in David's circumstances. In the next place, how could he have imagined for a single moment that he would not be recognized at Gath? And lastly, the Philistines can scarcely have been so stupid as to be taken in by so dull a trick! The origin of the story is not known. It may possibly have been intended to supersede other traditions with reference to David's stay with Achish, and thus to wash out a stain from his memory.

These other traditions we still possess, though they do not appear to come much nearer the truth than the one we have given. They represent David as having been guilty of the grossest cruelty and deception in his anxiety to make his own life and that of his followers as safe as possible. To seek favor at the court of Achish meant to become the subject of his people's enemy; and since hostilities between the Philistines and Israelites never ceased, David would certainly be required to turn his arms against his own countrymen. Indeed he might be expected to prove his fidelity to his new lord by displaying special zeal in this war. But by doing so he would have broken with his people for ever, and he loved them too well to be prepared for this. So in order that he might remain in the land of the Philistines, without being compelled to injure his own people, he begged Achish to assign some provincial town to him and to his men as a residence, for it was not fitting, he said, that he should remain in the capital. Achish, who seems to have been very credulous, approved of the suggestion, and assigned the town of Ziklag to him. From this place David made frequent marauding expeditions. Many of his turbulent followers were probably incapable of any occupation except that of bandits, and could not have been kept quiet without some such employment. But we are told that David never turned his arms against his own countrymen, but always attacked and plundered some district south of the land of the Philistines, where the allies of this people, and the enemies of Israel, were settled. And when he came to pay his respects to Achish and offer him a portion of the booty, Achish

would ask whether he had been making another raid, and David would answer that he had been attacking the men of Judah, or their allies the Jerahmeelites, and Kenites. To prevent his treachery from being exposed by fugitives, he used to slaughter all the inhabitants of the villages he plundered, without exception. This murderous precaution, coupled with the thinness of the population of those regions and the difficulty of communication, was so successful that for sixteen months the truth did not leak out. Achish had perfect confidence in his vassal, for he believed his falsehoods, and therefore imagined that he had made all friendship with his own people impossible for ever.

This story is in the highest degree improbable. Even on the supposition that no Philistines ever joined David on his expeditions, that Achish never required him to take part in his own operations, and that none of his men ever betrayed him, it is still incredible that for more than a year the route taken by David, the ravages he committed in the district south of Philistia, and the continued prosperity of the tribes he professed to have attacked and conquered, could have escaped notice. It is clear that if the writer really knew anything of David's life at Ziklag, he desired to conceal it; and we are therefore left almost entirely to our own conjectures in endeavoring to fill up the period between David's flight to Achish and the events we shall now relate.

When the war between the Philistines and the Israelites broke out with renewed violence, David's position became very difficult. For Achish summoned him to the field, together with his other subjects, and placed such implicit reliance in his professions of attachment that he actually made him captain of his lifeguard. But fortunately for David, Achish had not sole command of the army. The Philistine cities, Gath, Ekron, Askelon, Ashdod, and Gaza, which appear to have formed a sort of confederacy, were all governed by kings, and each of the five princes enjoyed equal rights with his fellows. Now when the allies of Achish noticed David and his men at the muster, they asked, "What are these Hebrews here for?" Achish answered that this was David, Saul's former subject, and that he had now been living in his territory for about a year without ever giving him the slightest cause of suspicion. But the other princes were distrustful, and insisted on Achish sending David back; for they thought he might seize this opportunity of reinstating himself in Saul's favor by turning his arms against them in the thick

of the battle. They felt no confidence in the man who had been celebrated in song as having "struck ten thousands down."

It was by no means a pleasant task for Achish, to have to inform the haughty warrior that his good faith was suspected, and that he could not be allowed to take part in the battle. He delivered his message with a profusion of apologies. David assumed a lofty tone, and inquired with an air of injured pride what offence he had committed that he should be deemed unworthy of fighting with the enemies of his lord. Upon this, Achish, fearing that he might seek some opportunity to take revenge, did his very best to pacify him, and assured him that he himself had unlimited confidence in him. So, while the Philistines advanced to the plain of Jezreel, David returned to Ziklag, which he reached once more three days after he had left it.

Here a terrible shock awaited him. A tribe of Amalekites, taking advantage of the absence of the fighting men, had fallen upon the city, plundered it, and set it on fire. They were more humane than David, however, and had not murdered any of the women and children, but had carried them all off as captives. As David's men stood by the ruins of their homes and thought of their wives and children, they burst into passionate cries of woe; and then, with the want of fairness characteristic of undisciplined natures in distress, they threw all the blame upon their leader, and began to mutter something about stoning him! David saw all, and was hard put to it; but the thought of Yahweh, his mighty helper, supported him. He ordered the priest Abiathar to attend him instantly with the *ephod*. As soon as he was ready, David asked Yahweh whether he should pursue the robbers. His god encouraged him to do so, and he set off at once with his six hundred men. But before long one-third of his force became so weary that they had to be left behind with the baggage near the stream of Besor. The remaining four hundred continued the pursuit. On their way they came upon an Egyptian slave of one of the Amalekites. His master had left him behind because he was sick, and he was lying half dead upon the ground when they found him; this Egyptian put them on the track. That same evening they overtook the Amalekites, who were carelessly enjoying themselves over their booty. They fell upon them and put them all to the sword, except four hundred, who mounted their camels and effected an escape. A great quantity of cattle, sheep, and

camels, together with all the prisoners, fell into the hands of David's men; so when they found that they had not to bewail the loss of a single member of their families, their sentiments towards their leader were completely reversed. They drove the cattle before them, shouting in triumph, "Here is David's spoil!" and his authority was more firmly established than ever.

He made a good use of his power when the four hundred who had followed him to the fight met the two hundred that had been left behind wearied out. For a dispute arose about the booty, some of the four hundred being unwilling to allow the two hundred any share in it at all. But David silenced them at once, and established a rule (which was observed by the Israelites ever afterwards) that those who went out to battle and those who defended the baggage should have equal shares of the booty. Thus David returned in triumph to Ziklag.

On the third day after his return from pursuing the robbers a certain man came to Ziklag, with his garments rent, and inquired for David. As soon as he was brought into his presence he prostrated himself in reverence before him, and waited for the famous warrior to give him leave to speak. "Whence do you come?" asked David. "I have escaped from the army of Israel," he replied. Escaped! David sprang to his feet in consternation when he heard that single word that said so much. "What do you mean? Speak out!" he hurriedly exclaimed. His anxious forebodings were but too well confirmed, for the stranger answered, "The army has fled. The slaughter was great. Saul and his son Jonathan are slain." David could scarcely believe his ears. The news was too terrible! Might it not after all be false? "How do you know," he asked, "that Saul and Jonathan are slain?" Upon which the other told him how he had happened to be crossing Mount Gilboa, and had there seen Saul leaning upon his spear, and the horsemen of the foe hard by. Saul, said he, had called to him, and had said, "Slay me, for I am seized with cramp,¹ and cannot defend myself, though I am still fully alive." He had granted the request, for he knew that Saul could not survive his defeat. "And see!" he concluded, "here are his armlets and the crown that was on his head. I have brought them to my lord." On hearing these words David rent his clothes, and all his companions followed his example. They spent the whole day weeping and fasting,

¹ After an amended version.

because Saul and Jonathan and the army of Yahweh and the whole house of Israel were smitten by the sword. In the evening, when the violence of the shock was in a measure passed, David sent for the messenger again, and asked, "Whence are you?" Hardly had he answered, "I am a stranger, an Amalekite," when David thundered forth the words, "And you dared to raise a hand against Yahweh's anointed!" A single word to one of his followers was enough, and the Amalekite fell dead upon the ground. He richly deserved his fate — at least, if most of his story was invented¹ for the sake of gaining David's favor. Over his body David pronounced the words, "You have drawn the sentence upon yourself, for you declared with your own mouth that you had slain Yahweh's anointed!"

The dirge in which David afterwards expressed his grief, we have already given in full as a striking testimony to the character of Saul.²

David must have received the news of the death of Saul with very mingled feelings. A certain joy, or at least a sense of relief, at the thought that he was delivered from his mortal foe, must surely have mingled with the grievous thought that his father-in-law, the deliverer of Israel, the glorious hero, the anointed of Yahweh, had met with so sad an end. But, whatever feelings were uppermost in his heart, no one can blame him for taking immediate advantage of Saul's death to relieve himself and his men from the critical position in which they were placed as subjects of the Philistine. The booty he had just seized from the Amalekites now stood him in good stead, for it enabled him at once to send rich presents to the elders of most of the cities of Judah; and when he had thus prepared the way, he lost no time in setting out at the head of his men, under the sanction of the oracle, for Hebron, the chief city of Judah. Here he was well received by the inhabitants, and before long deputies arrived from all parts of the south country, and anointed him king of Judah. This readiness to receive him was no doubt due in part to disaffection towards Saul, and to his own fame as a warrior; but what carried most weight was the fact that he was a Judæan, whereas Saul was a Benjamite, for in ancient times tribal relationships were always held in great consideration.

David naturally lost no time in attempting to extend his newly-acquired power. He therefore sent an embassy to the men of Jabesh in Gilead, who had shown their gratitude to

¹ See the last chapter.

² See pp. 485, 486.

Saul by burying his body at the risk of their own lives. David's message was well calculated to win them for his cause. He thanked them for the fidelity they had shown to Saul, and urged them to be of good courage, though their lord was dead, for he himself had been anointed king by the men of Judah. Whether the men of Jabesh felt inclined to range themselves under his banner we do not know; for at any rate no immediate action could have been taken by them, since the greater part of the tribes of Israel remained faithful to the house of Saul. This was principally due to the influence of Abner, who acknowledged Saul's son Ishbaal (commonly called Ishbosheth) as king.

Ishbaal himself appears to have been a man of feeble character, but his courageous cousin, Abner, gave some strength to his throne. Abner's first enterprise was an attempt to expel David by force of arms and to reduce Judah to obedience; but his hope of surprising him was disappointed at the outset, for David's general, Joab, met Abner as far north as Gibeon. Both the captains hesitated to give the sign of battle and shed the blood of their brothers; and at last Abner proposed that the matter should be decided by a combat of picked champions. To this Joab assented, and twelve warriors from each side joined in the combat, but without bringing things any nearer to a settlement, for all the twenty-four were slain. From this event the place, which was near Gibeon, received the name of "the field of the tournament." The two armies were so much excited by the spectacle of this combat that it was impossible to restrain them any longer. A regular pitched battle was soon raging, and in the end Abner's troops were defeated, and left the field in disordered flight. Amongst David's men three of his cousins¹ especially distinguished themselves. They are always called after their mother, "the sons of Zeruiah," and their names were Joab, Abishai, and Asahel. Now the last named of these, young and swift of foot "like a wild roe," was bent on slaying the valiant Abner and taking his armor as spoil. When Abner noticed the obstinacy with which the reckless lad pursued him, he stopped short and, gazing through the gathering twilight, cried, "Is not that Asahel?" "It is," answered his swift-footed assailant. "Then turn to the right or left," said the magnanimous warrior, as he pursued his way once more, "be content with the spoil of one of my followers!" "Never," answered Asahel, and continued to pursue him. Once again

¹ 1 Chronicles ii. 16.

Abner turned to warn him. "Stand back," he cried to the fool-hardy boy. "Why will you make me slay you? How can I ever look Joab in the face again?" But Asahel persisted. Abner, perhaps rather to keep him off than to kill him, made a thrust at him with the sharpened butt of his spear. But the shaft pierced Asahel through and through, and he fell down dead. All the warriors of David's army who came up to the corpse stood still beside it and went no further. But meanwhile Joab and Abishai continued the pursuit. At sunset Abner rallied his troops and drew them up in close file upon a hill not far from Gibeon. There they awaited their pursuers, and when Joab drew near Abner cried out, "Let there be a truce between us! You know that desperate men are dangerous! Order your troops to pursue their brethren no further." "By God!" answered Joab, "had you not spoken thus we would not have stayed the pursuit till morning!"¹ The two armies then separated and went each upon its way. Abner and his men marched the whole night, to Jericho, across the Jordan, and finally to Mahanaim. Their losses were three hundred. Joab, on the other hand, who had only lost eighteen men besides Asahel, returned to Hebron, which he reached at daybreak.

Of course, the relations between David and Ishbaal continued to be hostile, though we do not read of any other battles. Meanwhile David steadily extended his power. This result was no doubt partially due to his marriage with a daughter of the king of Geshur, a district of Syria;² but the great point in his favor was the feeble character of his rival, whose throne must stand or fall with the fidelity of his general, Abner. Abner alone restrained the subjects of Ishbaal from deserting him and recognizing David as their king. But he soon perceived how indispensable he was to his master, became ever more and more overbearing, and at last went so far as to enter on an intrigue with Rizpah, one of Saul's concubines. This was high treason, but when Ishbaal reproved him for his conduct Abner only made him feel his dependence more distinctly than ever. Such a state of things could not last. Abner's contempt for his sovereign finally induced him to pave the way for the revolt of the Israelites, and to enter into negotiations with David. In order to give Abner a suitable pretext for visiting Hebron in person, David sent messengers to Ishbaal to demand the return of his former wife, Saul's daughter Michal, who had been given to another

¹ After an amended version.

² 2 Samuel iii. 3.

husband when he fled. Ishbaal, no doubt at Abner's instigation, granted the request, had Michal brought from the house of her husband, and, to the intense grief of the latter, sent her to David. How little women were considered in those days! Abner escorted Michal to Hebron, and took the opportunity of coming to an understanding with David and then returned, together with his followers, suspecting no evil. But Joab, who had come in from a raid shortly before Abner departed, took David severely to task for his simplicity in placing so much confidence in Abner, sent messengers after the latter to call him back, and then, with the help of his brother Abishai, treacherously murdered him. Had not Abner slain Asabel? And must not his blood be avenged? Besides this, Joab doubtless feared in his heart that Abner would overshadow him, and finally push him aside. This is the first example of the extraordinary relations which subsisted between David and Joab. We shall come across many others in the course of the history. David was afraid of his valiant captain. He had been guilty of a most outrageous act in murdering his master's guest, and as David stood by the corpse of Abner he uttered a bitter curse on Joab. "May his posterity be leprous and needy, may they fall by the sword and be crushed by want," he cried; but the man whom he cursed so vehemently remained in command of his body-guard! David, however, sang a dirge over Abner, in which he lamented that such a hero, "whose hands were not bound, nor his feet fettered," should fall by the hand of villains, like a fool. On the day of the funeral he steadily refused to eat anything, and said to his friends, "Do you not know that a great warrior is dead? What might not his sword have done for me in my newly-acquired kingdom! These sons of Zeruiah are too strong for me. May Yahweh requite them for their crimes!" All this made a very favorable impression upon the people, and every one saw that David was guiltless of the murder.

When Abner was dead the fate of the house of Saul was soon decided. The power of Ishbaal was gone, and he was soon afterwards murdered by a couple of Benjamite captains, who, so far from getting any thanks for their crime, were put to death by David as assassins. With the life of Ishbaal the last chance of the house of Saul was gone. Jonathan's son Meribaal (generally called Mephibosheth) was still a child, and what was more a cripple, and no one seems to have had any confidence in the other members of Saul's family. David,

the renowned general, the scourge of the Philistines, was now the only hope of the tribes of Israel. Public opinion declared itself in his favor. The dissentients were silenced by fear. David soon received deputations from all parts of the country to greet him as king. In the sanctuary at Hebron victims were slaughtered to Yahweh as the oath of fealty was taken, and David was proclaimed king of Israel. He had reigned two years over Judah alone.

There is only one point in the narrative just given that calls for special notice, and that is the chronological statement at the close, which appears to be directly contradicted by the repeated assertion of the historian, that David reigned over Judah at Hebron for seven and a half years.¹ The same writer tells us, however, that Ishbaal only reigned two years;² and if he ascended the throne immediately after his father's death, as we must suppose he did, his reign must have begun at the same time as David's rule in Hebron. What becomes, in this case, of the remaining five and a half years of David's reign "in Hebron over Judah?" Surely the subjects of Ishbaal did not delay their recognition of David all those years after the death of their king.

An attempt has been made to remove this difficulty by bringing it into connection with the curious statement, of which we have spoken before,³ that Saul only reigned two years. It has been conjectured that the five years of the excess of David's reign over that of Ishbaal must be added to the two years assigned to Saul. In this case the prophet who recorded all these dates looked upon Saul's reign as having ended theoretically as soon as David was anointed, though he was actually king for five years longer. He therefore regards David's reign as having begun when he was anointed, and adds the five years that elapsed between the supposed date of that event and the death of Saul to the two during which David actually reigned at Hebron. The appearance of a similar specimen of chronology by a prophetic writer in the book of Kings, which we shall presently examine, favors this conjecture. But it is simpler to suppose that the expression "David reigned seven years at Hebron over Judah alone" is rather loosely used, and that the real course of events was as follows: David reigned over Judah at Hebron for two years, while Ishbaal swayed the sceptre over the north. On the death of the latter David was, within a comparatively short

¹ 2 Samuel ii. 11, v. 8 (1 Kings ii. 11). ² 2 Samuel ii. 10. ³ See p. 486.



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BOOK III.

FROM DAVID TO JOSIAH.

CHAPTER I.

JERUSALEM THE CITY OF THE KING AND OF YAHWEH

2 SAMUEL V. 17-25, 6-9, VI., VII.¹

AFTER all the dangers and vicissitudes of his lot, David was summoned at last by the sons of Israel to be their king. Yet it by no means followed that he could sit down in undisputed power and rest upon his laurels. It is easy to guess the quarter from which the storm would burst upon him. The Philistines saw with vexation how the old divisions between the Israelitish tribes were healed, and how they all combined to make David king. They had good reason to fear that, under such a valiant leader, their neighbors might soon grow too strong for them; so they brought their army into the field at once in hopes of preventing it. When attacking Saul they had marched into the heart of the territory of Benjamin, but David's headquarters were at Hebron; so now they turned southwards by one of the valleys that intersect the mountains of Judah, and reached the plain of the Rephaites near Jebus. David had no forces worthy of the name with which to oppose them. The writer of the book of Chronicles² speaks of great hosts of warriors coming from all the tribes to do homage to David at Hebron—he brings a hundred and twenty thousand from the district beyond Jordan alone—but this enormous army only existed in his own imagination. It is true that warlike representatives of every tribe now followed David's flag, and had put their swords at his service; true that their influence was a sufficient

¹ 1 Chronicles xi. -xvii.

² 1 Chronicles xlii. 24-40.

guaranty that he would be received with open arms in any, or almost any, of the cities of Israël at which he might present himself. But meanwhile he had only a few hundred soldiers with him, and was no match for the Philistines. Accordingly he was forced once more to seek refuge in his old retreat, the mountain hold of Adullam.¹ From this position he constantly harassed the enemy and gained the advantage in countless skirmishes. Upon this all whose hearts were stirred in the cause of Yahweh and of Israel streamed to him from all quarters of the land, and his forces gradually swelled until at last he felt strong enough to meet the Philistines in open field. In the valley of the Rephaites, near a place called Baal-Perazim, he utterly defeated them, and even took some of the images of their gods as spoil. According to the writer of the book of Samuel this place was called "Perez," that is *dispersion*, "because Yahweh *dispersed* the enemy there."² But the Philistines recovered from the blow, and brought such a powerful army back into the plain that when David consulted the oracle it advised him not to make an open attack. At the advice of the priests, therefore, he attempted a surprise. Creeping round the camp of the Philistines, he lay concealed behind them in a valley full of mulberry trees. As he was lying there a rushing sound came sweeping through the tops of the trees. It was Yahweh marching before his people to battle! The war-cry of Israel rang through the air, and the Philistines were so utterly defeated that David pursued them to the very borders of their own land.

This victory finally established David's authority. He was now surrounded by a band of chosen warriors. There had been many mighty men amongst his six hundred original followers, but their number was now greatly increased. For when he was at Ziklag many heroes had ranged themselves under his flag even before Saul's death,³ and still more afterwards; and since he had settled in Hebron, and had been at war with the Philistines, their numbers had increased yet further, and their skill in handling their arms had been severely exercised. The fame of some of them had spread far and wide.⁴ Several of them could boast of having slain hundreds of the enemy in a single day. It was said of another that he had once put a whole army of Philistines to

¹ After an amended version of 2 Samuel v. 17; compare xxiii. 13, 1 Chronicles xi. 15.

² After an amended version.

³ 1 Chronicles xii. 19-21. ⁴ 2 Samuel xxiii. 8-39; 1 Chronicles xi. 10-xii.

flight with his single arm, and had fought until his fingers clung convulsively to his sword and could hardly be unclasped. Amongst thirty champions picked from David's chosen band there were three who had performed a feat of arms at which the king himself had stood amazed. Once, when they were in the fortress of Adullam, David thoughtlessly exclaimed, "Who will bring me a draught of water from the well in the gate of Bethlehem?" Now, a Philistine garrison held possession of Bethlehem at the time, while the main army was encamped in the valley of the Rephaites; but in spite of everything the three heroes set out, broke through the ranks of the enemy, drew water from the well of Bethlehem, and brought it to David in triumph! But he would not drink it. "It is the blood of my heroes!" he cried, as he poured it out before Yahweh. Even Benaiah could not measure himself against such as these. Yet Benaiah could boast of having slain the two sons of Ariel the Moabite, and once when a lion had fallen into a hole in the snowy season, he leapt in and slew the beast. Another time, unarmed except with his staff, he attacked a gigantic Egyptian warrior, wrenched his spear from his hand, and slew him with it. David made him captain of his body-guard, to reward his valor. He had thirty of such heroes round him, and hosts of brave warriors stood under their command. There were Benjamites, for instance, famed of old as bow-men and slingers; and Gadites, with their huge shields and dreaded lances, stern of countenance as lions, and swift of foot as hinds. Once they had crossed the flooded Jordan at spring-time.

With such followers as these something might be done; so as soon as the Philistines were expelled, David determined to strike a decisive blow. The Canaanite city of Jebus was an eye-sore to him. The Philistines had found it the key of Judah, and would certainly never have been able to maintain themselves so long in the valley of the Rephaites had not the Jebusites made common cause with them. David was now determined to have his revenge. But it was no light task to storm such a place as Jebus. Saul himself appears to have left it unassailed; and no wonder, for it seemed almost impregnable. It was situated in a dry unwatered district, on a limestone rock that rose precipitously on three sides from the surrounding valleys.¹ To the west and the south the mountain was encircled by the valley of the sons of Hinnom, and

¹ See Map IV., *Jerusalem*; and *The Environs of Jerusalem*.

to the east a deep ravine, through which the Kidron flows, and which was afterwards called the valley of Jehoshaphat, separated it from the Mount of Olives. Again the rock on which the city stood was itself split into two unequal halves by the "Cheesemakers' Valley," so that even if the eastern portion fell into the hands of the enemy, it by no means followed that the western half, upon which the citadel stood, need surrender. The city was weakest on its northern side, but even there it lay on the slope of the hill, and was fortified by walls and towers that cut off the approach. The Jebusites had such perfect confidence in the natural strength of their city, that when they heard of David's enterprise they cried in derision, "Blind men and cripples could keep him out of Jebus!"¹ But pride comes before a fall. David appeared under the walls; his troops were glowing with enthusiasm, and when the command to storm the city was given, even the western quarter itself, Zion, afterwards called "the city of David," soon fell into the hands of the bold assailants. According to the Chronicles, Joab was the first to scale the wall. This Jebus, afterwards called Jerusalem, which, perhaps, means "abode of peace," was now chosen by David as his own residence, and the capital of the whole country. It was admirably suited for the purpose, both by the natural strength of its site, and by its geographical position, for it lay in the territory of Benjamin, which belonged to the North, and yet not far from the borders of David's tribesmen, the Judæans. The conqueror set to work at once to strengthen the city, and with that object built, as we are told, "all round from the Millo and inwards."

Would that the words just quoted were the only obscure expression to be met with in the descriptions of ancient Jerusalem and the changes which it has undergone in the course of centuries! But this is only one of many difficulties. The city has been the scene of so many interesting events that we naturally wish to form a clear conception of its appearance at different epochs. We should be especially glad to know what it was like in the time of Jesus. But if we compare the various plans of ancient Jerusalem, we see in a moment that the learned men who have studied the subject differ from each other in very important respects. This is but natural, for the city has been devastated so often that the Jerusalem of ancient times can no longer be recognized in the modern city. Not only have the houses been destroyed again and again, but on

¹ After an amended version.

more than one occasion valleys have actually been filled up and hills levelled. Not a trace can now be found of the Cheesemakers' Valley, for instance, that used to separate the city of David from the mount of the Temple. Yet this was a deep ravine, the slopes of which had to be ascended and descended by steps.¹ The place where the valley ran is now level with the heights on either side. It has all been filled up with rubbish, upon the top of which streets have been laid down. If we cannot even form an accurate idea of what Jerusalem was like in the year 70 A.D., how much less can we hope to form a picture of it as it was ten centuries before the beginning of our era!

Of course we still have sufficient data to enable us to assume certain facts as at least probable; but, since we cannot attain to certainty, all our statements on this subject must be read with the mental addition of "probably," or "perhaps." With this reservation, then, we may assume that David took up his abode on the western hill, and that a castle called "the Millo" stood at the north-west corner of it. It was only this western hill that David surrounded by a wall. What was afterwards the mount of the Temple was not included in it.

Soon after David had captured Jebus and made it his capital, he took a step which contributed in no small degree to establish his power. He was the darling of Yahweh's priests and prophets, and it was partly by their aid that he had become king of Israel. He therefore determined to give proof of his attachment to the service, and his zeal for the honor of Israel's national god. But he chose a less dangerous means of accomplishing his purpose than that adopted by his predecessor. Saul's fanatical zeal had urged him to comply with the sanguinary demands of Yahweh, as understood by the prophets and their most fiery adherents, and his policy had alienated many of his subjects; but David determined to show his devotion by bringing the ark in which Yahweh himself lived to Jerusalem.

When last we heard of this sacred object it had just fallen into the hands of the Philistines,² and we have since been in danger of forgetting it altogether! Let us see what its fate has been meanwhile. We still possess a very elaborate account of it,³ written by one who shared, to the fullest extent, the superstitious terror with which both Philistines and Israelites regarded this ark.

¹ See Map IV., *Jerusalem*, No. 8. ² See vol. i. p. 441. ³ 1 Samuel v. 1-vii. 1

When the Philistines had gained the great victory over the Israelites which closed the life of Eli, they took the sacred chest of Yahweh to Ashdod, one of their five great cities, and set it down in the temple of Dagon, near to the image of the god himself. But behold! the next day the image was found prostrate, as if in reverence, before the ark of Yahweh. The priests, however, could not believe that the ark had really caused the fall of the image; so they simply set it up again and left it. But next day they saw a still more appalling sight. There stood the image in its place—but its head was broken off and its two hands lay on the threshold. Ever since that day the priests of Dagon in Ashdod have made it a custom to spring over the threshold of the sanctuary without setting their feet on it. They were not yet convinced of Yahweh's might; but when fearful plagues broke out, when many of the Ashdodites were smitten with ulcerous sores, and the field-mice multiplied so terribly that they ruined all the harvest, at last the very priests themselves began to be afraid of the ark, and admitted that it was the cause of all the misfortunes which had come upon their god and themselves. What was to be done with it? After mature deliberation the Philistine princes determined to take it to the city of Gath. But no sooner was it there than the Gittites were afflicted with the very same disease that had visited the men of Ashdod. Upon this their hearts were seized with terror, and they sent on the ark to Ekron. But the moment it arrived at this city the inhabitants raised a cry of horror. They feared the worst from its presence. And with good reason too, for before long deaths and diseases without number bore witness to the wrath of Yahweh, who thus maintained his honor. And now the Philistines were filled with dismay, and all the cities refused to receive the ark within their walls. So it stood for seven months in the open country, and even there it made the mice multiply so frightfully that at last the Philistines had to make up their minds to let Yahweh go back to his own country. The princes, therefore, ordered the priests and wizards seriously to consider how they were to send back the deity and be delivered from the plagues. Of course, they must give the offended god a sin-offering, and they soon decided on its nature. Five golden models of the ulcers with which the Philistines had been smitten, and five golden mice must be consecrated as an offering to Yahweh by the five princes. This would appease his wrath. It was very humiliating, no doubt, but nothing else would save them from the fate of the

Egyptians, and they were compelled to make a virtue of necessity.

So they made the golden models for a sin-offering. But when all was ready, and the princes were preparing to send away the ark of Yahweh, the priests began to hesitate. It was so hard to lose such a splendid token of victory, and to give so rich a present to a hostile god! Suppose, after all, it was a mere accident that these plagues had broken out just while the ark was in the country! They would make one trial more. At their direction the ark was placed on a wagon, and the little box containing the golden offering beside it. Then two heifers were yoked to the vehicle, while their sucking calves were shut up in a stall hard by. If the heifers went back to their calves, then the ark had nothing to do with the plagues that had come upon the Philistines; but if they turned towards the land of Israel, then it was evident that Yahweh had sent the plagues. The princes watched in anxious suspense to see what the heifers would do, and, behold! contrary to the instincts of their nature, they went straight off to Beth-Shemesh, though lowing for the loss of their calves! The Philistine kings went after them to see where they would take the wagon.

The inhabitants of Beth-Shemesh were busy with their wheat harvest when they found the ark resting on the wagon. It had stopped in the fields of a certain Joshua, close by a great stone. The people were filled with joy to find the sacred chest of Yahweh, took it up, broke the wagon into pieces, slaughtered the cattle, and offered them as a burnt-sacrifice to their god.

The Philistine princes returned to Ekron fully persuaded that all their disasters had been caused by Yahweh's wrath. What a terrible god he was! Terrible indeed — as some of the inhabitants of Beth-Shemesh itself were soon to find. The family of a certain Jechoniah had not taken part in the festivities held in honor of Yahweh; and seventy of them were punished by him with death.¹ All the men of Beth-Shemesh lamented the terrible event, and cried in horror, "Who dare serve Yahweh, this holy god? How can we escape his wrath?" Finally they were much relieved to find that the men of Kirjath-jearim were willing to receive the ark. It was placed by its new guardians in the house of Abinadab, on the hill near to the city, and Abinadab's son, Eleazar, was out in charge of it as priest.

¹ After an amended version.

There it remained till David came to take it to Jerusalem. Then Yahweh showed once more what a terrible god he was. Accompanied by thirty thousand chosen Israelites — rather a large number one would think — David advanced to Kirjath-jearim, or as it was formerly called “the city of the Baal of Judah,” to take away the ark of God, “over which the name of Yahweh of hosts who sits upon the cherubs is invoked.” They set it on a new wagon, which was led by Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab. Uzzah walked by the side of the ark and his brother before it. David and all his followers went dancing and singing and playing upon all kinds of musical instruments in front of the sacred chest. But alas, what a terrible end was soon to be put to their rejoicing! Uzzah suddenly fell down dead. The cause was easily guessed. In turning a sharp corner or descending a steep hill the oxen had nearly upset the wagon, and Uzzah had stretched out his irreverent hand and laid it on the ark to steady it! It was no excuse that he had thereby prevented it from falling. It was no matter whether he had intended any irreverence or not.¹ However unintentionally, he had laid his hand upon Yahweh, and he was therefore slain by him. Mortal terror fell upon all present. How could David dare, after this, to take Yahweh’s ark any further? The place where all this happened was ever after known as Perez-Uzzah; that is, *the breaking of Uzzah*.

David now relinquished his design of taking the ark to Jerusalem, and entrusted it to the care of a certain Gittite of the name of Obed-Edom, in whose house it remained three months. It now appeared that the ark did not always bring misfortunes with it. If only it was treated with due reverence it was rich in blessings; for this Obed-Edom was wonderfully prosperous as long as it was in his house. When David was informed of this he again made great preparations for bringing the ark to Jerusalem. It was placed once more on a wagon, or perhaps supported on the shoulders of certain men chosen for the purpose, and was carried forward with shouts of universal triumph. As soon as it was brought out of Obed-Edom’s house an ox was sacrificed to Yahweh. Then they set out. Seven choruses of singers, who took up the strain in succession, accompanied David.² Thus, amidst ringing trumpet-peals, and incessant shouts of joy, David and all Israel conducted the ark to Jerusalem. The king himself, clothed only in the short linen garment of the priests, went dancing

¹ See vol I. p. 81.

² After an amended version.

and striking the tambourine before Yahweh's face. Thus was the ark brought to Jerusalem and placed under a tent that had been erected for it. It need hardly be said that the day's festivities ended with a solemn sacrifice, after which David blessed the people in the name of Yahweh of hosts, and gave every one present, man or woman, a loaf of bread, a certain quantity of wine, and a cake of raisins.

But David's exultation was by no means shared by his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul. When he had dismissed the assembly and was returning to his palace, she came indignantly to meet him, and greeted him with the scornful words, "How nobly the king of Israel has maintained his dignity to-day, dancing half naked before all his subjects!" David, in his present state of excitement and triumph, was by no means disposed to take such a rebuke meekly, and answered rather unfeelingly: "Yes! I will gladly dance before Yahweh, who has chosen me king of Israel above your father and all his house, however low I may sink in your eyes by doing so!" Upon this the historian remarks that, in consequence of her pride, Michal was never blessed with a child.

Thus the ark came to Jerusalem.

It is very curious, after reading this account in the book of Samuel, to see how the writer of the Chronicles treats the same events. In his account of the first unsuccessful attempt he agrees with the older historian; but when he comes to tell us how the ark was finally brought to Jerusalem, he transports us into quite a different world from that of David. He surrounds the king with Aaronites as priests, and Levites as their assistants. All these he duly classifies, and even mentions some of them by name. David gives express orders that the ark is to be carried on bearing-poles by the Levites, and a detailed account is given of how the chief singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, stood at the head of the choirs, and how the priests with the sacred trumpets marched in front of the ark. Then we are told that in the tent in which the ark rested Asaph acted as chief singer; while Heman and Jeduthun were chief musicians, and Zadok chief priest, at Gibeon, where the tabernacle, of which we shall speak presently, was situated. All this, the writer expressly reminds us, was in perfect conformity with the Law. We can easily understand the origin of this description. The old account, in which the ark is carried on a wagon, and no priests or Levites are so much as mentioned, must have been

very distasteful to the devout readers of about 200 B.C., for it was in direct contradiction with the Law.¹ Such readers were not at all surprised to find that, on the first journey from Kirjath-jearim, Yahweh had slain the sacrilegious Uzzah, who had dared to lay an unconsecrated hand upon the ark. But they were much surprised by the successful issue of the second journey. However, it was not expressly stated what means of conveyance were adopted, or who was present on this second occasion; and the pious imagination being thus left free to work, soon filled in the scene with figures which brought it entirely into harmony with the religious notions of a later time. The writer of the Chronicles little dreamed that in David's time the Law did not exist at all, and that no one thought of the priesthood being confined exclusively to certain families. The Law was known in his day as "the law of Moses," and he never doubted its right to the title.

The writer of the Chronicles was a Levite, and apparently a member of the temple choir, for he is particularly fond of giving us details about the sacred music. He could not help thinking that David, the man after Yahweh's heart—the model of an Israelite king—must have busied himself with the arrangements of public worship. He thought it strange enough that he should have left it for his son to build the temple. But he knew very well that as a fact he had done so. He was not capable of quite so gross a blunder as that of the man who quietly wrote at the head of the thirtieth Psalm, "A song of David, for the consecration of the temple;"² but he gave his hero as great a share in building the temple and organizing the worship as he possibly could.³ He not only makes him collect treasure for this purpose, but tells us that he had the stones hewn, and prepared the iron required for the doors, as well as the brass and cedarwood.⁴ Moreover he makes him prepare the designs for the building, and all that pertained to it;⁵ or rather he makes him tell his son Solomon how these designs had been conveyed to him by Yahweh, for they were too sacred to be regarded as the mere work of man.⁶ Nay, if we are to believe the Chronicles, all the divisions of the priests and Levites, especially the musicians, and the arrangements of their work, were planned and

¹ Compare, for instance, Exodus xxv. 10-15: Numbers iv. 4-20, x. 1-10.

² After an amended version.

³ 1 Chronicles xxii. 2-5.

⁴ 1 Chronicles xxviii. 19.

⁵ 1 Chronicles xxii.-xxix.

⁶ 1 Chronicles xxviii. 11.

settled by David. In a word, he is made what a pious king of the ancient time ought to have been, if public worship had been organized in his days as it was seven centuries later.

The Chronicler tells us that the reason why David was not allowed to build the temple was that he had spilled so much blood¹—an idea which says more for the peaceful disposition of the priestly writer than for his insight into ancient history. In David's time no one would have dreamed of there being any impropriety in a prince who had waged many bloody "wars of Yahweh" building a house for the god in whose name he had fought.

The writer of the Chronicles was not the first who had been at a loss to understand why David had not built the temple. Even before the captivity, it had become difficult to think of the Israelite nation without the temple on Mount Zion—and then David was such a truly religious monarch! Accordingly, the book of Samuel tells us that when David was at rest from his wars, and dwelt in a palace of cedarwood himself, he could not bear to think that Yahweh's ark had only a tent to dwell in. So he sent for the prophet Nathan, and told him how this thought was troubling him. Nathan ardently supported his idea of building a house for Yahweh. But that very night the man of God received a revelation from Yahweh himself; and at his command he went to David and told him that he must not build a temple, for it was against the will of Yahweh. He would rather live in a tent than in a house. But yet the thought of David's heart should be realized by his son, who would have a peaceful reign. For Yahweh promised David that he would establish his dynasty on the throne for ever. Upon this David bowed down in humble gratitude before Yahweh.

Such were the reasons given for David's not having built the temple when the book of Samuel was composed; that is to say, about the time of the captivity, when David's family had already reigned at Jerusalem some five centuries. But we cannot help noticing what an extraordinary contradiction is contained in Nathan's answer to David. The king must not build a temple for two reasons: *firstly*, because Yahweh prefers to live in a tent, and *secondly* because David's son will build him a temple. But if Yahweh really preferred a tent for his dwelling-place, why should Solomon any more than David be allowed to place him in a house of cedar? Did

¹ 1 Chronicles xxii. 8, xxviii. 3.

Yahweh's character or inclination change? The first part of Nathan's answer embodies an old and no doubt trustworthy tradition. There were persons in David's time, especially amongst the prophets, who were opposed to the erection of a temple for Yahweh, and thought a simple tent more in keeping with the special character of their god. It is not hard to guess their reasons. In many respects the prophets were men of the old school, and, as is often the case with earnest but perhaps somewhat narrow men, they dreaded advancing culture of every kind, especially in the arts and sciences, as giving occasion to luxury and display. Simple manners like those of the nomads pleased them best. To aim at knowledge too high for man, and at being like the deity, could be productive of nothing but evil. Building houses and cities led to licentiousness. A severe, simple, patriarchal life was best for man. Now, people always imagine their gods to be what they think they ought to be themselves, and so these lovers of the wandering shepherd-life, these preachers of simplicity, believed that Yahweh their god would likewise choose a tent to dwell in rather than a palace.

But probably this alone would not have been enough to prevent David from carrying out his project of building a temple for Yahweh, if he had had time, or rather money and command of labor, sufficient for so great an undertaking. The book of Kings,¹ with great propriety, makes Solomon say, "My father could not build a house for Yahweh, because of the many wars he had to wage." But no doubt the influence of the prophets and their followers helped to prevent the building of a temple. David then was obliged to content himself with increasing the sacred treasure of Yahweh, and so making it possible for his son to undertake the work. This preliminary task he faithfully performed by always consecrating to Yahweh a part of the booty he seized in war.²

Thus in David's reign Jerusalem had already become the political capital, and the city of Yahweh. It is true that the sanctuary there was not the only one dedicated to the god of Israel; on the contrary, it could hardly rank as yet with such places as the *bamah* at Gibeon, for instance. But just as the presence of the ark, which still accompanied the armies into the field,³ conferred a kind of sanctity on the royal palace, near which it stood in times of peace, so on the other hand "Yahweh's anointed" conferred a certain distinction on the

¹ 1 Kings v. 3. ² 2 Samuel viii. 7-12; 1 Kings vii. 51. ³ 2 Samuel xi. 11

sanctuary which he honored above all others. And thus Jerusalem became the centre of the political and religious life of Israel.

CHAPTER II.

THE HOUSE OF SAUL UNDER DAVID'S RULE.

2 SAMUEL IX., XXI. 1-14.

IN ancient times it was far from unusual for a king who had not inherited his crown from his father, but had won it by force of arms, to put to death the children and near relations of his predecessor, for fear of their heading a rebellion against him. We shall meet with instances of such conduct later on in the history of Israel. It is not surprising, then, that Saul's family should have felt alarm at David's becoming king of all the tribes, and establishing his authority by the capture of Jerusalem. They had every reason to fear the worst.

But David had not forgotten his friendship for Jonathan. Was there any member of his family still living? Jonathan had been married, and had had at least one child, but neither David nor any one about him knew what had become of him. This was natural enough, for the defeat at Gilboa had thrown all the country round into such terrible confusion that many an Israelite had disappeared during those troubled times and never been heard of since. Besides, as long as Ishbaal was reigning, David had known but little of what was going on in the North; and after the death of that monarch, all who had any affection for Saul's family thought that the less they said about them to David the better! But when he really wished to get at the truth, he was soon able to do so. He knew whom to ask for information. In the neighborhood of Gibeah dwelt Ziba, Saul's former steward, who had managed the late king's estates. He was an influential man, and his fifteen sons and twenty dependants constituted a powerful "house." This Ziba was sure to have the information David wanted.

When satisfied that the king's purpose was friendly, Ziba told him that there was still one son of Jonathan's alive. He had had an accident when a child; for when the news of the defeat of the Israelite army and the death of his father reached

his nurse she caught him up to carry him to some place of safety from the Philistines. But in her haste she fell down with the child, who was then five years old, and he was crippled in both his feet by the fall.¹ It is a great misfortune even now for a man to lose the use of his legs, but in ancient times it was still worse. For in those days war and the chase were looked upon as the chief or at least as the most honorable occupations of life, and great importance was therefore attached to bodily strength. A man who walked on crutches would never be held in high estimation. Ziba told David where to find this boy, whose name is given as Mephibosheth, but was really Meribaal.² He was at Lodebar, a place east of the Jordan, near Mahanaim, the former residence of Ishbaal.

David sent for him at once. As soon as he entered the royal presence, he threw himself in mingled reverence and terror upon the ground, and when asked whether he was Meribaal, answered humbly "Thy servant." David hastened to reassure him by the friendly words, "Fear not! I will be kind to you for your father's sake; for Jonathan was my friend. I will give you back all the estates of Saul, and you shall have a place at my own table." The cripple bowed in humble gratitude, and answered, "What am I that you should deign to look upon me? I am but a dead dog!" Such servile language was often addressed to kings,³ and was particularly natural in the mouth of a member of the fallen dynasty. David lost no time in putting the affairs of his ward in order, and instructed Ziba to manage Saul's possessions for his grandson, as he had formerly done for the king himself. He also gave orders that Meribaal, who remained permanently at court, should be treated as a prince of the blood.

The book of Samuel adds that Meribaal had a little son, Micha. From the expression "a little son" we should imagine that the child was already born when Meribaal came to court. But this can hardly be the case; for Meribaal himself cannot have been more than eleven years old at most when David took Jerusalem, and it is difficult to believe that the king allowed many years to elapse after that event without inquiring after Jonathan's posterity. However this may be, Meribaal appears to have had but one son, who was therefore the sole legitimate representative of the house of Saul. For this monarch had only four sons by wives of the first rank, namely, the three that died on the battle-field with their father, and Ishbaal; and all of them except Jonathan appear to have

¹ 2 Samuel iv. 4. ² See vol. i. p. 392. ³ 1 Samuel xxiv. 14, xxvi. 20.

died childless. Four or five centuries later the descendants of this Micha still formed a considerable "house" in Israel.¹

But although Meribaal and his son were the only legitimate heirs of Saul in David's time, yet there were other members of the "house" of Saul — for this phrase included his sons by wives of the second rank, or concubines, the children of his daughters, the descendants of his younger brothers, and yet more distant relatives. This "house of Saul" might seem at first to threaten the stability of David's throne, but a heavy blow soon fell upon it, of which we shall now give the particulars.

David had not long been king over all Israel before years of tribulation came upon his people. Again and again the harvest failed for want of rain, or swarms of locusts destroyed the hope of the husbandman. Besides this, no doubt the civil war which was only just over had seriously interfered with the welfare of the people, and had thrown many a plot of land out of cultivation.

"What can be the cause of this famine?" was asked on every side; nor did it lie in the spirit of the age to set about investigating the natural causes of the disaster. "Some sin has been committed, and our god now visits it upon us," people muttered, as they strove to discover what offence it was that had brought this misery upon them. Had the people forgotten their god? No, for the altars had smoked with countless victims. Had the king been guilty of some sin which Yahweh was visiting on his people? No such offence could be discovered. Then was it some crime of the former ruler that was now brought back to their memory? There were some of David's subjects who thought they knew of such a crime, and declared, with some hesitation at first, but more and more distinctly as the famine went on year after year, what they held to be the cause of these disasters. They were the Gibeonites. It will be remembered that Saul, in his zeal for the sanctity of his people, and under the conviction that they were polluted by intermingling with other nations, had attempted to root out the Gibeonites.² But that was a violation of an ancient oath, and surely the god of Israel would maintain the sanctity of an oath sworn in his name. He was now punishing the people for the sin of their former king. That was the meaning of the famine.

The Gibeonites — full of vengeful hatred against Saul, lying

¹ 1 Chronicles viii. 34-40 (ix. 40-44)

² See vol. i. pp. 451 f.

in wait for an opportunity of satisfying their passion — had doubtless rejoiced in the fall of his house, and now thought they had a chance of inflicting a bloody retribution on it. So when the famine still went on, and every one was crying, "O Yahweh! wherefore is it?" they renewed their complaint and answered: "For the murder of our fellow-citizens, for the perjury of Saul, must Israel suffer." Now the mass of the people had never heartily approved of the furious zeal of Saul. They were more inclined for peace than war with the Canaanite tribes; moreover they looked towards the rising sun, as the populace always does, and forgot the benefits conferred upon them by Saul to bask in the light of David; so they eagerly accepted this solution of the great problem, and public opinion gradually declared, "We owe this famine to the blood of the Gibeonites cleaving to the house of Saul! That is the sin for which Yahweh is punishing us; and as long as the Gibeonites curse us we shall never be blessed!"

During all this time David had doubtless often consulted the deity, sought help from priests, from prophets, and from dreamers, and asked them the cause of Yahweh's wrath. And now at last he received a distinct answer. We are not told how he consulted his god, but the oracle pointed in response to the wrongs of the Gibeonites.

David summoned the elders of Gibeon, and asked them how the guilt which Saul had brought upon himself and the people could be washed out. At first they answered evasively. It was not a thing, they said, that could be made good by money; and they — Canaanite outcasts as they were — could not do what an Israelite might have done, and indeed would have felt bound to do, in their case. They could not exact vengeance, and wipe out the debt of blood by slaying those who had injured them. But when David solemnly repeated his assurance that he was ready to satisfy their demands, they said, "Then give us seven of that man's sons who persecuted us, and we will crucify them on the sacred hill, before the face of Yahweh, in Gibeah-of-Saul. For there our enemy had his abode, and thence he gave the order to destroy us. Then Yahweh's wrath will be turned away, and we will bless Israel again, and he will be gracious to his people."

What a hideous demand! And yet by no means foreign to the spirit of the age. For in those days, as we have often noticed, people held that natural occurrences were revelations of God's wrath, and that he might be appeased by such frightful sacrifices as the one of which we are speaking; and it was

still regarded as one of the principles of justice that the children should be put to death for the father's crime.

David assented to the demands of the Gibeonites. What was going on in his own heart we cannot tell. Did he rejoice in the opportunity of putting the descendants of his predecessor out of the way? Such a reproach was afterwards thrown in his teeth by the relatives of Saul,¹ but with what justice, it is of course impossible to say. It may be that he granted the Gibeonites' request in sorrow; that he was himself entangled in the superstitions of his people, and genuinely believed that it was necessary thus to appease the injured Gibeonites. In any case it is well to observe that, by this action, David condemned the form which Saul's religious zeal had taken, and thus laid down another line of action for himself.

It was left to David to decide which of Saul's male descendants were to die. He spared Meribaal, the son of Jonathan, and chose Armoni and Meribaal, the two sons of Rizpah, one of Saul's concubines, and the five sons of Merab,² Saul's eldest daughter. Such is the caprice of fortune! Saul had once thought Merab too good for David,³ and she was now bereft of her five sons by the orders of her rejected suitor.

It was spring-time. The season of the so-called latter rain was over. The scanty harvest—for it had failed again—was gathered in. The ill-fated seven were conducted in solemn procession to the sacred hill whence Gibeah-of-Saul derived its name, which served as a place of worship for the whole neighborhood. Here, in the sight of the assembled crowd and with solemn prayers to Yahweh, the victims were first, in all probability, stoned to death and then fixed to the cross. Then the bodies were left hanging, for the birds of prey and the wild beasts to devour, that the bones might keep the people's fervent prayers and the atonement for the broken oath in the memory of Israel's god and turn away his wrath, that he might send his people rain.

When the sacrifices were completed and the hill once more deserted, Rizpah, the mother of two of the victims, took, in the agony of her soul, a desperate resolve. She had not been able to rescue her children; but she would save them, if possible, from the shame of being rent by dogs and birds, instead of being laid in the family grave, for such a fate was unutter-

¹ 2 Samuel xvi. 5-8.

² 2 Samuel xxi. 8. Michal is written by mistake for Merab.

³ 1 Samuel xviii. 17-19.

ably horrible in the eyes of an Israelite. So she stretched out her mourning garment on the rock to serve as a tent, and began her fearful watch at the foot of the crosses. And by day when the vultures swooped down upon the prey, or the croaking ravens flapped round the stakes, she darted from her tent, lance in hand, or sounded her horn to scare away the creatures that would violate her dead. The nights were long — in Palestine the shortest night of summer lasts ten hours — and often, when weary with her constant cries and exhausted by the heat of the sun, she lost her cares for a moment in sleep, she would start up again at the howling of the jackals and the baying of the hounds, in terror, not for herself, but for the ghastly treasure that she guarded.

The inhabitants of Gibeah looked on with growing wonder and admiration. The woman they had known living in all the luxury of the court of Saul, though only a wife of the second rank, — the woman whose intrigue with Abner had brought Ishbaal to his fall, could hardly have been expected to rise to such heroic devotion. They gladly brought her the necessary food; and as they offered prayers and sacrifices by the sacred stone upon the hill, or beneath the shadow of the consecrated oak or terebinth, they cursed the tyrant that Rizpah cursed! Was it not their townsman and relative to whose throne he had succeeded, and was it not his hatred that pursued these seven children of the monarch even to the death?

Rizpah's heroic endurance was put to a fearful test. Weeks and months crept on wearily. The scorching heat of the summer sun parched the hill-side till it was almost more than human strength could bear to remain there at the foot of the crosses. How often Rizpah must have cried, as she flung herself upon the ground by her ghastly charge, "Yahweh! how long will the heart of the tyrant who persecutes our race be hardened against our misery? When will he suffer my children to be laid in the grave? O Lord, let this sacrifice appease thee! Give us rain and a fruitful season!"

The end came at last. For six long months, from April till October, she had persevered. The season of the autumn rains had come, and lo! the skies were overcast and the clouds rolled up together. God was appeased, and had accepted the sacrifice.

And David's heart melted when he heard of all that Rizpah had done. Why should he insist any longer on the corpses hanging up before the face of Yahweh? The rain had begun

to fall already. Surely he might bury them now, and at the same time show his enemy and his predecessor on the throne the honors due to a king. So he brought the bones of Saul and Jonathan from Jabesh in Gilead and buried them, with the seven other corpses, in the family tomb of Saul.

Our eyes have rested on a dismal scene. The vengeful hatred of the Gibeonites, the superstition of both king and people, and, it may be, the cruelty of David's calculating policy, brought unspeakable suffering upon guiltless heads; and it deeply wounds our moral and religious sense when the writer who has told us the whole story calmly concludes his narrative with the words, "Thus was God made propitious to the land." But there is one bright spot in the darkness of the scene — the faithful love of Rizpah as she guards the bodies of her sons. Her courage and devotion nobly illustrate the power of a mother's love, and restore our drooping faith in human nature.



CHAPTER III.

THE MIGHT OF DAVID, KING OF ISRAEL.

2 SAMUEL VIII, X.¹

WHEN David had fortified Jerusalem, he felt strong enough to assume the offensive against the surrounding peoples. The Philistines naturally came first; for in spite of the two defeats they had sustained on the plain of the Rephaites, their warlike spirit was by no means broken; and, nominally at least, David's people were still tributary to them. So the conflict with the Philistines was renewed, and raged so fiercely that the king himself, who took the field in person, almost lost his life. A warrior of terrific strength had singled him out, and would certainly have made an end of him had not the valiant Abishai, Joab's brother, come to his rescue and slain the Philistine. David's warriors were so much alarmed by the danger their prince had incurred that they made him take an oath never more to go to battle with them in person, "lest the lamp of Israel should be put out." It was in one of these campaigns that Goliath was slain by Elha

¹ 1 Chronicles xviii.—xx.

nan the Bethlehemite, an exploit which was afterwards attributed to David.¹ Another gigantic Gittite was laid low by Jonathan, the son of David's brother Shimeah.² At last the Philistines were so completely humbled that all idea of Israel's paying tribute to them was abandoned.³

Then David turned his weapons eastward and attacked the Moabites, whom he made tributary. We have no means of knowing what it was that impelled him to attack these old friends of his to whose king he was under such great obligations,⁴ and we are shocked to read that in accordance with a barbarous custom of war he massacred two-thirds of the prisoners, and only spared one-third alive. The Chronicler does not mention this fact, and if it is because he is ashamed to record such deeds on the part of his hero, the omission does honor to his heart.

Next came the Syrians, whose country lay between the kingdom of Israel and the Euphrates. David was anxious, for commercial reasons, to extend his dominion to the banks of the great river, and therefore attacked the Syrian princes of Zobah, Damascus, and Hamath, who were at variance amongst themselves and therefore in no position to offer a successful resistance. On the defeat of the first two the third also submitted. Thousands of captives fell into David's hands, together with a number of war chariots, all of which he destroyed except one hundred. Moreover, he seized as spoil the golden coats of mail worn by the body-guard of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, and a quantity of brass, from which Solomon afterwards made a number of utensils for the temple, and amongst them the celebrated vat known as the "brazen sea." David appointed governors over the districts of Syria; and immediately on his return defeated the Edomites in the valley of Salt, and placed their country also under a governor. We may note in passing that the fortieth psalm is said to have been composed on this occasion. After this victory, which was followed by a fearful massacre,⁵ David erected a triumphal column.

Thus all the neighbors of Israel were subdued, with the exception of the Ammonites, whose king, Nahash, was on friendly terms with David. But when Nahash died, his son Hanun was so rash as to insult the ambassadors of David, who came to express their monarch's sympathy with the young king on the death of his father. Upon this, war broke

¹ See vol. i. p. 506.

² After an amended version of 2 Samuel viii. 1.

³ See vol. i. pp. 514 f.

⁴ 2 Samuel xxi. 15-22.

⁵ 1 Kings xi. 15, 16.

out at once. The Syrian princes took advantage of this turn of affairs to throw off the yoke of Israel; but Joab routed them repeatedly, and compelled them to leave the Ammonites to their fate. All the strength of Israel was now turned against Ammon. The ark was fetched to the seat of war.¹ Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites, offered a brave resistance, but at last the lower city fell into the hands of Joab. Upon this the general urged David to come to the scene of action in person, that he might have the honor of taking the city himself. All resistance was soon overpowered, and the inhabitants were put to death with barbarous tortures.

There was one of his neighbors with whom David always kept upon good terms, and that was the king of Tyre. The Israelite tradition calls him Hiram;² but since Hiram was a contemporary of Solomon, it is probable that David's friend was Hiram's father, Abibal. The inhabitants of the powerful city of Tyre, like those of other Phœnician cities, lived by commerce, and had therefore every reason to desire peace and quiet, especially as they were dependent upon their neighbors for their supply of corn and other necessities of life. And, again, the friendship of these industrious and enterprising commercial cities was of great value to the Israelites, especially to the inhabitants of the northern districts, who were themselves to some extent engaged in maritime commerce, as well as in the carrying-trade between Mesopotamia and Syria on the one side, and Egypt and Phœnicia on the other. Thus it happened that Israel and the Phœnician cities nearly always stood in friendly relations to each other.

When David had subdued almost all his neighbors, and thus confirmed his power, he made a treaty with the Tyrian king, by which the latter was bound to supply him with a great quantity of the cedar wood produced by Mount Lebanon, which lay within the territory of Tyre. Besides this he sent a number of workmen to build David a palace. It seems strange that foreign carpenters and masons had to be called in for this purpose. Were there no competent workmen in Israel? we ask. But we must remember that the Israelites were still very deficient in knowledge of the arts and sciences. It would have been impossible for the Philistines to carry away all the smiths out of the land, as they did just before Saul ascended the throne, had not the number of these skilled artificers been very small. Then, again, the Israelites of the

¹ 2 Samuel xi. 11.

² 2 Samuel v. 11.

old school, the followers of Samuel, had always looked with suspicion upon all attempts to improve the arts of life and extend the limits of human knowledge.¹ Remember, for instance, how the legend of Cain and his posterity stamps as unholy the invention of musical instruments and the art of forging iron!² This special legend was no doubt written at a later period, but its spirit is the same as that which inspired the Nazarites and prophets of the time of Saul. These men would certainly discourage the training of skilled artisans, and the consequence was that when David determined to build a truly regal palace he had to call in the aid of foreign workmen.

David soon dwelt in a princely residence, in which he held a luxurious court. Even at Hebron he had had more wives than one, but now he added considerably to their number, and indeed established a regular harem on a rather extensive scale, in which several of Saul's wives and concubines were placed.³ Here, in his palace, King David sat on state occasions to receive the homage of all the tribes of Israel and the subjugated peoples, his temples encircled by a diadem, while, suspended over his head, hung the great crown, heavy with gold and precious stones, which he had seized at Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites.⁴ Here he sat in judgment over such of his subjects as submitted their cause to his decision, from which there was no appeal.⁵ And a merry life was led in the palace, for the royal table was prepared from day to day for the reception of countless officers and guests, whose palates were flattered by the choicest viands and their ears soothed by strains of sweetest music.⁶ There artists of every description were sure of a good reception, but above all music was diligently cultivated, the king himself taking the lead in inventing new kinds of music and improving the instruments.⁷ There high officials gathered round the royal throne,⁸ amongst whom were Joab, the captain of the host, with the chief ministers of state, Jehoshaphat the chancellor, Adoram the treasurer, Seraiah the king's private secretary, together with others of his special advisers, the chief priests Zadok and Abiathar, the princes of the blood, who were most of them also priests,⁹ and other members of the royal house. These

¹ Compare p. 12.

² See vol. i. pp. 60 ff.

³ 2 Samuel xii. 8.

⁴ 2 Samuel xii. 30.

⁵ 2 Samuel viii. 15.

⁶ 2 Samuel xix. 35.

⁷ Amos vi. 5.

⁸ 2 Samuel viii. 16-18, xx. 22-26.

⁹ After an amended version of 2 Samuel viii. 18.

distinguished nobles again had in many cases courts of their own, and often appeared at the palace with a numerous retinue. Joab, for instance, had ten private squires;¹ and we may gain some idea of the military pomp that surrounded the palace from the fact that whenever the crown prince appeared in public he was surrounded by a body-guard of fifty warriors in addition to all his other followers.²

Watch was kept over the palace by the dreaded body-guard known as the Krethi and Plethi, under the command of Benaiah. It is doubtful whether this designation should be translated "executioners and messengers," or "Cretans and Philistines." If this latter translation is the true one, it shows that David surrounded himself with a guard of foreign mercenaries. This practice has often been adopted in every age, and at courts that have had nothing else in common with each other. It rests upon the idea that a band of strangers who have no stake in the various interests which may raise the people in rebellion, can be far more implicitly relied on to defend the monarch upon whom they are entirely dependent than any of his own subjects can. At the court of David, then, these warlike Philistines filled the post which the Swiss mercenaries occupied in later times at certain European courts, such as that of France.

The royal style in which David lived, and the magnificence with which he surrounded his throne, were but the natural consequences of the wealth he had acquired and the power he had gained by his successful wars. The mass of the people were doubtless pleased by all this splendor, and took a pride in the majesty of the crown; for it is natural to man, especially at a low stage of intellectual and moral development, to take delight in every glittering show. And, besides, the glory of the king might be regarded in more respects than one as the glory of the people; for it was by chastising the foes of Israel and making Israel a name of terror all around that David had risen to such a height. Again, the king's prerogative was unlimited by any kind of law or constitutional restriction. He had full power to dispose of the property and the persons of his subjects; and people can bear to be ruled or even oppressed if it so happen by one who is surrounded with a glow of splendor better than by one who is as simple as his fellows in his life and surroundings. No doubt, then, the feeling of the populace is reflected in the words of an Israelite proverb-maker, who said in after times: "There are

¹ 2 Samuel xviii. 15.

² 2 Samuel xv. 1; 1 Kings i. 5.

three things that step out well, four things that go forth bravely: A lion, the strongest of beasts, a slim grey-hound or a ram, and a king whom none can withstand."¹ From the very conception of royalty in ancient times, it follows that the king's person was regarded as sacred and inviolable, and that he was held in the utmost reverence. "For his wrath was a messenger of death, whom none but the wise could appease; while the light of his countenance was the giver of life, and his favor refreshed as a rain-cloud."² In an age when every judicial sentence was readily accepted as an utterance of God,³ it might well be said of the monarch, "The sentence of God is on the lips of the king; in pronouncing justice he never errs."⁴ "When a king sits down on the seat of judgment he scatters all evil abroad with his eyes."⁵ "Though the glory of God lie in concealing, the honor of the king is in searching out."⁶ When points of importance were at stake, and life or death, peace or war, hung on the will of the ruler, many an inquiring glance was fixed on his countenance. Which way would the scale incline? And if nothing betrayed the monarch's thought, his subjects would whisper one to another, "As the height of the heaven and the depth of the earth are immeasurable, so none can fathom the heart of the king."⁷ "Might is right" was a principle still less frequently challenged in antiquity than in our own day, so that not only prudence, but even virtue required any one who came into contact with the king, to observe the following injunctions: "Keep the king's commandments, if only for the oath's sake made to God. Depart not trembling from his presence, but neither remain before him if the business is not sound; for the king does whatever he chooses, since his word is mighty and there is none to say to him 'What doest thou?'"⁸

It was not only prudence that urged the Israelite to bow down before his king in reverence for an established and formidable power. Religion, too, enforced the same lesson. Or rather submission to the prince clothed itself in religious forms. As the anointed of Yahweh, the king was inviolable; and since the interests of a people and of that people's god were so nearly identical in the eyes of the ancients that zeal for the one was necessarily zeal for the other, it followed that Israel's king, who waged the wars of Yahweh and executed

¹ Proverbs xxx. 29-31.

² Exodus xviii. 15, 16; Deuteronomy i. 17.

³ Proverbs xx. 8.

⁴ Proverbs xxv. 3.

⁵ Proverbs xvi. 14, 15.

⁶ Proverbs xvi. 10.

⁷ Proverbs xxv. 2.

⁸ Ecclesiastes viii. 2-4.

his sentence upon evil-doers, must be revered as his representative. "Thou shalt not curse God, nor revile the prince of thy people," — these two commandments were closely connected in the mind of the Israelite.¹ To rebel against the ruler was to attack Yahweh himself; and the king's enemies were the enemies of Yahweh. This feeling comes out very strongly in the following poem,² which was composed by a king of Israel, or at least in the name of one, at a time when the monarchy was at the height of its glory. The exact date is unknown, and is of no consequence for our purpose : -

Why do the heathen rage
And the peoples devise vain plots ?
Why do the kings of the earth rise up
And the princes plot against Yahweh and his anointed ?
" Let us break their bands asunder
And let us shake off their yoke ! "
He who sits in the heavens shall laugh them to scorn,
The Lord shall have them in derision.
Then shall he speak to them in his wrath
And thunder against them in fury.
" I have anointed my king over Zion,
Over my sacred mount ! "

Let me speak of Yahweh's decree !
He has said to me : " Thou art my son !
This day have I given thee birth !
Ask me, and I will give thee the heathen for a heritage
And the ends of the earth for a possession.
Thou shalt pasture them with an iron staff,
And dash them to pieces like an earthen vessel."
Wherefore, ye kings ! be wise ;
Take warning ye judges of earth !
Serve Yahweh in fear,
And tremble as ye sing his praise !
Cleave to him³ that he grow not wroth ;
Should his anger kindle even a little ye will perish as ye go on your way.
Blessed are all they that put their trust in him.

When the poet sings : " This day have I given thee birth," he means by " to-day " the day of the king's accession, upon which he became the son of Yahweh.

It is true we have no direct proof that " son of God " or " son of Yahweh " was a usual title of honor assumed by the king of Israel, for it only occurs in this passage. But such a title would be exceedingly natural, for the Israelites were quite accustomed to express a confidential relation between a superior and an inferior under the image of a father and a son.⁴ How natural such an expression would be to an Israelite may

¹ Exodus xxii. 28 ; Proverbs xxiv. 21 ; 1 Kings xxi. 10, 12.

² Psalm ii.

³ After an amended version.

⁴ Compare Exodus iv. 22 ; Hosea xi. 1 ; Judges xvii. 10, xviii. 19 ; 2 Kings ii. 12, xiii. 14, v. 13.

be seen from the following promise concerning Solomon, which is put into the mouth of Yahweh: "I will be a father to him, and he shall be a son to me; and when he sins I will chastise him with the rod of a man, with such stripes as mortals lay on one another."¹ Moreover, it was customary amongst all ancient peoples to call their princes the sons of some deity or other; and we can hardly believe that Israel formed an exception, especially as we know that the king was called an "angel of God," whose judgment was always true and whose actions must always be considered good.²

The danger was only too great that a man who was raised to such a height should get an exaggerated idea of his own importance. Such a test would be too hard for almost any one's humility. Who could retain a modest estimate of himself if he were told on every possible occasion that he was the representative of God, that his "heart was like a stream of water that Yahweh guided whither he would?"³ We need not be surprised at the caprice and oppression that were but too common, and the heavy yoke which many a king laid upon the necks of his subjects.

CHAPTER IV.

GAD AND NATHAN BEFORE YAHWEH'S ANOINTED.

2 SAMUEL XXIV., XI., XII.⁴

THOUGH the king was bound by no law, yet there was a force in the land which he could not long defy with impunity. Public opinion made itself felt with a strength proportioned to the people's love of freedom and consciousness of power; and when it was supported and enforced by circumstances, the king was morally compelled to listen to it. We have seen already how a three years' famine compelled David to give ear to the demands of the Gibeonites, and sacrifice seven sons of Saul to their vengeance. On another occasion he was crossed in a cherished scheme by the breaking out of a plague.

The account of this latter circumstance is given us by

¹ 2 Samuel vii. 14.

² Proverbs xxi. 1.

³ 2 Samuel xiv. 17, xix. 27.

⁴ 1 Chronicles xxi.

writers who adopted without reserve the superstitious idea that the plague was sent by Yahweh as a punishment. The consequence is that they have imbedded this conception in the narrative, but it has not materially affected their account of the facts themselves.

Some time after the three years' famine had ended in the execution of the sons of Saul, David determined to take a census of his people. This project was certainly no mere idle whim on his part. It must have had some definite object, though we cannot exactly say what. It may have been intended to regulate the system of taxation and compulsory service, or it may have been a measure preparatory to raising a standing army. But whatever his object might be, David wished to ascertain the number of men capable of bearing arms in every tribe of Israel. The project, however, met with a vigorous opposition from the courtiers as soon as it was communicated to them, and the populace also regarded it with dislike. The prophets were certainly against it. They had already seen with grief that Israel's king was treading more and more completely in the footsteps of the heathen monarchs. He lived a life of luxury, dwelt in a fortified city, kept chariots of war, and surrounded himself with a foreign body-guard instead of trusting entirely to the favor of Yahweh, and striving to retain it by zeal for his glory. And this census was such an innovation! What did it matter how numerous the people might be? In time of war the victory depended upon Yahweh's help, not upon the strength of the army; and a regular system of taxation must have been an abomination in the eyes of men who already looked upon the splendor of the court with displeasure. The masses of the people were probably little influenced by these religious motives in their opposition to the census, but they looked upon it with that vague suspicion that generally sets the populace against any novelty. If the king's project was connected with a system of taxation and compulsory services, the opposition of the people was not unnatural. A king who held such a court as David's was expensive enough already! But enough of these conjectures. Whatever may have been the cause, public opinion declared itself strongly against the census. Joab was ordered by the king to carry out the measure and to traverse the whole country, accompanied by certain high officials, for the purpose. On this he took courage to lay his objections before David. "May Yahweh your god," he said, "multiply the people a hundred-fold, and may my lord the king live to see it! But I would

not have you hold this census." The other officers expressed their sympathy with Joab's words; but the monarch held to his determination, made light of their fears, and repeated his commands. There was nothing more to be said after this. The king ought to know best! So Joab, however reluctantly, obeyed his orders.

The census began in the district east of Jordan. Joab and his retinue took up their position near Aroer, in a plain south of the city, and thither they summoned all the men of military age in the district and took down their numbers. Then they went northward, through Gilead and Bashan right up to Dan, the ancient Laish. Then they crossed the Jordan and went southwards by the land of the Phœnicians till they came at last to Beersheba. Then they turned north again through Judah up to the district of Jerusalem. Benjamin was left to the last. They had been nearly ten months taking the census, and had not yet finished when the work was suddenly interrupted by an outbreak of the plague.¹ The king's officers returned in terror to their master, gave him the results they had obtained so far, and told him why they had not brought their work to a conclusion. It is quite possible that the census itself may have had something to do with the breaking out of this plague, for whenever people are crowded together in one place, infectious diseases are very apt to spread. The Israelites, however, did not stop to think of this or any other natural cause, but immediately saw the chastening hand of Yahweh in the plague that afflicted them.

David, then, had no sooner heard of this fearful scourge than he began to feel uneasy. Was it a sign of God's displeasure? That could hardly be! And yet when the plague went on spreading, and multiplied its victims daily, he no longer dared to deny all connection between its ravages and the census he had held. The thought grew stronger and stronger in his heart: "I have sinned! I have acted very foolishly!" He read the same conviction on the faces of his courtiers; he heard how the people murmured, and accused him of having caused the plague by the deed that had made Yahweh wroth; and his seer, the prophet Gad, did not shrink from telling him in so many words that his sin was the cause of his people's suffering. David was deeply moved. Hitherto Jerusalem itself had escaped, but rumors of the advance of the disease grew more and more disturbing. It was rapidly approaching. Cases had already appeared on the other side

¹ 1 Chronicles xxvii. 24.

of the Mount of Olives. David was altogether humbled at last. He threw himself down in deep depression by the ark of Yahweh, with his face turned towards the east, gazing over the north-eastern peak of Zion towards the Mount of Olives. It was as if he could see the angel of death, sent by Yahweh, with naked sword, ready to smite Jerusalem! The thought of his wretched people's suffering was more than he could bear. "O Yahweh," he broke out, "it is only I, the shepherd, who have sinned, but what have these sheep done? If thou wilt punish this sin, then turn upon me and mine!" Meanwhile terror reigned supreme throughout Jerusalem. And well it might! The raging plague, for which no cure had been discovered, which might depopulate whole cities in a few short hours, was drawing near. Round David lay the priests stretched upon the ground, fasting and praying before Yahweh's face. Could no means be found to appease him and to turn away the angel of destruction from the royal city? Amongst those who surrounded the king was Gad, his seer. What is it that has come upon this man so suddenly? The sound of the sacred horns rings through the air, to bring to Yahweh's memory the supplications of his people, when lo! the hand of God is laid upon the prophet: "I see him," he cries aloud; "I see the destroying angel!—Yahweh draws near!—Oh, pity us!—See there! he stands over Araunah's threshing-floor. — It is not yet too late. — Rise up, O King, says Yahweh; rise up and go to meet the angel, and make a sacrifice to Israel's rock; let Yahweh smell the smoke of a meat offering, and he will pity us!"

Yahweh had spoken. There was no time to lose. The monarch rose to his feet, and all around him made ready. The procession was in motion almost instantly. The drums rumbled and the trumpets rang, while the servants of the temple advanced, uttering cries of woe and beating their breasts, with their heads covered with ashes. Then followed the priests and the king. David had put aside his royal garments and was clothed with a simple *ephod*, while all his courtiers were dressed in mourning apparel. "O Yahweh, pity!" And thus the procession passed through David's city and the Valley of the Cheesemakers, and up the western slope of the little hill where Araunah the Jebusite had his abode. As soon as Araunah saw the procession he hastened to meet his king, bowed down to earth in reverence before him, and asked the reason of his coming. David told him that he desired to buy his threshing-floor from him to build an altar to

Yahweh on it, and so to avert the plague. On this Araunah placed the piece of ground itself, his oxen, his threshing-flails, and other wooden instruments at the king's service, and refused to receive payment for them. If Yahweh would graciously accept the offering and stay the plague, he would gladly give his property as a free gift; but David would not accept the offer. He insisted on paying the full price of all he needed, for he would not make a sacrifice to Yahweh that had cost him nothing. So fifty shekels of silver were weighed out for Araunah; and David built an altar on the threshing-floor, and made a solemn sacrifice to Yahweh on it. When all was over, the royal procession returned again to the palace with a little gleam of hope. And their hope soon deepened to a certainty, for Jerusalem escaped altogether, and before long the violence of the plague was exhausted. The sacrifice had accomplished its purpose, Yahweh was appeased, and David's sin washed out.

The place where this sacrifice was made was afterwards the mount of the Temple. This is evident from certain words which the writer of the book of Samuel added when he mentioned the altar. They have fallen out of the Hebrew text, but are preserved in the Greek translation, and run as follows: "Solomon afterwards enlarged this altar, for at first it was but small." The writer of Chronicles who tries, as we have seen,¹ to give David as much of the credit of building the temple as possible, declares that he fixed upon this place as the site of the future temple,² and explains the name of the hill *Moriah*, or "appearance of Yahweh," from the "appearance" vouchsafed to David there.³ The important part afterwards played in the religious life of Israel by the spot upon which David built this altar gave a special interest to the story of the census and its consequences. The writer of the books of Samuel accepted without hesitation the superstitious belief that this plague was sent to punish David's sin, and of course his conception of the events is strongly colored by this idea. He gives his explanations of the facts as though they were the facts themselves: tells us that Yahweh was wroth with Israel, and therefore stirred up David to take a census; and that he afterwards ordered the destroying angel, who stood by the threshing-floor of Araunah, to draw back the hand that grasped the sword of death. Nay, he goes still further and tells us that Gad, the seer, had given David the

¹ See p. 11.

² 1 Chronicles xxii. 1.

³ 2 Chronicles iii. 1. Compare vol. i. p. 148.

choice beforehand of the disaster by which his sin should be punished — a three years' famine, a three months' defeat before the enemy, or a three days' plague. David, he tells us, exclaimed, "I am deeply troubled, but let us fall into the hand of Yahweh, who is very pitiful, rather than into the hand of men!" So he chose the plague, which men could neither aggravate nor lighten, rather than famine or the violence of the foe, for they would both have made him dependent upon men.

The Chronicler gives a somewhat different coloring to the narrative. In accordance with the opinions of his day, he makes Satan instead of Yahweh urge David to take the census; and in describing the appearance of the destroying angel he seems to have thought of a being visible to the human eye, for he says that Araunah and his sons saw him and went and hid themselves in terror. He further informs us that fire from heaven burned David's sacrifice; and finally he very characteristically tries to excuse the king for not making his sacrifice at Gibeon, where he believes the tabernacle to have stood. He explains this departure from the Law as being due to David's dread of the angel, which was so great as to allow him no time to go to Gibeon. He forgets that he himself has already told us that David went to this threshing-floor of Araunah with the deliberate intention of sacrificing there.

The impression made by the breaking out of this plague during David's census was very deep, but it did not prevent the repetition of a similar measure on several later occasions. The writer of the "Book of Origins," goes so far as to say that Moses himself held a census, but he tells us that on that occasion every Israelite had to pay a tax of half a shekel to Yahweh "as a propitiation, to prevent the census bringing a plague after it."¹

This peculiar way of looking at things perverted the representations of the old historians throughout, and gives us some idea how deeply superstition was rooted in the Israelite's character. The whole series of events moreover teaches us how the king's power was in many cases checked. His own religious convictions, backed by public opinion and enforced by external events, sometimes made it impossible for him to carry out his will.

It was well for the people that public opinion could make itself so strongly felt. In this special instance, so far from

¹ Exodus xxx. 12, 13, 16.

perfectly agreeing with its demands, we cannot but regard them as highly superstitious; but that need not prevent our thinking it a blessing for king and people alike that the will of the nation had such power. Where slavish submission has possession of the people's hearts, all their spirit is soon quenched, and the king himself is revered as a god until at last his tyranny knows no bounds. It was well for Israel, then, that there were men like Gad, "the king's seer," who dared to tell their monarch the truth.

The part here played by Gad was on another occasion taken by Nathan, as the following narrative will show:—

In the course of the war with the Ammonites, while Joab was besieging their capital, David, who remained at home, had committed adultery with Bathsheba (properly Bathshua¹) the wife of Uriah the Hittite, one of his officers. To conceal the consequences of his sin David sent for Uriah from the camp in order that he might visit his home, and that the child to which Bathsheba would give birth might pass for the lawful fruit of her marriage. But Uriah was a warrior at heart, and would not enjoy the pleasures of his home while his fellow soldiers were exposed to all the privations of the field. He chose rather to spend the night in the porch of the palace, although the king had sent some dishes from the royal table for his evening's entertainment at home. On the second day he did the same, though David had asked him to his own table and had made him drunk. David saw that his plan had failed, and began to fear the vengeance of his subject should his shameful abuse of his absence come to light; so he treacherously ordered Joab to put Uriah in command at some post of danger, and, when the Ammonites made a sally, to desert him and leave him to perish at their hands. Joab obeyed his orders, and Uriah, with certain of his followers, perished. A messenger was at once despatched to take the news of this reverse to David. He told him that in the heat of the battle, when the Ammonites had made a sally, Joab's men had pursued them too far and had come close under the wall within range of the enemy's archers, under whose arrows many of them had fallen. David sprang to his feet in indignation, "What madness," he cried, "to advance so near! The disaster was sure to follow such a blunder. Had Joab forgotten the fate of Abimelech? How he died by the hand of a woman who cast a stone upon his head as he stood at the foot of the wall? Why did he go so near?" Upon this the messenger,

¹ 1 Chronicles iii. 5.

following Joab's orders, simply added, as if filling up the measure of his evil tidings, "And Uriah fell amongst them." David's anger was quenched in a moment. He saw that Joab had deliberately forced the van of his army, with Uriah at its head, too far; and he said in a tone of quiet encouragement, "Tell Joab not to take this accident too much to heart, for such is the fortune of war. One side suffers a reverse to-day and the other to-morrow. Let him do his best to make a breach; and then storm the city."

When the time of mourning was over Uriah's widow was taken into David's harem, where she gave birth in course of time to a son.

There were but few who knew with certainty what had taken place, and these few might be trusted not to betray their master. But before long the truth began to be guessed, and an evil smile would play upon the lips of those who were ill-disposed to David as they whispered to one another about the probable connection of this with that. Amongst the Canaanites, the partisans of Saul and the enemies of Yahweh—a term under which the prophets included all opponents of Yahweh's anointed—there were some who took a wicked delight in the shameful deed. David an adulterer and a murderer! So this was the chosen servant of the god who made so much of moral purity! The zealots of Yahweh were all the more deeply saddened. Every one who took an earnest view of life was full of indignation. And David? Had he no pangs of conscience?

If his royal life had already so far corrupted him that he imagined such a sin could be committed with impunity, it was well for him that a Nathan stood at his side to shake him from his moral torpor. This bold prophet felt himself called upon by Yahweh to bring home the monarch's sin to him; and, with a fine perception of the nature of his task, he strove to touch his heart. He came into the royal presence, as if on quite other business, and said: "A shameful deed has been done, O King! and I come to ask your help in punishing the offender. Listen to the tale: There were two men dwelling in one city, one of whom was rich and the other poor. The rich man had very great flocks and herds; but the poor man had only one little lamb that he had bought; and he loved it tenderly. He nourished it with gentle care, and it grew up with him and with his children. It ate of his food; it drank out of his cup; it slept in his bosom, and was like a daughter to him. Now it happened that the rich man

had a guest to entertain; and instead of taking one of his own sheep or oxen, and preparing it to set before the traveler, he took away the poor man's little lamb, and ordered that it should be dressed for his table." Hardly had the prophet ceased when David, boiling with indignation, cried, "As sure as Yahweh lives the man deserves to die! He shall render back four-fold what he has stolen; for he was cruel and had no pity!" There stood the king before the seer, glowing with anger at the supposed offence; but Nathan, turning full upon him, cried with passionate earnestness: "Thou art the man! It was of you I spoke as the rich man that robbed his humble neighbor. I have anointed you king of Israel, says Yahweh, and delivered you from the hand of Saul. Your wives are many even now, and if you wanted more you might have had your choice amongst the maids of Israel.¹ And if all this had not sufficed I would have added more besides. Why have you scattered Yahweh's commandments to the winds? You have murdered Uriah the Hittite, and taken his wife to yourself! It was your doing that Uriah fell by the sword of Ammon, and of a truth your house shall ever be a prey to trouble and dissension for this cause! Another shall seize your wives. You did your deed of shame in secret, but Yahweh shall chastise you openly!" The prophet's voice was firm, and indignation flashed from his eye; but David's cheek was pale and his heart oppressed. He stepped back, half doubting whether to launch his wrath against the audacious prophet or to bow down his head in shame for the sin he had committed. The prophet awaited in suspense the answer of his monarch. At last David's better nature gained the mastery. He felt his own baseness and humbly confessed his guilt. "I have sinned against Yahweh," he said; and the prophet, softened by his confession of his crime, replied, "Then Yahweh will so far forgive your sin as not to destroy you for it. But inasmuch as you have given his enemies so great occasion to blaspheme, your new-born child shall doubtless perish." With these words Nathan left the royal presence.

It was not long before the little child grew dangerously ill, and David could not but perceive the avenging hand of Yahweh in his sickness. And yet he could not bear to think that he must really lose his child, so he strove to move his god by prayer. All night long he sat upon the ground in

¹ After an amended version.

his inner chamber, fasting; and his attendants strove in vain to persuade him to rise up and eat. The sickness of the child lasted for seven days, and then it died. But the courtiers dare not tell their master that the end had come, for they said, "When the child was yet alive his grief was past control. What then will it be when he hears that it is dead?" But David saw that they were whispering to one another, and asked, "What is it, then? Is the child dead?" Then, though they hardly dared to say the word, they were obliged to answer "Yes!" No sooner had David heard their news than he rose from the ground at once and, to their utter amazement, washed and anointed himself, put on fresh clothes, went to the house of Yahweh to worship, and then had a meal prepared for him in his own palace. His friends were so much surprised by this unusual behavior that they could not conceal their wonder from the king himself. He read their thoughts, and, indeed, in answer to his questions, they told him plainly that they could not understand why he had mourned and fasted while the child was living, but had taken comfort and been ready to eat as soon as he heard that it was dead. But David told them what it meant. "When the child was yet alive," he said, "I fasted and prayed, for I thought, It may be that Yahweh will have pity on me and will spare my child! But now that he is dead wherefore should I fast? Can it bring him back to me? I shall go to him, in the world below, but he will not come back to me."

After a time Bathsheba gave birth to another son. This was the celebrated Solomon, "whom Yahweh loved." When the child grew up David committed his education to Nathan the prophet, and at the command of Yahweh named him *Jedidiah*, that is, "loved of Yahweh."¹

The touching account of David's conduct during the sickness and at the death of his child awakes our deepest sympathy, in spite of the superstitious character of the beliefs which it implies throughout. David supposed that his child's sickness was expressly sent by Yahweh as a punishment for his sin, and that by prayer and fasting he might propitiate the offended deity and turn him from his purpose; and his words on hearing of the death of the child — "Why should I fast any more? It no longer avails me anything" — show that he held his beliefs with a naïve simplicity and directness which not only startle us now, but were regarded with wonder

¹ After an amended version.

even by his own contemporaries. We should observe, however, that David went immediately to Yahweh's house to pray, and only gave up the special form of adoration the specific purpose of which was no longer attainable. When we remember that in David's time a father's sin was as distinctly recognized as the cause of a child's disease as bad drainage, for instance, is in our own, and that prayer and fasting were as normal a means of cure as the physician's art, we may translate the meaning of David's conduct thus: We must do all that lies in our power to preserve those who are committed to our care from disease and death, but if our efforts are unavailing we must acquiesce in God's will and must still worship him. Observe also that a prince who had a host of wives and a corresponding number of children was not likely, as a rule, to take it very much to heart if any of the latter died. All the ties of natural affection are loosened by polygamy. So David's seven days' fast for the sake of the child upon whom he believed his own guilt to have brought disease is a proof of a tender conscience and a gentle heart. The writer of the story himself believed that the avenging hand of Yahweh might be seen in the death of Bathsheba's first-born child; and this leads us to suspect that Nathan's prophetic announcement of the event is a later addition. It is not likely that the prophet did more than add a general threat of punishment to his denunciation of David's sin; unless indeed the child was sick already when he came into the royal presence. In this case he may easily have taught the king to see the avenging hand of Yahweh in the infant's sickness.

Happy the prince whom absolute power has not yet corrupted utterly, whose conscience, even if it sleep, can yet be roused again! But this implies a people that is not altogether servile, that does not applaud everything the prince may do, or regard him absolutely as the representative of the deity, whom no man may resist. Happy the prince who has at least some subjects such as Gad and Nathan! His power may be limited by no written law, but for his own and his people's good it is more or less completely laid under moral restraints.

All honor to the men in whom their monarch's sins stirred such indignant grief that they felt compelled to lay his trespasses before him! All honor to the men who dared to stand up and reprove the anointed of Yahweh! Such heroes are the salt of their land.

CHAPTER V.

INTRIGUES AT COURT AND CIVIL DISSENSIONS.

2 SAMUEL XIII.-XX.

WE may well believe that the life led at an Eastern court gave occasion to every kind of immorality and resultant misery. The troops of women who lived there in luxury and idleness had nothing better to do than to devise new means of currying favor with their royal spouse for their own advantage or that of their children. All the concubines were proud on the one hand of the distinction of living in the royal harem, and jealous on the other hand of the queens; so they devoted themselves entirely to adorning their persons and begging the favor and assistance of the keepers of the harem. These keepers, again, who spent their whole lives amid scenes of pampered indulgence, were generally perfect slaves to their appetites, were quarrelsome and mean-spirited, and cringed before their royal master. And the princes of the blood held their own courts and harems in imitation of the king, and, having nothing better to do, quarrelled over questions of precedence and dignity, and vied with each other in display; while all the courtiers, members of the royal house, officers of state, royal guests, and others, spent their whole time in hunting and in feasting. The royal feasts generally ended in a drinking bout, at which most of the guests were intoxicated;¹ and as long as the princes did not begin their carouse in the morning,² no one saw much harm in it. Again, what a degrading influence must have been exercised upon the life of the courtiers by the constant dread of a king upon whose caprice they were all absolutely dependent! Taking everything together it is hardly too much to say that it was next to impossible for any man to live a noble life amid such surroundings. The frequency of wars had, under these circumstances, at least one advantage; for although a soldier's life is not in itself particularly well calculated to bring out what is good and lovable in men, yet it could not fail to do more good than harm, from a moral point of view, to the frequenters of such

¹ After an amended version of Genesis xliii. 34; see also 2 Samuel xi. 13.

² Ecclesiastes x. 16.

a court as we have described. The following story will show us that all these evils were as conspicuous in David's court as in others :—

Amnon, the eldest prince of the blood, was consumed by a passion for the beauteous Tamar, the full sister of his half-brother Absalom; but she was inaccessible to him since she lived in the well-guarded palace of the women, in which it was hardly possible for any man except the king to set his foot. But, unhappily for all concerned, Amnon had a friend of the name of Jonadab, the son of one of David's brothers, and a very cunning man. He advised him to pretend that he was ill, and ask his father whether Tamar might come to prepare some food for him. In this way he would get her into his power. The plot succeeded only too well; but Amnon's passions were as fickle as they were violent, and no sooner had he accomplished his wicked purpose than his love was turned to hatred, and he doubled the wrong that he had done to Tamar by refusing to marry when he had dishonored her. Not knowing what to do, she took refuge with her brother Absalom, who offered a few careless words of comfort, and let neither her nor any one else see what was going on within him; but, nevertheless, his thoughts were set upon a fierce revenge. David was very angry when he heard of what had happened, but he was too weak to punish Amnon, his eldest son, of whom he was very fond. So Absalom felt all the more keenly that the right and duty of taking vengeance fell to him.

For two whole years he kept his anger secret. Then he saw that his time was come. The whole affair was now almost forgotten, for princes are seldom reminded of their sins at court. Amnon was therefore all the more likely to fall into the snare that his brother was laying for him. It was the time of sheep-shearing, and Absalom took the opportunity of giving a great feast, to which he asked his father. David declined, for fear of putting his son to too much expense. Absalom then asked whether Amnon might not come to his feast, that the occasion might at least be graced by the presence of the heir-apparent, if the king himself could not come. David, who may have had his own suspicions, refused even this at first, but finally gave his consent. So Amnon fell into the power of the brother he had wronged. Suspecting no evil he came, with a small retinue, to Absalom's country-place at Baal-Hazor, in the north-west of Judah. The sacrifices were offered and the merrymaking began; but at the close of the feast, when Amnon was more or less intoxicated, and

his attendants had feasted too well to be able to defend him, the servants of Absalom set upon him and slew him. Absalom himself immediately took to flight, and the other princes fled in terror and confusion to Jerusalem, not knowing whether they too were to be attacked or no.

Rumor had already reported the event, with as much exaggeration as usual, at the palace. "Absalom has murdered all the king's sons," it was said. The ready credence which this story gained, though entirely unconfirmed, proves the frequency of such deeds of violence and death in those days; and people whose intellectual nature is not highly developed, and who act on the impulse of their passions and emotions rather than the dictates of calm reflection, are always apt to be completely carried away by good or bad tidings. "All the king's sons are murdered, not one has escaped!" was the cry raised by David's attendants; and, though nobody really knew anything about it, the report was generally believed. David, himself, the very picture of misery, sat upon the ground with his garments rent, utterly confounded and broken down. His courtiers surrounded him, rending their garments and uttering cries of woe. There was but one man present who kept his head and guessed the truth. It was Amnon's friend, the wily Jonadab. He knew enough of human nature to feel certain that Absalom had never forgiven his brother for his treatment of Tamar, and he thought it probable that he had now taken his revenge. "Lament not for all your sons, O King," he cried, "for surely it is Amnon alone who has perished. From the day on which he dishonored Tamar we might have known that Absalom would plot against his life. You need not be so ready to believe that all the princes are slain, for you will see that it is only Amnon." It soon appeared that his conjecture was well founded. The sentinel on the watch-tower announced the approach of a great company from the west. "See now!" said Jonadab, "they are the king's sons!" Before long the fact was placed above all doubt. The princes rushed in, like fugitives, and confirmed the terrible report as far as Amnon was concerned, but no further. Upon this the king and all his courtiers burst into a loud cry of lamentation over the death of the heir to the throne.

Meanwhile Absalom had fled to the court of the king of Geshur, for his mother, Maachah, was the daughter of the late king of this district.¹ He was well received, and remained

¹ 2 Samue' iii. 3.

three years in the country. At first his father demanded his surrender, and he was in some danger; but it seems that the king of the Geshurites, though he had been subdued by David, was still sufficiently independent to protect the fugitive. And when the time of mourning for Amnon's death was over David's anger gradually abated, until at last he even longed to see Absalom again. We might well suppose that under these circumstances the prince's banishment would come to an end; for if his royal father desired his return, what was to prevent his exchanging the court of Geshur for that of Jerusalem? But there was one formidable obstacle in the way — the will of Yahweh, maintained by the prophets and revered by the people. "Whoso sheds the blood of man, his blood must be shed. The blood-redeemer must slay him, lest Yahweh be not appeased and a curse come upon the land." This terrible commandment made Absalom's return impossible; for even a king, impelled by his love for his own son, dare not so utterly defy public opinion as to fling to the winds a commandment considered sacred by the people. It is true that the religious revival of Samuel's time had already lost much of its strength, but its effects were still too powerfully felt to be ignored with safety.

But there was one man at court who read the king's real wishes in his face, and strove to devise some means of inducing him to give them effect. It was David's faithful general Joab. To compass his object he sent to Tekoa, a place in the desert of Judah, for a certain woman who had the reputation of great sagacity. The two took counsel together; and then the woman went as a suppliant, clothed in mourning garments, before the king, and threw herself down in reverence at his feet. David asked her what her petition was, and she answered: "I am a widow, and I once had two sons; but they quarrelled with each other — out in the fields where there was no one to part them — and at last one of them struck down his brother dead. And now, as if this were not enough, all my family have conspired together to demand that I should 'give up the murderer who slew his brother,' that they may put him to death. Alas! my lord, must my husband's heir indeed be slain, and must his name utterly perish?" She ceased. The king and all who were present were touched by the mother's grief; but David knew how hard it was to prevent the blood-redemption, and, as his thoughts wandered to the court of Geshur, he replied, "Go home, and I will give the needful orders on your behalf." But the woman

had not yet gained her object. She was determined to extort from the king a more definite promise to protect her son against those who would put him to death in Yahweh's name. So she pretended to fear that the king was running too great a risk for her sake in protecting her son against the zealots. "My lord the king!" she exclaimed, "better that my family should perish than that your throne should be imperilled." David's pride was now touched, and he answered haughtily, "Bring any one before me who dares to dispute my sentence, and I promise he shall never raise so much as a finger against you!" Everything was going as it should; one more successful move and the woman had won the game! "O my king!" she cried beseechingly, "confirm your promise with an oath that the blood-redeemer shall not be suffered to increase my woes yet more!" The king was touched by the grief expressed in the mother's prayer; he read in the faces of his courtiers sympathetic pity for her sorrow, and, complying with her last request, he swore, "As sure as Yahweh lives, not a hair of your son's head shall be touched!"

The suppliant now commanded the position. On hearing the king's oath, she was silent a moment, and then quietly added, "May I say one other word to my lord the king?" There was something in her manner that especially excited David's interest, and he gave her permission to speak. A sudden change came over her as she cried, "You stand condemned by your own oath, O King! until you have recalled your banished son. For, behold, we must all die one day, and can never be recalled to life, any more than water that is poured upon the ground can be gathered up again. Yet God does not slay the murderer, but mercifully refrains from utterly rejecting him in spite of his sin. And now, O King, I have come to you because the people terrified me, and I thought 'the king will protect me against all who seek to root out my family from Yahweh's heritage; his promise will set me at peace, for the king is like an angel of God in distinguishing between good and evil.' May Yahweh bless you!"

The woman had indeed deep knowledge of human nature. She had raised a protest in the king's conscience, and that of all who surrounded him, against the savage law that condemned the murderer to death; and at the same time had reminded David of his own power. Who would dare to dispute what he determined?

David felt that he must yield, but knew that the woman would not have ventured on so bold an appeal of her own

accord. So he said to her, "And now do you, in your turn, tell me: Had not Joab a hand in this?" Upon which she cried, "O my lord the king, when you speak you always hit the mark. Yes, it was Joab who put all these words into my mouth, and told me to lay the matter thus before you. But my lord the king sees everything like an angel of God, he knows all that is done in the whole land."

Then David turned to Joab and said, "I will fulfil your wish. Go and bring Absalom back." Rejoicing in the success of his stratagem, Joab bowed down in reverence before the king, and, as if he had received a personal favor himself, exclaimed, "Now I know that I have found grace in your eyes, because you have listened to the words of your servant."

So Absalom returned to Jerusalem, but the king forbade him to appear at court. He was too much attached to him to leave him in exile, and perhaps he thought it just as well to keep his probable successor under his eye, but he dare not behave as though nothing had happened for fear of incurring the displeasure of the prophets; so he still treated his son more or less as an offender. But like most half measures, this conduct was very unwise and satisfied no one. The zealots of Yahweh were naturally far from content, and so was Joab on the other side. Absalom himself became impatient under his humiliation. He endured this half exile for two years, but then it became so intolerable to him that he sent for his former champion, Joab, to devise some means of putting an end to it. But Joab knew very well why he was sent for, and since he was unwilling on the one hand to refuse Absalom's request, but afraid on the other to speak again on his behalf to the king, he adopted the simple course of not going, even when invited a second time. But Absalom was determined to have an interview with him, and as he could not compass his end by fair means, he did not shrink from foul. Joab had a field of barley bordering on Absalom's estate, and the latter ordered his servants to set the crop on fire. Joab came to demand an explanation, and the prince openly declared that he had done it in order to secure an interview. He wanted to ask him to speak to his father on his behalf, for he could not endure this unnatural state of things any longer. If it was to last, it was a pity he had ever come out of Geshur. The king must either completely forgive him, and recall him to court, or else bring him to justice for his crime.

Joab allowed himself to be persuaded, and undertook the

dangerous task of conveying Absalom's message to the king. The result was what he wished. David forgave his son, and when he appeared at court received him with the kiss of favor.

David's second son, Chileab,¹ seems to have died early; and after Amnon's death Absalom was the eldest of the princes, and therefore the probable successor to the throne. There was also much in his person to recommend him. We have observed more than once that the Israelites had not reached so high a stage of moral development as not to be led away by appearances, and to attach great importance to personal beauty and a commanding presence. Now, Absalom was wonderfully beautiful. Tall and upright in stature and perfect in figure from head to foot. His luxuriant locks flowed down in long ringlets over his shoulders. Once a year, when his hair grew oppressively heavy, he had it cut, and the severed locks weighed, we are told, three hundred shekels, royal weight. That would be about six and a half pounds avoirdupois, which is quite impossible. There must be a mistake in the figure; but the only essential point is that Absalom's hair was remarkably abundant. As soon as he was received into his father's favor, he did all he could to ingratiate himself with the people. He held a magnificent court, and constantly drove out in an equipage of princely splendor, preceded by fifty guards. Sometimes he would take his stand with all his retinue at one of the city gates; and when any distinguished stranger approached the city to appeal to the king, as supreme judge, he would enter into conversation with him, and inquire, with a great appearance of interest, whence he came and what brought him to the king. On this the stranger, full of reverence for any scion of royalty, would tell him all about his affairs. Then Absalom would give him a friendly answer. No doubt he was perfectly right, he would say, his cause was a thoroughly good one; but at the same time he would shrug his shoulders and add a few broken sentences in a sympathetic, half-apologetic tone: "You ask for nothing but what is just and right, and yet I hardly know what to say to it. My father is an excellent man, no doubt, but—have you any one to make interest with him for you?—have you brought the means of securing the courtiers? If not, why—I almost fear—you see it does not always go for much to have justice on

¹ 2 Samuel iii. 3.

your side. It is very sad. Well! I only wish I could sit in judgment! Things would go differently then." As the stranger, taking leave of the prince, bowed down in reverence Absalom would run up to him, give him his hand, raise him from the ground, and embrace him. Thus did he steal the hearts of the Israelites. Such kindness and condescension on the part of one so distinguished, wealthy, and beautiful had an irresistible charm.

After thus preparing his way to the throne for four years,¹ Absalom thought the time had come for him to displace his father. He may have had reason to fear that if he remained quiet David would name Solomon or Adonijah as his successor. So he declared that he had to go to Hebron to pay a vow to Yahweh, which he had made when he was in Geshur—at least six years ago therefore. David gave his consent, and Absalom started with a magnificent retinue. He had taken his measures skillfully. He had placed his emissaries in every district of the country, and they were ready, as soon as the signal should be given at Hebron, to raise the cry, "Long live King Absalom, crowned at Hebron!" all through the land. In the retinue of the prince were two hundred influential citizens of Jerusalem, who knew nothing of the plot. They accompanied him simply as guests, but he could make them serve as hostages. Ahithophel, on the other hand, one of David's shrewdest advisers, was in the secret. He had withdrawn to Giloh, his birthplace, where his family still resided. Giloh was not far from Hebron, and when Absalom reached the latter city, Ahithophel joined him there, and the prince entered into a solemn league with him and other nobles, while the sacrifices were being offered.²

All was now ripe for action. At a given sign, in the midst of the sacrificial feast, one of the conspirators, probably a prophet, rose up, advanced to Absalom, poured the oil of consecration over his head, and cried, "Thus says Yahweh, I anoint thee king of Israel!" All the conspirators now rose to their feet, and brandishing their weapons, or striking their spears against their shields, made the vale of Hebron ring to the cry, "Long live King Absalom!" The prince's armed retainers caught up and repeated the shout, till the echo of every hill in the whole country round returned it; and even the men of Jerusalem who had fallen into the trap, were com-

¹ After an amended version.

² After an amended version of 2 Samuel xv. 12.

pelled, with the best grace they could assume, to join in the cry. The whole district declared for Absalom. The cry was now "Jerusalem!" and the rebel hastened, at the head of his men, to secure the capital. No sooner had David heard the rumor, "Absalom is proclaimed king! All Israel has gone over to him, and the whole country is in rebellion," than he ordered his courtiers to follow him in flight. Pusillanimous as this conduct seems at first, it was in reality very sagacious. Under the special circumstances David was quite at a loss to know whom he could trust. For anything he knew, he might have traitors at his very side, and he could not tell whether the two hundred citizens who had gone with Absalom as guests had been privy to the conspiracy or not; and even if they were simply prisoners, they would at least serve as hostages, and their relations in Jerusalem would never offer a vigorous resistance to the man who held their lives in his hand.

It was a dismal journey for the king. He went out of Jerusalem at the northern side, followed by his courtiers and his wives and children, with their attendants. He only left behind ten of his concubines to take charge of the palace. On the outskirts of the city he paused to see who were following him. Now, he would see what real support he had. It was a joyful sight to recognize his faithful followers as they passed. First of all came his body-guard, the Krethi and Plethi, followed by a troop of common soldiers; while the rear was brought up by the six hundred "heroes"¹—David's picked band of well-tried veterans, many of whom had followed his flag ever since the days when he dwelt at Ziklag. It was with no small surprise that the king noticed amongst his followers Ittai the Gittite. This man was probably one of the Philistine nobles who were retained at Jerusalem as security for the good behavior of their countrymen. "Why, what is this?" asked David. "Are you coming with me? Why do you not stay behind with the new king! You are a stranger and a prisoner.¹ You have been here but a little while, and why should you wander about with me homeless? Go back to your country with your fellow-citizens, and may Yahweh reward your fidelity to me!"¹ But Ittai answered, "As Yahweh and the king live, I will follow you in life and death!" So David received him amongst his followers, and said, "Come with us, then, if you are so resolved."

¹ After an amended version.

But he would not allow the priests to accompany him. They stood at the passage of Kidron, with Zadok and Abiathar at their head, and the ark of the covenant in their midst, waiting till all the fugitives had passed over, and intending to bring up the rear themselves. David did not think it well to take the sacred chest with him. "Take back the ark into the city," he said to the priests. "If Yahweh should graciously vouchsafe to bring me back, I shall see the ark and its house once more; and if he be not gracious to me, I must bear it. Let him do what seems him good." Broken down and afflicted as he was—for the lamentations of the people that witnessed his departure completely overcame him—he had still sufficient presence of mind to attend to every dictate of prudence. This determination to send back the ark was really nothing but a device for keeping his faithful friends the priests in Jerusalem. "Go back,"¹ he said to Zadok, "and enter the city in peace; and let your son Ahimaaz, and Abiathar's son Jonathan, bring me news of all that happens in Jerusalem. I shall stay in the wilderness of Jericho until I hear from you."

To this wilderness David and his followers now turned their steps. Though consoled by the fidelity of many friends, the king was deeply troubled. With muffled head and naked feet he pursued his way over the Mount of Olives weeping. His faithful followers accompanied him with lamentations and signs of woe. In time of need we learn to know our true friends; and David's heart was now saddened and rejoiced alternately by the conduct of the men who had been at his side in the time of his prosperity. The defection of the wily Ahithophel was heavy news, and David cried on hearing it, "O Yahweh! turn the counsel of Ahithophel to folly!" But Hushai, "his friend," that is to say his private adviser or grand vizier, came to meet him in mourning garments, and offered to accompany him in his flight. His fidelity was something to set against Ahithophel's defection, but David would not let him accompany him, since his presence would hinder rather than help him in his flight. So he told him to pretend to embrace the cause of Absalom, and attempt to counteract the advice of Ahithophel. He could then advise him, by means of the faithful priests, of Absalom's plans. Hushai cheerfully undertook the dangerous task, and returned to Jerusalem.

Hardly had David parted from him when another came to

¹ After an amended version.

meet him. It was Ziba, the steward of Meribaal. He was driving before him a couple of asses bearing pack-saddles laden with bread, bunches of raisins, cakes of dried fruit, and wine. All these he offered to the king. "Where is your master?" said David. "He is staying behind in Jerusalem," was the reply; "for he says that perhaps the Israelites will make him king now." Upon this David cried in a sudden burst of anger, "Then I give all his property to you!" Ziba bowed down to the ground in grateful acknowledgment of so rich a grant.

This circumstance could hardly fail to turn David's thoughts to his predecessor, and to arouse associations which must have been particularly painful at such a moment. But the lot of Saul's descendants and his own conduct towards them were soon to be brought to his memory in a far more distressing way. As they were passing by Bahurim, there suddenly appeared a man running toward them, who openly exulted in the king's misfortunes. It was a certain Shimei, a member of the house of Saul. "May Yahweh's curse rest on you, murderer!" he shrieked at David; and, as he ran by the side of the fugitives, keeping at some distance from them, he went on shouting again and again, "Murderer! murderer! This is your reward for slaying those seven victims of your hate. Think of the sons of Merab! Have you forgotten Rizpah? Of course it was all the Gibeonites, and you had nothing to do with it, you son of Belial! And who murdered Abner? Was it Joab? Did you know nothing of it? Have you punished Zeruiah's son? Abner's blood has come upon you now. Yahweh is paying you your deserts by the hand of Absalom, your own flesh and blood! Murderer! murderer!" As Shimei went on railing against David, flinging dust into the air in his frenzy and hurling stones at the king, Abishai, Joab's brother, burst out passionately, "Shall that lump of carrion curse my lord the king? Let me go and strike his head off!" But David was smitten to the heart, and would not give him leave. So many painful memories had risen in his breast. His conscience was uneasy, and the thought that his present misery was an atonement for the past came home to him. "Let me hear no more of you, you sons of Zeruiah!" he said to Abishai. "Doubtless it is Yahweh who has told him to curse me; and why should I be angry with him?" Then he turned to those immediately about him and exclaimed, "See, now! my own son is conspiring against my life. Is it strange that this Benjamite should

act as he does? Let him curse me, then, for Yahweh has doubtless sent him, and will all the sooner look upon my misery, and requite me with joy for this my sorrow!" So David's heroes let Shimei go on, and — like the ass in the fable that kicks the dying lion — he accompanied the king, with curses and every other expression of hatred, to Ajephim,¹ that is, *the place of the wearied*. Here David and his companions halted to take breath.

Meanwhile, Absalom and his fellow-conspirators had reached Jerusalem, where Hushai met them with the greeting, "Long life to King Absalom!" Full of amazement, the prince inquired, "What does this mean? You, the king's friend, here! Did you not fly with my father, then?" "I did not," answered the wily minister. "I am the servant of the man, whoever he may be, whom Yahweh and these citizens and all Israel have chosen. I am true to him. And besides, whom should I serve rather than my master's son? As I have stood by your father's side, so will I henceforth stand by yours."

At the suggestion of Ahithophel, whose word was received as an oracle, Absalom immediately took to himself the king's concubines who had been left behind, in order to make the breach between himself and his father irreparable, and to convince his followers that they must either conquer or die. After this a council of war was held at once to decide upon the next step. Ahithophel proposed an excellent plan. He himself at the head of twelve thousand men would pursue David that very night. In all probability he would find him, wearied and dejected, in the wilderness of Jericho, where it would be easy to disperse his followers and slay no one but him. "Thus," concluded Ahithophel, "I will bring round the whole people to you, as a bride is brought to her husband. And the whole people will be blessed, while one man only loses his life."¹ All the elders who had sided with Absalom approved of this advice, and the prince himself had nothing to say against it. But unluckily for him he thought of asking Hushai's advice. Hushai saw the excellence of Ahithophel's plan as soon as he was informed of it, and consequently did his best to dissuade Absalom from following it. "This time," he said, when appealed to, "this once, O King, Ahithophel has given bad advice! You know your father and the men he has about him. They are warriors fierce as a bear robbed of her young on the plain, or a wild boar raging through the glen.¹ Your father knows what war means but too well, and will

¹ After an amended version.

never let his people spend the night unguarded. Now suppose he has concealed himself in some cave or hole, and suddenly makes a sally on a detachment of your troops. Very likely he might succeed in slaying some few of them, and if he did, report would immediately exaggerate the exploit prodigiously. You know the way of the world. If once it were reported, 'David has defeated the followers of Absalom,' a heart as brave as a lion's would sink with fear; for all Israel knows your father's valor, and knows what heroes his faithful followers are. But I can tell you of a better plan. Call out all Israel to battle — countless as the sands on the sea shore — and march at the head yourself. Then, wherever he has stationed himself, we shall fall upon him, troop upon troop, as the dew falls upon the earth, and not one of his followers will escape. Or if he seeks refuge in a city, then all Israel will be like a net spread round the fortress, and we shall overturn it till there is not one stone left upon another." Such a scheme, proposed in terms of bombastic oratory, had much to attract such a man as Absalom. His followers, too, were dazzled by the brilliant prospect; and Hushai's advice, which seemed so much more prudent than Ahithophel's, was followed. There could not really have been a greater mistake, for David gained time and Absalom was exposed to all the dangers of the battle-field. The historian, who had no scruple in attributing a falsehood to Yahweh, adds the note, "Yahweh had commanded Hushai to speak thus, that Ahithophel's good advice might come to nought and that Absalom might rush upon his fate." Ahithophel was driven to despair when his advice was neglected, and perhaps he now began to fear that things would go against the rebels; so he retired to his own house, arranged his affairs, and put an end to his life.

Hushai lost no time in sending word to the king, by the sons of the priests, of all that had occurred at Jerusalem. The two bold messengers ran great danger of being caught, but they finally reached David in safety, and gave him an account of Absalom's plans, adding that Hushai advised him to cross the Jordan with all possible speed. The king obeyed, and soon arrived with his followers at Mahanaim, the former residence of Ishbaal. Here he was very generously supplied with all that he required by three distinguished citizens of Mahanaim, Rabbah of the Ammonites, and Lodebar.

Absalom lost no time in raising an army, and was soon able to cross the Jordan and pass through Gilead to Mahanaim.

He had appointed Amasa, whose father was an Ishmaelite and whose mother was related to David, as his general. Meanwhile David himself had not been idle, but had summoned all who were still true to his cause; and when Absalom approached he was quite in a position to meet him. At the advice of his friends he refrained from taking any part in the battle himself, because the death of one of the leaders, especially since it was a civil war, was so likely to decide the whole contest; or as David's advisers expressed it: "Suppose we were put to flight; nay, suppose one-half of us were slain, it would not signify. But your life is worth more than ten thousand of ours." So David remained in the city with the reserve, while his troops went out, in three divisions, under Joab, Abishai, and Ittai the Gittite, to meet Absalom.

As David stood at the gate of Mahanaim, and saw his troops pass by, the hope and desire of victory could not banish from his heart an anxious care for his son's safety. What if some mishap should befall him in the battle! "Deal gently with the boy! Spare Absalom!" he cried to his generals, in the hearing of all the people. But the commanders were far from sharing David's tenderness towards the rebel, and had their own ideas about the proper way of treating him, as we shall presently see.

The battle was fought at a considerable distance from the city, and Absalom was defeated. Twenty thousand of his men fell on the field, and still more were lost in the neighboring forest, where they died of hunger, or were drowned in morasses. Absalom himself, seated on the royal mule, took to flight; but, as he was passing under the thick branches of an oak-tree, his hair was caught by them. His beast sprang from under him, and he was left there swinging between heaven and earth. In this condition he was seen by one of David's soldiers, who immediately told Joab. The general would doubtless have been glad had Absalom been despatched without his knowledge. "Why did you not strike him dead?" he asked. "I would have given you ten shekels of silver and a splendid girdle if you had." But the man replied, "If you gave me a hundred times as much I would not lay a hand on the prince, no not for all the money in the world; for we all heard the king telling you and Abishai and Ittai to spare his life. And if I had slain him never so secretly, yet the king finds out everything, and you would have turned against me

¹ After an amended version of 2 Samuel xvii. 25. See 1 Chronicles ii. 17.

yourself." What the soldier said was true enough; but in case of need Joab did not shrink from taking the responsibility of the deed upon his own shoulders, though he would have preferred that it should rest on others. Without another word he hastened to the spot pointed out by the soldier, and hurled three javelins into Absalom's body, after which his ten squires finally despatched him.

There was now no need to pursue the enemy further, so Joab recalled and assembled his troops by sound of trumpet. Absalom's body was thrown into a hole and covered with a great heap of stones. How different was this monument from the one in the King's Valley, not far from Jerusalem, apparently, still known as "Absalom's monument" centuries afterwards! This was a great column that Absalom had raised in his own honor because he had no sons — the three that he once had¹ having died young apparently.

Joab had still one task of difficulty left; he had to inform the king of what had occurred. There were messengers enough ready to take the news of the victory, but what would the king say to Absalom's death? "May I bear news to the king of Yahweh's judgment on his foes?" asked Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok. "You shall not be the bearer of this day's news," answered Joab, "for the tidings are bad, seeing that the king's son is dead." He knew well enough that the bearer of bad news had seldom to expect a good reception, and he was too much attached to Ahimaaz to be willing to expose him to David's wrath. So he turned to a certain Ethiopian, whom he had less scruple in exposing to danger, and said to him, "Go you and tell the king all that you have seen!" The man bowed down in token of obedience, and at once set off. But Ahimaaz, who knew very well why Joab had not chosen him as his messenger, was quite equal to avoiding the dangers his friend feared on his behalf; so he persisted in begging to be allowed to go in addition to the other messenger, and at last Joab consented. Ahimaaz knew the shortest way to Mahanaim, and reached it before the other. The king was sitting waiting at the entrance of the city, when the watchman, stationed on the roof of the gateway, saw Ahimaaz approaching and the Ethiopian following at a little distance behind him. "They must be messengers!" said David. As soon as the son of Zadok was recognized the king and those about him anticipated good news, for what else could such a friend as Ahimaaz bear! So they awaited his approach with confi-

¹ 2 Samuel xiv. 27.

dence, and as soon as he came into the royal presence he threw himself upon the ground and cried, "Long life to the king! Blessed be Yahweh your god, who has quelled the pride of those who raised up their hands against you." "And my son?" said the king anxiously. But the wary messenger, who saw the Ethiopian drawing near, had already delivered the good news, and determined to leave the bad to his fellow. So he replied, "There was a great hubbub when Joab despatched this servant of the king and myself, but I cannot tell what it was about." So the second messenger had to supplement his story; and when the king asked about Absalom, he answered bluntly: "May every one that rises up against my lord the king perish as he has perished!"

On hearing these tidings the king sprang to his feet in a burst of uncontrollable grief, withdrew to the chamber above the gate, and paced up and down crying aloud, "O, my son Absalom! My darling child! Would that I had died for you! O, Absalom, my own dear son!"

David's grief was altogether natural, though, strictly speaking, his conduct had been weak and half-hearted. When he found Absalom a rebel, he had really no choice but either to forget his royal dignity and duty, and yield the crown to his son, or to set aside all paternal tenderness and wage war against his rebellious subject. As it was he tried to take a middle course. Knowing the chances of war perfectly well, he deliberately sent an army into the field against his son, yet without making up his mind to lose him; and gave such orders to his generals that obedience would have gone far towards making the whole victory futile, while disobedience plunged him into an agony of grief. To us this inconsistency seems very natural, and we can well understand that, although David had deliberately determined to wage war against Absalom, yet when the battle was over, the king, rejoicing in the fall of his foe, was lost in the father weeping the death of his son. But it is not to be wondered at that David's faithful followers had little sympathy with his grief. Instead of entering Mahanaim, with shouts of victory and pealing trumpets, the army was compelled to creep in silence into the city, as though it had suffered a defeat; for the soldiers could hardly celebrate a triumph while the king was mourning. But the victors thought it hard, and many a murmur was heard against the king. It was the faithful Joab once more who ventured to point out to him what serious consequences might result from his conduct. He acquitted himself of his

task in his usual rough style. "You are making all your followers," he said, "ashamed of having rescued you and all that is dear to you from destruction! What could be more outrageous than your love for your enemies and your hatred of your friends? I suppose you would take it less to heart if you lost every one of your faithful soldiers and officers? If any one had brought you word to-day that we were all dead, but that Absalom was spared, I know you would have thought the news good. Now, mark my words! Unless you go at once to speak to the soldiers and thank them, by Yahweh they will all disperse before evening, and that would leave you in a worse plight than you have ever been in in your life." David could not help recognizing the truth of Joab's words, and accordingly he followed his advice.

Now that Absalom was dead, David could return to Jerusalem. Indeed he could evidently recover his throne without striking another blow. For those who urged on Absalom in his course, and still more all those who had been carried away by the rebellion, half against their will, now repented of the part they had taken. After all, they thought, it was David who had rescued Israel from the hand of the Philistines and every other foe. So all the tribes began to make preparations for escorting him solemnly to Jerusalem. Representatives of the different parts of the country were to meet for this purpose by the Jordan. But the priests Zadok and Abiathar could not quietly await the issue, and endeavored to hasten David's return. At his command they entered into negotiations with the men of Judah, urging them to anticipate the chiefs of the other tribes, and be the first to bring back the king, who was their own tribesman. They also secured the help of Amasa, Absalom's general, by conveying to him David's promise, made under oath, that since he was the king's relative, he should be made commander-in-chief in Joab's place. All these secret negotiations had the desired effect. The men of Judah assembled at Gilgal, by the fords of the Jordan, to escort David back to Jerusalem. While the king was still on the eastern side of the river, Shimei, the Benjamite, who had cursed him as he fled from Absalom, came to meet him, with a thousand of his fellow-tribesmen, amongst whom was Ziba, Saul's former steward, with all his children and dependants. Shimei implored the king's forgiveness, and strove to secure his favor by reminding him that he was the first of all the house of Joseph to come and escort him home. No doubt this fact had great weight with David,

and, far from listening to Abishai, who would have taken Shimei's life, because he had cursed Yahweh's anointed, he promised the suppliant, under an oath, that he would not injure him.

But now a complaint was brought against one of Shimei's companions — Ziba — by Jonathan's son, Meribaal. He had come from¹ Jerusalem to meet the king, and when asked why he had not accompanied him in his flight he threw the blame upon the treachery of his servant, who had taken advantage of his helpless condition to leave him in the lurch. Instead of getting a beast for his crippled master to ride on, as he had been ordered to do, he left him in fruitless expectation and went and calumniated him to the king! Meribaal's outward appearance vouched for the truth of this assertion, for he had never washed his feet, put on clean clothes, or trimmed his beard since David left the city. So David could hardly do less than recall his former hasty sentence, and restore Meribaal's affairs to their old footing. Ziba was still to see to his estates, and the two were to live on the produce.

When David had crossed the Jordan he had to take leave of Barzillai, an old man of eighty years, who had been his host at Mahanaim. In vain he tried to persuade him to accompany him to the capital. The aged man declared that he had no wish to do so, since the pleasures of the court had no attraction for one of his years; but he recommended his son Chimham to the royal favor.

David's Judæan and Benjamite escort had not accompanied him far upon his way before he began to reap the fruits of his folly in entering into secret negotiations with the men of Judah and with Amasa. For the representatives of the northern tribes were much dissatisfied with the conduct of the Judæans. Did not they constitute ten parts of the king's subjects and the Judæans only one? Surely they ought to have shared the honor of escorting him home. It was in vain that the Judæans tried to pacify them by saying, "But what does it all matter? Do you suppose we have sat at the king's table or received a present from him?" The jealous Israelites, who really only recognized David as king because they had no one to put in his place, gave a ready ear to the counsel of a certain Benjamite — Sheba, the son of Bichri — and refused to accompany the king to Jerusalem.

David's promise to make Amasa commander-in-chief was an act of still greater folly than his secret negotiations with

¹ After an amended version.

Judah. This follower of Absalom was by no means highly thought of just now, especially amongst the warriors who had defeated him under Joab's lead. David soon became painfully aware of this, for when he reached Jerusalem he at once ordered Amasa to take the field against Sheba within three days; but the new general found his utmost endeavors fruitless. The men of military age refused to take up arms; and even the picked troops, who were always ready for action, declined to follow Amasa's standard. David was at a loss what to do. He knew very well that if he gave the insurgents a little time, it would be no easy task to put them down. So there was nothing for it but to turn once more to the hated, but indispensable Joab. Hardly had the old general received orders to collect an army before the thing was done. His own newly-raised regiment, the Krethi and Plethi, and the select troops already under arms, marched at once from Jerusalem to quell the revolt of Sheba. At Gibeon they met Amasa, who was making his way to Jerusalem, at the head of the few troops he had managed to draw together. Joab was not the man to stick at a murder. He himself was secured by his armor from a surprise, so he advanced with a friendly greeting to Amasa, and, as he embraced him, plunged the sword that he grasped in his left hand into his body. Then he turned to the followers of the murdered general and invited them to join his army, which they were quite willing to do, as soon as Amasa's body had been hastily removed. Then Joab, with united forces, turned upon Sheba.

Sheba had withdrawn himself to the extreme north of the land, to Abel Beth Maachah,¹ and accordingly Joab laid siege to the city with the flower² of Israel's troops. The wall was already undermined, and a breach had been effected at more points than one. The fortress would inevitably have been carried by storm had not the sagacity of a certain woman saved it. She begged an interview with Joab, and reminded him that the city had long been renowned as a seat of wisdom, — whether for an oracle established there or for the penetration of its inhabitants does not appear, — that it was one of the chief places of Israel, and that every friend of the fatherland would lament its fall. Why should Yahweh's heritage be devastated? Joab declared himself ready to put an end to hostilities as soon as Sheba's head was thrown over the wall to him. The woman promised to comply with this condition, and she kept her word; for she easily persuaded her

¹ Marked A. B. M. on Map III.

² After an amended version.

fellow-townsmen of the necessity of the step. Upon this the troops returned to Jerusalem.

So David was restored to the throne of Israel; and Joab, however much his master hated him, remained in command of his armies.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST DAYS OF KING DAVID.

1 KINGS I. 1-II. 11.

AFTER Absalom's death, Adonijah was David's eldest surviving son. He therefore expected to succeed his father as king. He was a handsome man, and David, who had never spoken a hard word to him, had let him have his own way in everything. Now when the king's life was evidently drawing to a close, Adonijah assumed the position of the future ruler of Israel more and more openly. As his brother Absalom had done before him, so he, too, established stables on an extensive scale, and surrounded himself by an escort of fifty men. But since he was not certain upon whom his father's choice might light, and perhaps suspected that Solomon, the son of Bathsheba, stood higher in the royal favor than he did himself, he determined to have himself publicly crowned. Of David's chief ministers, Joab and Abiathar took Adonijah's part; whereas Zadok the priest, Benaiah the captain of the body-guard, Nathan the prophet, and Hushai, "the king's friend,"¹ together with the whole of the chosen troops, were against him. In spite of this opposition Adonijah went with his followers to the Fuller's Well, on the south side of Jerusalem, there to celebrate his coronation feast. But the prophet Nathan went to Bathsheba to tell her of what was going on, and advised her to inform the king of it, promising that he himself would try to obtain an interview with him afterwards. The ambitious woman, who had already prevailed upon her husband to swear that her son should be his successor, at once took Nathan's advice. She obtained access to David's chamber, reminded him of his promise, told him what Adonijah was doing, added in a strain of flattery that all Israel

¹ After an amended version.

was hanging on his decision, and asked sadly what would be her own fate and that of her son should this revolt be successful. While she was yet speaking, Nathan entered and asked the king whether it was with his consent that Adonijah had ascended the throne, for he had actually been proclaimed king! The aged monarch could not resist their importunity, and renewed his oath that none but Solomon should be his successor. In order to give effect, if possible, to his wish, he ordered Zadok, Nathan, and Benaiah to conduct Solomon in state, mounted upon his own mule, to the well of Gihon, west of the city, and there to sound the trumpets and anoint him king. When this was done the inhabitants of Jerusalem at once accepted him as their monarch, and raised a deafening shout of joy—so loud, says the historian, that “the earth was rent by it.”

Adonijah's coronation feast was just drawing to a close when the sound of this shout fell upon the ears of the guests. “What is all that shouting for?” asked Joab, suspecting mischief of some sort; and while they were all wondering what it might be, Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, came running out of the city. “Welcome!” cried Adonijah, as he came. “Surely you bring good tidings!” But picture the consternation of all present when they heard that Solomon had been proclaimed as king, by David's orders! All the courtiers, said Jonathan, were congratulating David, saying, “May Yahweh raise the throne of Solomon yet higher than your own!” while the hoary monarch, who was too weak to leave his bed, was forced to receive and thank them without rising. David's will was not to be disputed. Adonijah's guests fled to their houses in terror, and the prince himself, in fear of his life, sought the nearest place of refuge. This he found in an altar, to the horns of which he clung, crying to the priests and all who saw him there that he would never stir from the spot until king Solomon, whose humble servant he desired to be, had sworn to spare his life. When Solomon heard of this he sent word that he would grant his request conditionally on his good behavior; upon which Adonijah bowed to the earth before his royal brother and obtained leave to return to his palace.

A few days afterwards David, who felt that his end was drawing near, took leave of Solomon and gave him a few parting instructions. First as to Joab. He reminded his son of all that this man, whom he hated and feared so intensely, had done; how he had murdered two Israelite gen-

erals in time of peace, and had thus steeped himself in blood from head to foot. "Deal with him," he concluded, "according to your wisdom, and let not his hoary head go down in peace to the world below!" On the sons of Barzillai, on the other hand, Solomon was to heap his favors, and was to make them companions of his table because their father had played so noble a part when David was flying from Absalom. But Shimei, the Benjamite of Bahurim, who had cursed the king so bitterly, must not be left unpunished. David himself had sworn by Yahweh that he would spare his life, but this oath was not binding on his son. His own good sense would tell him how to deal with Shimei, but in any case he would send him to the land of shadows in blood.

After making these dispositions David slept in death, and was buried in the upper city that was called by his own name. When his history came to be written no one knew exactly how long he had been king, but at any rate his reign had lasted through a whole generation, or "forty years."

What a glorious death-bed was David's, if we regard it from a worldly point of view! "Full of days, full of wealth, full of honor," as the writer of Chronicles expresses it,¹ he handed down his kingdom to the most dearly loved of his sons. But what a deeply painful impression that same death-bed leaves upon our minds, if we regard it from a higher point of view! There is one departing whose varied experiences and adventures have left him in crying need of forgiveness himself, and yet his dying lips pronounce a treacherous sentence on two men, to one of whom he was bound by every tie of gratitude, to the other by every tie of honor. The one had always been his faithful servant; he owed the continued possession of his life and crown in great measure to him; and he had never dared himself to curb his overweening spirit. To the other he had given a solemn promise that he would not take his life. What a miserable end! And yet it suited, but too well, much of the life it closed.

Since David's history occupies so great a place in the Bible history, and since he passed for the model of a king amongst after generations, we must endeavor to sketch his true character, and at the same time to explain how it came to pass that such high honor was afterwards accorded him.

But to accomplish the task satisfactorily, we must begin by asking whether there are any other sources from which we

¹ 1 Chronicles xxix. 28.

may gain information concerning David, in addition to the narratives we have now considered. We certainly should have such sources, if we might rely upon the superscriptions of the three-and-seventy psalms which are ascribed to David as their author. Were that the case, we should be able to gather from the contents of these songs the religious position occupied by David, and the most secret experiences of his soul on a great variety of critical occasions. We should then have to construct our image of him not only from what we read in the books of Samuel, but also from the knowledge of the inner life of his soul which we should derive from these psalms; — a hopeless task, which has been laboriously, but vainly attempted by many who have accepted the testimony of the superscriptions!

Let me give one instance to show the impossibility of reconciling the David of the psalms that claim him as their author with the David of the books of Samuel and Kings! The fifty-first psalm is said in the superscription to have been composed by David after Nathan had rebuked him for his sin with Bathsheba. The poem in question is this: —

Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness,
 Blot out my transgression in the tenderness of thy great mercy.
 Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity,
 And cleanse me from my sin.
 For I acknowledge my guilt,
 And my sin is ever before me.
 Against thee, thee only, have I sinned,
 And have done what is evil in thy sight;
 Therefore thy sentence is just,
 And none can reproach thy judgment.
 Behold, I was born in guilt,
 And in sin did my mother conceive me;
 But thou desirest truth in the inward parts,
 And teachest me wisdom in my heart.
 Purge away my sin with hyssop, that I may be clean;
 Wash me, that I may be whiter than snow.
 Then let me hear sounds of joy and gladness again,
 And make glad the soul thou hast broken.
 Hide thy face from my sins,
 And blot out all my iniquities.
 Create a clean heart within me, O God!
 And give me a right spirit.
 Cast me not away from thy presence,
 And take not thy holy spirit from me.
 Restore me the joy of thy salvation;
 Let a willing spirit support me!
 Let me teach the transgressors thy ways,
 That the sinners may be converted to thee.
 Deliver me from the guilt of blood, O God, thou God of my salvation!
 Let my tongue praise thy righteousness.
 O Lord! open thou my lips,
 And my mouth shall show forth thy praise.

For thou desirest not sacrifice,
 Else would I give it!
 Thou delightest not in burnt offerings.
 The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit.
 A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou dost not despise!

Shew favor to Zion, according to thy pleasure,
 Build up Jerusalem's walls;
 Then shalt thou rejoice in good sacrifices,
 In a burnt offering and a sacrifice consumed by fire;
 Then bullocks shall be brought to thy altar.

The concluding lines, which obviously place us in a period at which the walls of Jerusalem were in ruins, can hardly belong to the original poem. The contradiction between the promise of a sacrifice of bullocks and the avowal that God desires no sacrifice but a sense of guilt, is sufficiently marked to justify the belief that the concluding lines are a later addition. The rest is unquestionably a beautiful poem. Together with a deep and genuine sense of guilt, it reveals a clearer insight into the origin of sin than is usually met with in the Israelite poets. But this very fact is fatal to David's authorship. It would be strange, to say the least of it, that after his treatment of Uriah he should sing, "Against thee, O Yahweh, against thee only have I sinned." Again, since David in common with all his contemporaries, supposed that Yahweh sometimes stirred a man up to sin, expressly that he might have the opportunity of punishing him, he can hardly have breathed the sigh, "Behold I was born in iniquity;" for it implies that sin takes its rise not in the direct instigation of Yahweh, but in the corrupt or imperfect nature of man. "God's sacrifice is an afflicted soul" is a truth which forms a beautiful counterpart to that which the prophetic writer puts into Samuel's mouth; "Obedience is better than sacrifice." But only think of David cherishing such a conviction! David, who appeased his God with sacrifices upon every occasion, who recommended Saul to burn a meat offering when Yahweh had incited him against an innocent man, who held back the angel of the pestilence from Jerusalem by offering a sacrifice upon Araunah's threshing-floor, who sacrificed seven sons of Saul to appease Yahweh in the time of famine! The sense of guilt, however genuine, may pass away; but if David had ever learned the truth that contrition and humility are the only sacrifice that God desires, then his conduct with regard to the sons of Saul was not only superstitious, as it certainly was in any case, but monstrous and execrable.

It would of course delay us far too long were we to submit

all the psalms which are ascribed to David to a similar examination. We will therefore only take one more example. and that a short one. It is the twenty-third psalm : —

Yahweh is my shepherd,
I sha' not want.
He makes me lie down in green pastures;
He leads me beside the fresh waters;
He quickens my soul,
And leads me in the paths of righteousness
For his name's sake.
Though I walk through a valley dark as death, I will fear no evil;
For thou art with me,
Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me.
Thou preparest a table before me, in despite of my enemies.
Thou anointest my head with oil;
My cup is filled to overflowing.
All that is good and prosperous will follow me while I live,
And for length of days shall I dwell in the house of Yahweh.

It is true that the first words, "Yahweh is my shepherd," seem appropriate enough on the lips of David, who was once a shepherd boy himself; but this is hardly a sufficient reason for ascribing the psalm to him. Indeed, it cannot be his, for in his day there was no particular place which could be called "Yahweh's house" without any further description. The expression could only be used of the temple, and hardly even of the temple before it had become the sole recognized sanctuary of Yahweh. This would place the poem after the captivity.

It is not so clear in every-case, as it is in those we have given, that the psalms ascribed to David were really written at a much later period. But these two specimens will suffice to show that it is not out of mere caprice that we neglect the songs which bear David's name in endeavoring to sketch his character. The superscriptions of the psalms are entirely untrustworthy; and the poems themselves date from periods at which the Israelites had pondered far more deeply upon the nature of true piety, and cherished far other thoughts as to the phenomena of the spiritual life than was the case in David's time. The whole collection forms, as we have already said,¹ the hymn-book of the second temple. In speaking of Moses, we neglected the ninetieth psalm, which is said to be his; in dealing with David's character, we shall put aside the so-called Davidic psalms; and, in the same way, when we come to Solomon we shall pass over the seventy second and the hundred and twenty-seventh psalms in silence. Strange as it may seem, there is not one of all the psalms

¹ See vol. i. p. 29.

ascribed to David which so much as reminds us of his character as portrayed in the historical books; and in the great majority of cases they are quite evidently of a much later origin.

It is easy to understand how David came to be regarded as the chief psalmist of Israel. In the third century before Christ, when the book of Chronicles was written, the time of David was looked upon as the golden age of Israel, and David himself as a model king. Hence the writer of this book gives him as much as possible of the honor of having built the temple.¹ Now, since the ancient tradition represented David as a great singer and player on the harp, and the Jews of this later period could not conceive of a model king composing any but religious music, they imagined David to have been the father of psalmody.

But our actual knowledge of his singing and playing gives us a very different idea of its character. The two solitary poems which we have sufficient grounds for supposing to be his are his elegies upon Saul and Jonathan, and upon Abner; and though the former of these is full of deep and generous feeling, they have neither of them anything of a religious character. The earliest authentic passage in which David's services to the art of music are celebrated occurs in the prophecies of Amos. The prophet² is describing the high-born sots of Jerusalem and Samaria,—

Who sing loud songs to the harp
And invent musical instruments, like David;
Who drink and carouse
And anoint themselves with the costliest balsam —
But feel no pain for Joseph's wounds.

Now it is hardly probable that the Israelite revellers were given to singing hymns at their merry-makings, and it seems to follow that in the eighth century David was specially known as the representative of the kind of music suited to festive occasions, the themes of which we may presume were love and wine. And with what other kind of music are we to suppose that David soothed Saul's troubled spirit? Surely a solemn hymn to the glory of the terrible Yahweh would have been less likely than a soft strain of love or a ringing war song to restore the gloomy and despondent king to better spirits.

Nor must we form a too exalted idea of such religious songs as were really produced in these days. When the ark

¹ See p. 11.

² Amos vi. 5, 6

was brought to Jerusalem and David danced and smote the tambourine as he advanced before the sacred chest, we may well believe that the sound of the trumpets pealed through the air, and that shrill cries to Yahweh and his flame of fire rose above the thunder of the drums; but there was small sign of any refinement of religious feeling or depth of religious thought. We still possess a short song which was probably sung when the victorious army had brought back the ark from the camp, and were escorting it to its place in the temple. It now forms the conclusion of a psalm,¹ to the first part of which we shall revert on another occasion. It was probably sung by two choruses in alternation.

Lift up your eternal heads, O gates!
 Lift yourselves up, eternal doors!
 Let the glorious king go in! —
 Who is this glorious king? —
 Yahweh, strong and mighty,
 Yahweh, terrible in war! —
 Lift up your heads, O gates!
 Lift yourselves up, eternal doors!
 Let the glorious king go in! —
 Who is this glorious king? —
 Yahweh of war-hosts.
 He is the glorious king.

This song is certainly more vigorous than sweet in tone, more sonorous than exalted; and it is simple in conception to the last degree.

Just as after generations drew up all their religious laws in the name of Moses, so they made David the great psalmist and Solomon, as we shall presently see, the great proverb writer of Israel. If we wish to know David as he really was, we must put the contents of all these songs completely on one side, and rely exclusively upon the narratives of the books of Samuel and Kings.

Let us, then, go on to ask what manner of man these authorities represent him to have been.

David unquestionably took the cause of religion much to heart, and was more especially a zealous worshipper of Yahweh. This is evident from the great things which the prophets and priests had hoped from him ever since his first appearance. Such men as Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Abimelech, Abiathar, and Zadok stood at his side during the various periods of his life; and throughout all the changes of his fortune he always kept upon the best of terms with them. The sincerity of his piety is

¹ Psalm xxiv. 7-10.

shown by his diligence in consulting his god upon all occasions, by his care in bringing the ark to Jerusalem, by the liberal portion of his booty which he presented to the sanctuary, by the freedom of access to his person which he always allowed to the prophets, and the submission with which he listened to their words, and, above all, by that noble deed, the best thing that we know of him, his generous sparing of the life of Saul. Inasmuch as Saul was Yahweh's anointed, David spared him for the sake of his god, however much he would have gained in every other respect by the death of his inveterate enemy. David, then, was a religious man.

But his religion, like that of his contemporaries, was far from exalted. We cannot say for certain whether he worshipped Yahweh only. He may also have honored other gods, though probably in a far smaller measure. The fact that one of his sons was called Baaljada¹—i.e., *Baal knows*—leads us to suspect that at any rate now and then he paid his homage to some Baal, perhaps to conciliate an influential family, or to please one of his foreign wives. This would not be at all surprising, for if David had a *teraphim* in his house,² and believed that Yahweh could be worshipped nowhere but in Canaan,³ he must have been very far from denying the existence of all other gods. Moreover, he had a very inadequate conception of the nature of Yahweh himself. The manner in which he brought the ark to Jerusalem shows clearly enough that he thought he was bringing Yahweh himself with it. Think, again, of all the superstitious beliefs of the Israelites concerning this ark; of the great plague which it was supposed to cause amongst the Philistines; of the mortality in the family at Bethshemesh that withheld the reverence due to it; of the death of Uzzah, who placed his rash hand upon it; of the prosperity which its presence brought to Obed-Edom; and of the custom of taking it out with the army to war! In perfect consistency with all these superstitions David not only used the oracle of Yahweh as a counsellor in all emergencies, including military enterprises and manœuvres, but also observed omens, and, when he heard the wind rustling in the tops of the mulberry-trees, fancied that it was Yahweh drawing near.⁴ He also believed that Yahweh, when angry with any particular man, or with Israel in general, would send such disasters as defeat in battle, famine, the death of a child, or a pesti-

¹ 1 Chronicles xiv. 7.

² 1 Samuel xix. 13, 16, where *teraphim* should be read for *image*.

³ 1 Samuel xxvi. 19.

⁴ 2 Samuel v. 24.

lence ; and that sometimes he would himself stir up those who had enraged him to commit a crime, for the very purpose of being able to punish them for it. The only way in which these disasters could be averted was by a sacrifice ; in case of need a fearful and bloody sacrifice, such as the execution of the seven sons of Saul. When Yahweh was wroth he must be *appeased*.

It is true that we have no right to find fault with David for not being superior to his age in these particulars, or to condemn him for entertaining such false ideas ; but on the other hand, we must remember that such religion as his is no guaranty in itself of a noble character, may co-exist but too easily with very great defects, and may even stimulate evil passions. For instance, cruelty to the enemies of Yahweh (a term which included all the enemies of his people and his anointed) was anything but inconsistent with religion. David, therefore, could treat his prisoners of war with the utmost barbarity and yet feel no pangs of conscience, and meet with no rebuke from the prophets. Even the vengeance which he took on Shimei after his death was not inconsistent with his reverence for Yahweh, whose anointed this Benjamite had cursed !

But when David committed adultery with Bathsheba and treacherously murdered Uriah, it was a violation of the will of Yahweh. These actions throw a very dark shadow upon his life. It would doubtless be unfair to judge a man too hardly for one evil deed, however heinous, since even noble natures are sometimes tempted beyond their strength, and betrayed into fearful sins. But what pains us most is not the act of adultery itself, but the king's foul treachery to his brave and faithful servant, Uriah. If in a fit of despair and dread of discovery he had slain him with his own hand, we might, perhaps, have forgiven him ; but that summons from the camp, that invitation to the royal table that the warrior might drink deep and then go home, that letter to Joab, and that cold-blooded message when the news of Uriah's death had come — all this becomes doubly revolting when we think of the deliberate forethought with which it was planned. It is impossible after this to regard David as in any sense an upright man.

The cunning which was in this case turned to so vile a purpose, may be traced in David's conduct upon other occasions also. For instance, even as he fled from Absalom, in the midst of all his grief, he had sufficient presence of mind to lay his plans with great adroitness in sending back the priests

with the ark, and urging Hushai to simulate friendship for Absalom.

Cunning, indeed, is natural to the character of such a man as David; for, in spite of his valor on the battle-field, he was sadly wanting in true courage.

He had his own weakness to thank in a great measure for the fearful disasters that blighted his domestic life. He never punished Amnon for his deed of shame, since he loved him, his eldest son, too well! It was this that goaded on Absalom to avenge his sister's wrong; and when Absalom had taken vengeance, David was grieved and angered for a time, and banished Absalom; but he soon allowed himself to be appeased, though he did not dare to acknowledge the change that his sentiments had undergone! So Joab, who read his thoughts, had to entreat him to show favor to Absalom, and make it appear as though he were acting under more or less constraint. Even then he only half forgave him, and Joab had to intercede again before he would receive him completely into favor. After all this he left him so absolutely unrestrained that he was able publicly to assume the airs of the successor to the throne. When expelled by his son, David was humility itself, went on his way weeping, uttered words of acquiescence in the will of Yahweh, recognized in Shimei's curses a punishment inflicted by his god, and showed every appearance of piety. But the cunning plans which he was devising at the very moment fit but strangely into the picture! So, again, the disturbances that embittered his last days were the consequences of his own vacillation and timidity; for he had evidently promised Bathsheba that her son should succeed him, but had not taken a single step to secure the crown to him.

But nothing is more characteristic of David than his relations with Joab. He hates him, feels his dependence upon him, is afraid of him, curses him again and again, tries to get rid of him, but always keeps him at hand, notwithstanding the murder of Abner and Amasa, and finally commands his son to punish the servant whom he feared to touch himself, and who had grown gray in his service.

David was anything but a consistent man. He had no great central purpose to which he devoted all his powers. He was far from possessing such nobility as characterized Saul at the beginning of his reign. Even the measures he took in favor of his religion have a somewhat ambiguous aspect. He was certainly not such an enthusiast in the service of

Yahweh as his predecessor had been; and his surrender of the latter's sons to the Gibeonites is a very significant event, for it was a formal condemnation of the policy of Samuel—a concession to public opinion, which regarded this excessive zeal as dangerous. In religious matters David's policy was one of concession and compromise. He was just as zealous for Yahweh's honor as he thought would be conducive to the stability of his throne; which doubtless showed great prudence, but not much exaltation of soul.

As far as we can trace the history of David's inner life, it resembled that of most other men of energetic and impulsive character whose passions are balanced by no great purpose and checked by no firm moral principle. Easily moved both to good and evil, he was certainly very captivating. Thus he gained and always kept the friendship of the proud and courageous Jonathan. And he on his side, since men are often attracted by their opposites, was ready to repose with perfect confidence upon the loftier moral nature of his friend. Warm in his affections and sincere in his religion—though superficial in this as in everything else—he was far from being a stranger to generous emotions, but could not resist the impulse of the moment. When he confessed his guilt his repentance was doubtless genuine, but it did not strike deep.

It was an evil day for the moral life of this able and fascinating but weak young soldier when he became a king. If Jesus was right in saying, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven," how would he have described the difficulties with which an eastern king has to struggle if he would reach the true path of life and keep to it! All things conspired to ruin the moral character of a king, and we cannot wonder that such a man as David was unable to resist such evil influences. He remained the idol of his warriors to the last; but his moral power seems to have been more and more completely sapped as his years advanced.

We shall constantly observe, however, that after ages passed a very different judgment upon the son of Jesse, and exalted him to the highest pinnacle of honor. We have already had an indication of this in the stories of the rejection of Saul and the anointing of David, for they show clearly enough what the prophets who wrote them thought of the two men. They regarded David as the man after Yahweh's heart, who succeeded Saul because he was a better man, and whose family should therefore occupy the throne of Israel for

ever.¹ The following verses furnish a striking illustration of the honor rendered to David by posterity. They are put into his mouth as his dying words² : —

The words of David, Jesse's son,
 The words of him who is placed on high,
 The anointed of Jacob's god,
 The sweet singer of Israel!
 Yahweh's spirit speaks through me,
 His word is on my tongue;
 The god of Israel spoke,
 The rock of Israel said to me:
 "He can govern men who is righteous
 And rules in the fear of God.
 He is like the morning light at sunrise;
 He is like to a cloudless dawn.
 After light and rain does the grass grow up."
 And is not my house such as this, with God's help?
 He has made an eternal covenant with me,
 Established on all sides and sure.
 All my salvation and all my desire,
 Does he not make them grow?
 But the worthless are like unto noxious thorns,
 Which none will grasp with the hand.
 Let him who would touch them have spear-shaft and steel,
 And let them be utterly burned up with fire.

The fact that the historians and others took such a favorable view of David's character, and commended him as a just ruler, is not to be explained by supposing that they knew of things redounding to his credit, which have not been handed down to us; nor can much stress be laid on the different light in which what we know of him would be regarded in former times. The explanation must be sought simply in the circumstances amidst which these panegyrists lived, and the religious philosophy which determined their views of the history of their people. It was only during the seventy or eighty years of the reigns of David and Solomon that the Israelite tribes formed a single people. The kingdom was afterwards split into two and never united again. Now the prophets of Judah, who lived some two centuries later, looked back with a sense of yearning to the golden age of David and his son, under whose sceptre Israel had been so powerful. They longed for the union of all the tribes under a king of David's house, and firmly believed that their dream would one day be realized; and since they believed that success and prosperity were incompatible with godlessness, they naturally supposed that the two princes under whom Israel had been so great were very pious. Of David, especially, they unconsciously assumed everything that was good

¹ 2 Samuel vii. 12-16.

² 2 Samuel xxiii. 1-7.

Tradition treated David and Solomon something as it did Gideon and Abimelech; the father was praised and the son blamed, though they were really kindred spirits, and pursued the same line of action, because the fruit of their policy only began to be perceived under the rule of the son. Thus David was exalted far above Solomon, because it was David who founded the dynasty, whereas immediately after Solomon's death the nation fell into two.

David owes the good name he has always enjoyed with posterity very largely to the belief that his subjects were specially happy under his rule, and that his times deserved on that account to be considered the golden age of Israel. If this were so it would certainly be a great point in his favor. But the prophets who longed for the return of David's age were like the Israelites in the desert, who hungered after the fleshpots of Egypt, but forgot all that they had suffered in that land; for the truth is that David's own subjects were anything but satisfied with his rule. His throne was supported by his warlike fame, his body-guard, his "heroes," and his valiant cousin Joab, — in a word by force of arms. But the support which Absalom secured is an eloquent testimony to the discontent of the Israelites under David's rule; and if after Solomon's death most of the tribes renounced their allegiance to his son, it was not because Solomon had ruled in a different spirit to that of David, but because he had built upon the foundations his father had laid, and the Israelites, as we shall presently see, could endure it no longer. It was a mistake, therefore, to look back upon the time of David as to a golden age; it was a still greater mistake to laud David himself as a model king.

CHAPTER VII.

SOLOMON.

1 KINGS II. 12—XI. 25.¹

SOLOMON'S accession to his father's throne had met, as we have seen, with considerable opposition; but he soon showed that he was not to be offended with impunity. Joab was slain at the foot of the altar to which he had fled for

¹ 2 Chronicles i.—ix.

refuge; Abiathar was banished to his own estate and deposed from the priesthood; Adonijah was spared at first, but was afterwards put to death, in consequence of his presumption in desiring one of his father's concubines for a wife;¹ Shimei was ordered to come and live in Jerusalem, and never to leave the city on pain of death; and three years afterwards, when he pursued a couple of runaway slaves to Gath, he, too, paid with his life for his disobedience.

In the countries that David had conquered, his death was the natural signal for insurrectionary movements amongst the subjected tribes; and they seized the opportunity of attempting to throw off the yoke of Israel. In Edom especially the news of David's and of Joab's death unfurled the banner of revolt. It will be remembered that when Joab conquered the Valley of Salt, he had as far as possible exterminated the royal family of Edom; but a scion of the house had found refuge in Egypt, and was even married to a sister-in-law of the Egyptian king. This prince returned to his own land when Solomon ascended the throne, and managed to maintain his footing there. Damascus also fell into the hands of a Syrian prince who had been expelled from it by David, and thenceforth the city retained its independence.² But with these exceptions Solomon contrived to hold together the extensive kingdom that his father had left him. In the death of David, Israel had lost the prestige conferred on it by a ruler whose warlike fame inspired terror on every side; but Solomon endeavored to compensate the loss by fortifying certain cities and establishing a powerful standing army, with twelve thousand cavalry and fourteen hundred war chariots.³ He further increased his prestige by his marriage with an Egyptian princess, who brought him the Canaanite city Gezer as a dowry. In the same way he aimed at securing favorable relations with other surrounding peoples also, by contracting alliances with the daughters of their kings.⁴ On the whole he was successful, and his reign was a peaceful one.

Commerce, too, which he encouraged very zealously, flourished greatly under his rule. There was a busy trade between Palestine and Egypt, the latter country furnishing more especially the horses of which Solomon required such great numbers for his cavalry and war chariots. The Egyptian merchants brought them to Tekoa,⁵ where Solomon's agents bought them up, and the king either made use of them him-

¹ See vol. i. pp. 541 f.

² 1 Kings xi. 14-25. ³ 1 Kings x. 26.

⁴ 1 Kings iii. 1, ix. 16, xi. 1.

⁵ After an amended version of 1 Kings x. 28

self or sold them at a profit to the independent princes of the Hittites, and the Syrians. There was a great trade with Arabia, too, especially in spices.¹ Maritime commerce, too, was greatly developed, which is a striking proof of enterprise. Solomon even built ships at Eziongeber, on the southern spur of Seir, manned them partially with Phœnicians, and sent them to trade with Ophir, probably Hindustan, whence they brought valuable wood, precious stones, gold, silver, and ivory, as well as monkeys and peacocks. Such an expedition took three years in those times, and the ships employed in the trade were called ships of Tarshish (Tartessus); i.e., ships of the largest build, such as were usually employed to sail to Tartessus in Spain.² The treasure that flowed from this commerce into Jerusalem, especially into the royal coffers, was enormous. Every year, says the tradition, six hundred and sixty-six talents of gold [a talent is about two hundred and thirty-three pounds troy weight] came into the king's treasury; silver was thought no more of in Jerusalem than stones, and the costly cedar trunks were valued no more than the commonest timber.³ Such was the wealth of the capital!

The purpose which David had never been able to accomplish, though he had collected all the treasure he could for it, was now carried out by his son. In the fourth year of his reign, Solomon began to build a magnificent temple for Yahweh on the north-eastern summit of Zion. In seven and a half years the work was completed, and thereupon the king laid the foundations of a royal palace, which it took thirteen years to build.⁴ This palace was probably situated on the eastern edge of the western summit of Zion, right opposite the temple, with which it was connected by a bridge.⁵ Near the palace was another building that deserves special mention. It was reared entirely upon pillars and rafters of cedar-wood, and was therefore called "the house of Lebanon." It served as an audience hall. There was also a separate residence for the Egyptian princess, who was the most distinguished of the monarch's many wives.⁶ Besides the temple for Yahweh, Solomon raised sanctuaries to Ashtoreth, Milcom, and Chemosh, the gods of the Sidonians, the Ammonites, and the Moabites respectively.⁷ Besides all this he expended fabulous sums in works of art. First of all there were two

¹ 1 Kings x. 15.

² 1 Kings x. 14, 21, 27.

³ See Map IV., *Jerusalem*, No. 7.

⁴ 1 Kings xi. 7.

⁵ 1 Kings ix. 26-28, x. 22.

⁶ 1 Kings vi. 1, 37, 38, vii. 1.

⁷ 1 Kings vii. 8, ix. 24.

lofty and magnificent brazen pillars standing at the portico of the temple. They were called Jachin and Boaz. The capitals were beautifully carved, and all was the work of a smith, called Hiram, whose father was a Tyrian, but his mother an Israelite of the tribe of Naphtali. Then there was the so-called "brazen sea," which was also made for the temple. It was a great washing vat of eight hundred and eighty gallons' capacity, supported by twelve oxen and adorned by ornamental work, all of brass. Then there were ten brazen pedestals, ornamented with bas reliefs, upon which lavers of about a hundred and seventy gallons' capacity rested, besides many other utensils for sacrifice and purification. How much brass all this required is not known, for it was never weighed. There were also many golden utensils, such as the lamp stand, the censers, the table for the shew-bread, and more besides.¹ For all these purposes the treasures collected by David were of the utmost service to his son.

Solomon's palace was still more magnificently furnished than the temple. Thus in "the house of Lebanon" two hundred shields were suspended, each gilt with six hundred shekels (nearly twenty-three pounds troy weight) of gold, and three hundred smaller ones, upon each of which half that quantity of gold was laid. All these were for Solomon's body-guard.² There was also a great ivory throne, inlaid with fine gold. The seat was approached by six steps, on each of which were two carved lions. Of course, the utensils of the royal table were all of pure gold. What value had silver at the court of Solomon!³

The luxury of the life at court defies all description. The number of Solomon's wives was great, though, no doubt, the book of Kings exaggerates it enormously in saying that he had seven hundred princesses and three hundred inferior wives in his harem.⁴ Elsewhere the number is incidentally given⁵ as sixty of the first rank and eighty of the second, which is much more likely. But even so, think of the bustle of a court in which sixty princesses with their chamber-women and attendants were established, even though they had not all separate residences as the Egyptian princess had! Our imagination is assisted by the statement that every day thirty oxen, ten of them specially fattened, and a hundred sheep, were slaughtered for the royal table, in addition to game, poultry, and confectionery.⁶

¹ 1 Kings vii. 13-51.

² 1 Kings x. 16, 17.

³ 1 Kings x. 18-21.

⁴ 1 Kings xi. 3.

⁵ Song of Solomon vi. 8.

⁶ 1 Kings iv. 22, 23.

The fame of Solomon's wealth, and especially of the splendor of Yahweh's temple, spread far and wide, and people came from distant lands to see with their own eyes. Even the Queen of Sheba, in Arabia Felix, undertook the difficult journey to Palestine to pay Solomon a visit, and to test his penetration by riddles. She reached Jerusalem with a numerous escort of armed attendants and a drove of camels laden with spices, gold, and precious stones; and there she propounded to the king her cunningly-devised enigmas, but he solved them all. Then he conducted her through his palace, and she saw the treasure rooms, the apartments of the officers of the court and their subordinates, the wardrobes, and the wine-cellars; after which she was present at a magnificent festival in the temple.¹ When she had seen all this she was speechless with amazement, and at last cried out, "Truly, I heard such wondrous things about you in my own land that I could hardly give them credence; but now that I have seen with my own eyes, I declare they did not tell me one-half of the truth. You are so much wiser and richer than I had heard! Happy are your courtiers! Happy are they who can always stand in your presence and listen to your words! May Yahweh, your god, who takes such pleasure in you that he has put you upon the throne of Israel and has made you king to maintain the right, be praised for ever!" After this she made the king a present of a great weight of gold (the tradition says a hundred and twenty talents, or about twenty-eight thousand pounds troy weight!!), an immeasurable quantity of balsam, and a number of precious stones. Then she returned home.²

So incomparably glorious was the splendor of Solomon!

In the account of the Arabian Queen's visit to Solomon stress is laid not only on the king's wealth, but also on his wisdom, the fame of which had extended far and wide; and, indeed, the wisdom of Solomon became proverbial in Israel. We must try to form a correct idea of what we are to understand by this expression. Let us begin by inquiring what the writer of the book of Kings has to say upon the subject.

Solomon, he says,³ loved Yahweh and obeyed him as his father David had done, only he sacrificed upon the *bamahs*. At the beginning of his reign, for instance, he went to the

¹ After an amended version of 1 Kings x. 5.

² 1 Kings x. 1-13.

³ 1 Kings iii. 2-15.

celebrated *bamah* at Gibeon and offered a thousand head of cattle there as a burnt sacrifice to Yahweh. The god, on his side, showed him extraordinary favor, for he appeared to him the night after the sacrifice and asked, "What gift should you most desire to receive from me?" To this the youthful king replied: "O Lord, thou hast rewarded my father for his justice and faithfulness to thee, and hast shown him favor and hast given him a son to sit upon his throne. And so by thy grace I have been made king over this people. But now, O Yahweh, though I stand at the head of this countless people which thou hast chosen, I am young and ignorant. Oh! give me the insight I shall need to pronounce judgment for my subjects in justice and truth: for it is a task almost too hard for man." This request earned the emphatic approval of Yahweh, as Solomon perceived from the divine response: "Since you have asked for this, rather than for long life, or wealth, or fame in war, I will give you what you desire; I will give you a wise and understanding heart such as no one ever had before you or will ever have after you. And I will also give you what you have not asked, namely wealth and renown; and you shall be greater than any king that ever was or shall be. And if you are but true to me as your father David was, I will also give you a long life." Upon this Solomon awoke and found that it had all happened in a dream. Soon afterwards he returned to Jerusalem, where he sacrificed again by the ark of the covenant of Yahweh, and prepared a great feast for his servants.

In this story we trace the religious ideas of a much later age. For instance, Solomon is reproached for sacrificing on a *bamah*, which seems very extraordinary under the circumstances; for if he had been guilty in this act of a conscious and wilful piece of disobedience to Yahweh, is it not more than strange that the god said nothing about it in the vision, but treated Solomon as a prince who was beginning his reign in the most praiseworthy spirit possible? The writer of the Chronicles saw the difficulty, and attempted to vindicate the legality of the sacrifice at Gibeon¹ by saying that the "tent of conference" used by Moses, and the brazen altar of burnt offerings employed in the desert were standing there, and that the ark only was at Jerusalem. But the truth is, as we have frequently observed already, that in Solomon's time no one dreamed of a religious law confining sacrifices to a single place, nor did any one for a moment disapprove of altars

² Chronicles i. 3 ff.

being built and sacrifice offered in many different places. In several later chapters of the book of Kings we find the same reproach urged against pious princes: "Only the people were allowed to sacrifice on *bamahs*." This is because the writer, who lived about the time of the Babylonian captivity, could not conceive of piety expressing itself under any forms but those of his own day; and since he supposed the book of Deuteronomy, which was the only law-book of any considerable extent with which he was acquainted, to be the work of Moses, he naturally thought that the princes of former times ought to have observed its precepts.

According to our writer, then, Solomon's wisdom was of a distinctly religious type, and was closely connected with the worship of Yahweh and obedience to his commandments. But as a fact we must entirely banish all religious associations from our minds if we would understand what was meant in Solomon's time by the word which is usually translated "wisdom." The history of Solomon's wisdom resembles that of David's music. In either case the imagination of posterity has given a thoroughly religious character to what was in reality purely secular; and just as David was made the author of a number of psalms, so various works of the so-called "sages," or proverb-makers, were ascribed to Solomon. This is the case more especially with the book of Proverbs; and since this work is pervaded, especially in its early chapters, by a deeply religious spirit, it was naturally supposed that Solomon likewise believed "the fear of Yahweh to be the beginning of wisdom."¹

We ourselves are not in the habit of including any religious ideas under the term "wisdom," though we involuntarily think of it as something noble. We call a man "wise" who governs his life by fixed principles, which lead him to some worthy goal, and thus the word, indirectly at least, excludes immorality. But the Israelites of Solomon's time included every kind of penetration or even cunning under the word which we translate "wisdom." For instance, Amnon's unprincipled friend Jonadab is described as a very "wise" man, because he contrived a successful plot for drawing Tamar out of the women's palace;² and the same word is applied to the woman of Tekoa, who so cleverly and eloquently induced David to comply with Joab's wishes.³ So too, the woman of Abel-beth-Maachah, who devised the means of delivering the place of her abode from Joab, is most emphatically called

¹ Proverbs i. 7 ff.² 2 Samuel xiii. 3.³ 2 Samuel xiv. 2.

"wise," though her plan was the very simple one of killing the rebel who had taken refuge there, and for whose sake Joab had threatened the city!¹ So also when the dying David pointed out to his son the necessity of punishing Joab and Shimei, he told him to act according to his wisdom.² Surely the wisdom which dictated their destruction was of no very exalted type! We are tempted to ask how such absolutely commonplace indications of foresight could possibly earn the title of wisdom; but we must remember that in those days the standard of intellectual development was very low, and the proverb says truly that "a one-eyed man is a king amongst the blind." The Israelites of the eleventh and tenth centuries before Christ were only just emerging from a state of barbarism and ignorance, and were in almost all respects on a low level of cultivation. Thus a man with what we should consider a very commonplace understanding passed, in those days, for a marvel of knowledge and acuteness.

This goes far to explain the influence which the priests exerted through their oracles. Doubtless it would be of immense importance to a warrior, for instance, to gain the sanction of the oracle even for the most obvious measures, since a response from the deity would inspire his men with far more courage than they would derive from the simple orders of their general. This may have been David's motive in consulting the oracle as to many points on which, as a bold and experienced warrior, he must have been perfectly competent to form an opinion for himself. "Will Saul come to Keilah, to take me captive?" he asks, when he hears of Saul's intention.³ "Will the people betray me to him?"⁴ "Must I pursue the band of marauders who have burnt down Ziklag?"⁵ "Had I better go to one of the cities of Judah?" "Which city is best?"⁶ Nay, on one occasion the oracle has even to tell him that he would do well to attack the Philistines in the rear.⁷ Surely such a warrior as David might have made that discovery himself! Nevertheless the oracle would not have been so powerful had it not met a genuine want by often guiding those who were really at a loss how to act; and the frequency with which even clever men consulted it shows that people often distrusted their own faculties in dealing with very simple problems. The rarity of moderately acute intellects accounts for the immense value attached to the advice of such

¹ 2 Samuel xx. 16.

² 1 Kings ii. 6, 9.

³ 1 Samuel xxiv. 11.

⁴ 1 Samuel xxiv. 12.

⁵ 1 Samuel xxx. 8.

⁶ 2 Samuel ii. 1.

⁷ 2 Samuel v. 23, 24.

men as Ahithophel and Hushai, who had rather more penetration than others, and explains David's alarm when he heard that the former had embraced the cause of his son; for "his advice was like a word of God."¹ It does not follow, then, that Solomon's wisdom was such as would have earned him any very great reputation in the present day.

Let us see what is recorded of it.

The book of Kings gives us the following specimen of his wisdom in pronouncing judgment²:—

Once two women came before the king, one of whom brought a heavy charge against the other. "We live," she said, "in one house; and a short time ago I had a baby boy, and a day or two afterwards she had one too; but she overlay her child last night and killed it. When she saw what she had done she got up, and, while I was asleep, she took away my child that was lying in bed with me and put her own dead child into my arms. So in the morning, when I was going to feed my child, I found that it was dead; but when it was light and I looked at the child more closely, I saw that it was not mine at all, and that she had changed the children. But there was no one else in the house to prove the truth of what I say." The other woman utterly denied the charge, and persisted that the living child was hers. Who was to decide? The assertion of the one and the denial of the other were equally emphatic. But Solomon was not at a loss. He ordered one of his body-guard to draw his sword, and exclaimed angrily, as though he were irritated by having such an insoluble question submitted to him: "Cut the living child in two, and give each mother half!" Then the truth was discovered, for the true mother was full of pity for the child, and as soon as she heard the cruel words she cried in terror, "No! no! my lord, do not kill him! give him to her rather than that!" But the other woman, who had persisted that the living child was hers more out of obstinacy and spite than affection, declared herself quite satisfied with the judgment. Thus she betrayed herself; and when Solomon said, "The first is the real mother, give her the child!" every one saw that his judgment was true. The fame of this decision spread through all the land, and inspired every one with the deepest reverence for such a king. Who could dare to face him with a lie? Wisdom of God was in him, and that was why he could judge so marvellously. "An oracle is upon his lips. In his judgments he will not err."³

¹ 2 Samuel xv. 31, xvi. 23. ² 1 Kings iii. 16-28. ³ Proverbs xvi. 10.

Solomon's wisdom was displayed not only in discovering the truth and pronouncing just sentences, but also in making proverbs. He had, as the book of Kings expresses it,¹ "knowledge as the sand on the sea shore," so that he excelled the sons of the East and the Egyptians in understanding, and no man could be compared to him for wisdom, no not even Ethan the Ezrahite, nor Heman, nor Chalcol, nor Darda. So his fame was spread amongst all surrounding peoples; and he composed three thousand proverbs and a thousand and five poems about all the trees from the cedar down to the wild marjoram that grows on the wall, and about all animals, whether four-footed, or winged, or creeping things, or fishes. Thus he became so famous that people came from every country to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and all the kings who heard of it sent embassies to him.

Who the four men were who are mentioned with the Ishmaelites and Egyptians, as types of wisdom, we do not know. The book of Chronicles makes Heman and Ethan, together with Asaph, David's chief choir-masters,² and even gives their genealogies.³ But these data deserve as little confidence as the superscriptions of the eighty-eighth and eighty-ninth psalms, which ascribe them respectively to Heman and Ethan.

It is of far more consequence that we should form a correct idea of the nature of Solomon's proverbs and songs. We must be careful not to be misled by the expression, "he spoke of all plants and animals," or to suppose that he conducted any scientific investigations, or busied himself with botany and zoölogy. Such studies were very far above the reach of himself and his contemporaries. That he made proverbs and songs on all the trees and animals means that he made comparisons borrowed from these objects. Unfortunately there is not one of all the proverbs that bear his name which we can say with certainty is his. Our book of Proverbs consists of several collections which their contents show to belong to very different periods. But the oldest of these collections⁴ was not made before the eighth century B.C.; and it is perfectly clear that most of the proverbs it contains are not Solomon's. In the first place, many of them speak of the king, of his glory, and of the conduct which his servants ought to pursue if they wish to obtain his favor, in a manner which would come very oddly from the mouth of the king himself.⁵ Nor

¹ 1 Kings iv. 30-34.

² 1 Chronicles xv. 17.

³ 1 Chronicles vi. 33 ff., 44 ff.

⁴ Proverbs x. 1-xxii. 16.

⁵ Proverbs xvi. 10, 14, 15, xx. 2, 8, xxi. 1, xxii. 11, xxv. 3, 5-7, xxix. 2, 14.

can we easily imagine King Solomon, with his hundred wives or more, uttering such words as these: "Who finds a wife, finds a blessing, and obtains a proof of Yahweh's favor;"¹ or, "It is better to live in a desert than with a quarrelsome and angry woman."² These and other such sayings³ surely imply the experience of simple citizens who, as a rule, had only one wife each, rather than that of a king — especially such a king as Solomon. Nor does it seem appropriate for him to utter complaints of the disobedience of children, praise of sons who comply with their parents' wishes, proverbs borrowed from the cultivation of land and cattle-breeding, exhortations to integrity in business, warnings against trusting in wealth, and, above all, against licentiousness. Fancy Solomon saying: "Better is privation with the fear of Yahweh, than abundance with a troubled mind."⁴ Think of Solomon declaring: "Horsemen are prepared for the day of battle, but the victory comes from Yahweh."⁵ This saying is exactly appropriate to the mouth of a religious man of the eighth century or later, for then the sharp contrast between the vanity of warlike preparations and the might of Yahweh's help was deeply imprinted on many a heart;⁶ but the sentiment would come strangely from a king who had made enormous preparations for war, and amongst other things had yoked and equipped hundreds of war chariots. We have already said that David would be more than a psychological riddle, that he would be a simple monster, had he united the actions ascribed to him by history with religious views to which only the best of the Israelites centuries afterwards attained. And the same holds good of his son. The Proverbs recognize Yahweh as omniscient,⁷ as the knower of hearts,⁸ who loves goodness more than sacrifice,⁹ as the ruler of the world,¹⁰ and much more in the same vein. Can we believe that such a confession of faith lay in the heart of Solomon as he built his temples to all those other gods! Surely such conceptions were foreign to the whole age, and Yahweh was as yet no more than the god of Israel.

It would probably be impossible to form too simple an idea of the proverbs of Solomon and his contemporaries. They ran, for instance, as follows: "From the godless man comes wickedness."¹¹ "If a man meets his enemy, will he let him

¹ Proverbs xviii. 22.

² Proverbs xiv. 1, xix. 13, 14, xxi. 9.

³ Proverbs xxi. 31.

⁴ Proverbs xv. 3.

⁵ Proverbs xxi. 3. ¹⁰ Proverbs xvi. 4.

⁶ Proverbs xxi. 19.

⁷ Proverbs xv. 16.

⁸ See vol. i. pp. 292-294.

⁹ Proverbs xv. 11, xvi. 2.

¹¹ 1 Samuel xxiv. 13.

go unhurt?"¹ "Such as the man is, such is his strength."² "A warrior at bay is like a bear robbed of her cubs."³ "A fugitive is like a partridge on the mountains."⁴ "Woman's beauty without sense is a golden ring in a sow's snout."⁵ "A merry heart is a perpetual feast."⁶ "The sluggard is the spendthrift's brother."⁷ "A poor man entreats, but a rich man speaks roughly."⁸ "He who seeks impossibilities is like an eagle flying to the heavens."⁹ "The sot and the glutton grow poor, and sluggishness is clothed in rags."¹⁰ "When you meet with honey, eat not too much, or you will loath it and be sick of it."¹¹ "A mouthful of beautiful teeth is like a flock of sheep coming up from the washing."¹² "Rosy cheeks between locks of hair are like the halves of a pomegranate."¹³

Not only did the "wits" utter such sayings as these, but they often asked each other riddles, and vied with each other in skill in answering them. Such was the object of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon; and according to Josephus, Hiram of Tyre engaged in a contest of this kind with Solomon, which cost the loser dear, for whoever failed to guess the other's thought had to pay a heavy fine.

Our book of Proverbs contains many sayings which were perhaps originally uttered in the form of riddles. For example: "What is as sweet as honey?—Pleasant discourse, for it is sweet to the soul and a medicine to the bones."¹⁴ "What is worse than meeting a bear?—Meeting a fool in a fit of folly."¹⁵ "What is like seizing a dog by his ears?—Meddling with a quarrel not your own."¹⁶ "What is like a dog turning back to its own vomit?—A fool who keeps doing the same piece of folly."¹⁷ "What is heavier than a stone and more burdensome than sand?—A fool's anger."¹⁸ "What is sweet at first and then like sand in the mouth?—Spoken food."¹⁹ "What is worth more than gold?—A good name."²⁰ Sometimes two answers were given to the same question; for instance, "What is like snow in summer?—A faithful messenger, for he refreshes the soul of him who sends him;"²¹ or, "A token of respect paid to a fool."²² These "riddles,"

¹ 1 Samuel xxiv. 30.

² Judges viii. 21.

³ 2 Samuel xvii. 8.

⁴ 1 Samuel xxvi. 19.

⁵ Proverbs xi. 22.

⁶ Proverbs xv. 15.

⁷ Proverbs xviii. 9.

⁸ Proverbs xviii. 23.

⁹ After an amended version of Proverbs xxiii. 5.

¹⁰ Proverbs xxiii. 21.

¹¹ Proverbs xxv. 16.

¹² Song of Solomon vi. 6.

¹³ Song of Solomon vi. 7.

¹⁴ Proverbs xvi. 24.

¹⁵ Proverbs xvii. 12.

¹⁶ Proverbs xxvi. 17.

¹⁷ Proverbs xxvi. 11.

¹⁸ Proverbs xxvii. 3.

¹⁹ Proverbs xx. 17.

²⁰ Proverbs xxii. 1.

²¹ Proverbs xxv. 13.

²² Proverbs xxvi. 1.

as we may call them for want of a better name, have considerable analogy to several familiar games of the present day, and we shall not be far wrong in thinking of Solomon with his courtiers and guests as employing themselves in some such sports amid a cross-fire of question and answer, repartee, and witticism. What a splendid opportunity there was for flattering the prince when some one asked, "What is the roaring of the lion like?" and how adroitly it was seized by the man who answered, "The anger of a king! for whoever opposes it sins against himself."¹ But we may be sure the following proverb was not made at court: "A roaring lion and a bear greedy for prey is the wicked ruler of a poor people."²

To appreciate this play of wit as it deserves, we must bear in mind what has just been said of the rudeness of the age; but would it not be like new life to many a one in our own day had he wit enough to play such a game? To excel in it would require keener observation, greater readiness, and higher powers of concise expression than most of us possess. In those days it certainly marked a great advance, when the example of the court made such amusements popular in different ranks of society, and enabled them now and then to supersede in part the warlike exercises and rude sports which had hitherto reigned supreme. This fashion stimulated observation of nature and still more of man; and though not exactly study, it was not very remote from it, and might easily lead up to it; for while the less cultivated were exchanging simple, almost childish questions and answers, the more advanced would ask such riddles as the one ascribed to Samson: "When does sweet food come from the strong devourer?"³

It is obvious that Solomon's wisdom had no distinctively religious character. Though not in itself irreligious or hostile to the worship of Yahweh, it had no connection with that worship except in its reverence for the simplest laws of morality. It was broadly human; and an Edomite or Philistine could have practised it just as well as an Israelite; a worshipper of Chemosh or Astarte might have engaged with a servant of Yahweh in such a contest without the difference of their religion ever disturbing them. Indeed "wisdom" was regarded with disfavor on this very ground by the prophets and the zealots of Yahweh. It was far too worldly for their taste. But it was equally natural that the masses should esteem it

¹ Proverbs xx. 2.² Proverbs xxviii. 15.³ See vol. i. pp. 417 f.

highly. It lay within their reach, and was entirely comprehensible to them. And the consequence is that from Solomon's time onward we find the "sages" formally recognized in Israelite history. They were men who made proverbs, gave advice, uttered warnings and lessons of practical wisdom. Sitting in the gate, which was the great place of intercourse amongst the inhabitants of the town or village, they gave their precepts to the bystanders, repeated what they had heard from previous sages, and invented wise sayings or pointed apothegms. Their words were respectfully received, were retold and passed from mouth to mouth, and were not without influence upon the life of the people. Generally the sages were advanced in years, but of course it was possible for younger men to distinguish themselves in this capacity. All that was wanted was common-sense, a good memory, a little penetration, and a fair command of language. These qualifications could raise a man into a leading position amongst the people, for during the centuries immediately following the time of Solomon the counsel of the wise men was as highly valued as the oracle of the prophets or the commandment of the priests.¹ Now these "wise men" regarded Solomon as their great prototype, and this is why some of their writings, such as Ecclesiastes, are put forward under his name, and why the Proverbs are described as "Proverbs of Solomon." From the time of this monarch dates the public recognition of common-sense, reflection, and penetration as a power in Israel.

Some three centuries later a man of an upright and religious spirit who desired, under the form of a law, to exhort the princes of Judah to perform their duties, drew a picture of a king as he ought *not* to be.² He evidently borrowed the picture from the history of Solomon; for after saying that if the people should desire a king, they must in any case select an Israelite by birth and not a stranger, he goes on to warn the prince against extensive horse-breeding, a great number of wives, and large stores of gold and silver, while commanding him to study the Law diligently that he may not become overweening and sin through pride, but may reign long and pass down the crown to his posterity.

At the very time at which these rules for the king's guidance were drawn up, the picture of Solomon was sketched as we have it in the book of Kings; and if not from the hand

¹ Jeremiah xviii. 18; Ezekiel vii. 26.

² Deuteronomy xvii. 14-20.

of the same author as the Law, it is at any rate due to a man of similar convictions. Yet in it Solomon is spoken of on the whole with honor. His prayer for wisdom was heard; wealth and distinction were given him as well; his rule was brilliant: "Judah and Israel dwelt in safety, every man under his own vine and his own fig-tree, from Dan to Beersheba, as long as he lived."¹ "Judah and Israel were countless as the sand by the sea shore, and they ate and drank and were happy."² It could not be denied, indeed, that Solomon had served strange gods, but this was ascribed to his love for his foreign wives, who persuaded him in his old age not only to build temples for Chemosh, Milcom, and Ashtoreth, but even to make sacrifices himself to these and many other deities.³

But this representation of things is evidently quite misleading. The writer himself betrays the fact that he arranges his materials in the order that seems to him best to account for the king's conduct; for after mentioning his idolatry, he goes on to say that Yahweh was angry with him for it, and punished him by stirring up Hadad the Edomite and Rezon the Syrian to make war upon him.⁴ But, as a matter of fact, these two men raised the standard of revolt immediately after Solomon had ascended the throne,⁵ and so cannot possibly have been sent by Yahweh to punish one of the last deeds of his reign. It is easy to see what gave rise to the historian's representations. A religious man of the seventh century B.C. could not believe that the king, who had shown such zeal in the worship of Yahweh as to build the temple at Jerusalem, could have been an idolater at the same time; for to his mind the two things were absolutely incompatible.

But in Solomon's time there was nothing so monstrous in the combination; and, in fact, a prince who governed upon his principles could scarcely help worshipping strange gods. The interests of commerce required it; for if the Israelites wished to have regular intercourse with their neighbors, they must allow them to come and settle in their cities, though perhaps, after the usage of antiquity, only in special quarters. Now, in this case the foreign residents in the cities of Israel must of course be allowed to worship their own gods. Again, whenever treaties were made with any of the surrounding peoples they must be confirmed by sacrifices offered not only to Yahweh, but also to the god of the tribe with whom the treaty was made. The commandment, "Thou shalt worship

¹ 1 Kings iv. 25.² 1 Kings iv. 20.³ 1 Kings xi. 1-8.⁴ 1 Kings xi. 9-25.⁵ See p. 70.

no other gods but Yahweh," practically forbade any sustained intercourse with foreigners, for it was an insult to a nation to refuse to worship its god. And why should Solomon have any scruples in the matter? Suppose the commandment to worship no other gods to have been in existence already, which is exceedingly doubtful,¹ there can have been but very few who understood and observed it, for to do so implies an exalted conception of Yahweh's nature, which was certainly foreign to the Israelites of this period in general. As yet Yahweh was simply their national deity, who could only be worshipped in Canaan, or perhaps in a sort of way wherever a number of Israelites were settled. Why then should Israelite merchants hesitate to worship the gods of the countries in which they happened to be? Why should not the king oblige his friendly neighbors, such as the Phœnicians, or his own subjects, such as the Moabites and Ammonites, by building temples for their deities? Such things were common enough in ancient times; and though Solomon only appears to have gone so far as this in favor of three deities, yet we may safely assume that he sent rich presents to the foreign temples not only of these, but of many other gods. He could hardly have retained a good understanding with their worshippers otherwise. Now, all this was, perhaps, condemned by the zealots of Yahweh; but the mass of the people approved of it, and Solomon himself, who encouraged commerce, industry, art, "wisdom," and in short everything that was not distinctively Israelitish, would certainly see no harm in it.

What raised Solomon so high in the eyes of posterity was his building the temple. The historian accordingly is very full in his account of it.² He tells us that Solomon made a treaty with Hiram of Tyre, by which the latter undertook to help him in building his temple and his palace. For this purpose he supplied him with cedar and cypress wood, for which Solomon paid him in wheat and oil for use at his court. But Solomon required the services of his own subjects also. He summoned thirty thousand men to hew timber with the Phœnicians on Mount Lebanon, and they relieved each other in three shifts, one of which was always at work. The timber was then taken by sea to some port, according to the Chronicles Joppa,³ whence it was carried by land to Jerusalem. The transport of this timber employed seventy thousand men, and eighty thousand were busied in cutting

¹ See vol. i. p. 315. ² 1 Kings v., vi., vii. 13-ix. 14. ³ 2 Chronicles ii. 16.

the stoues. Hundreds of overseers superintended the work, and Adoniram directed the whole.

On the summit of Moriah, once the threshing-floor of Araunah, the temple was built with square stones. They were cut and trimmed before they were brought to the spot, so that no chisels were required there. Inside, the walls were lined with a wainscoting of cedar wood, and gold was laid on with a prodigal hand. The sanctuary was surrounded by a number of chambers, arranged in three stories, which served as magazines, bakehouses, workshops, and houses for the priests. The temple itself—which was sixty cubits in length, twenty in breadth, and thirty in height—consisted of two chambers, the Holy and the Holy of Holies, the former measuring forty cubits in length and the latter twenty. It appears that the ceiling of the Holy of Holies stood twenty cubits from the floor, and that this chamber was therefore an exact cube. In it were stationed two great gilt cherubs, symbolical forms, whose outspread wings touched either wall, and met in the middle of the chamber, covering the place where the ark rested. The ark contained nothing but the two stone tablets upon which the law of the Ten Commandments was engraved. Its bearing poles ran parallel with the end walls of the chamber, and were so long that when the folding doors, which separated the two chambers, were thrown wide open, the knobs at the end of the poles could just be seen by those standing inside the Holy, but not by any one standing still further back. The folding doors were adorned with golden pomegranates, lilies, flower-buds, and cherubs; and so were the pillars that stood at the portico of the temple, which was about ten cubits deep and thirty high, as well as the lavers and other magnificent apparatus already described.¹

When all was ready the ark was conducted amid great rejoicings to the new sanctuary, and twenty-two thousand oxen, with a hundred and twenty thousand sheep, were sacrificed on the occasion. As soon as the ark was set down in its place Yahweh signified his approval, for “the cloud”—doubtless the pillar of cloud which had guided Israel through the desert is meant—filled the house, so that the priests could not remain in it. Then Solomon, after giving expression to his joy at the completion of the work, uttered a long prayer, in which he entreated Yahweh to hear all supplications offered to him in that temple, and, finally, pronounced

¹ See p. 72.

a blessing upon the people. The feast that now succeeded lasted for seven days.

When Solomon had completed his work, Yahweh appeared to him again and promised to confirm his throne, but at the same time threatened the Israelites with destruction should they worship other gods than Yahweh.

When the temple and the royal palace were completed, Solomon was so deeply in Hiram's debt that he could only meet his claims by ceding a piece of land to him on which were twenty towns. The Tyrian king, however, was not satisfied even then, and called the district Cabul, or, "as good as nothing."

This impossible derivation, which closes the narrative, and the statement that the cloud of Yahweh filled the temple, are in themselves significant indications that the account of the building of the temple has been embellished by a later age; and the prayer and blessing of Solomon convince us that the writer lived in the time of the captivity. It is also quite in the spirit of this later period to lay such stress upon the fact that Levitical priests¹ officiated on the occasion. The writer of Chronicles adorns the tale yet further; distinguishes between the priests and the Levites, as the Law required in his day, makes separate mention of the choirs of musicians and singers, and even says that fire came down from heaven to consume the sacrifice of consecration.

The description of Solomon's temple gives us no clear conception of its details, nor is it at all certain that it is correct even as far as it goes. For in the course of centuries the temple was more than once restored, and doubtless frequently repaired and beautified; and it even appears that some of its principal features were from time to time modified, in order to suit the changing ideas of the Israelites. It is therefore difficult to believe that a writer, who lived three centuries afterwards, could have had any accurate knowledge of its original form and arrangements. In some respects it is almost certain he was mistaken. For instance, he speaks of a brazen altar² that stood before the temple; but a law, which was issued after Solomon's time, still forbids the use of any altars not made of earth or of unhewn stones,³ and the introduction of brazen altars appears to have taken place at a later date. Mention is also made of an inner and an outer forecourt,⁴ but it is very questionable whether this

¹ In 1 Kings viii. 4, *the priests and the Levites should be the Levitical priests*

² 1 Kings viii. 64; ³ 2 Chronicles iv. 1.

⁴ Exodus xx. 25.

⁴ 1 Kings vii. 12, viii. 64.

distinction was really observed in Solomon's temple, for its purpose was to separate the priests from the laity; and at a time when the king himself could perform the functions of a priest and pronounce the blessing, this sharp distinction can hardly have existed, and a layman was doubtless allowed to approach the sanctuary as close as though he were a priest.

The historian extols Solomon greatly for building the temple. No wonder, for when he wrote, it was the only lawful sanctuary of Yahweh. But we have already seen, when speaking of David's intention to build a temple,¹ that Solomon's contemporaries were not as much pleased with the work as their descendants were. We have also spoken of the considerations that qualified their approval, and it must be confessed that the temple at Jerusalem was a greater boon to the monarchy than to religion. It was a great stroke of policy on the part of David to take the ark to Zion, and Hiram was quite right in saying that it was "wise" of Solomon² to build a magnificent temple to Yahweh in his capital; for by this means the reverence felt towards Yahweh was made to confer stability upon the throne, and the interests of the human and divine institutions of Jerusalem were brought into very close alliance.

Moreover, there was not a little in the arrangements and the ornamentation of the temple which must have offended the strict disciples of Moses. Most of the ornamental work was done by Hiram, who was half an Israelite and half a Tyrian; and, no doubt, Phœnician artists supplied the minor adornments also. Now, these pomegranates and lilies, these flowers and cherubs were not objects chosen at random, but had a distinct symbolical significance. What the cherub meant we do not know. It has been variously conjectured to represent a thunder cloud, or some particular divine attribute or force of Nature. The first guess is the most probable. Are we to regard these cherubs, whatever it is they represent, as guardians of the heavenly treasures? It is impossible to say with certainty; but we know that similar winged monsters, such as griffins, harpies, and sphinxes, appear on or near the monuments of all ancient peoples. The columns or obelisks, Jachin and Boaz, were probably representations of the sunbeams. The pomegranate, which was the symbol of the fructifying power of Nature, the lily, the palm-tree, and the flower-bud, appear in the temples of many Asiatic deities, and all pertain to the worship of

¹ See pp. 11, 12.

² 1 Kings v. 7.

Nature. Thus Solomon's temple had much in common with heathen edifices, and slight modifications might have made it a suitable temple for Baal. This need not surprise us, for the ancient religion of the Israelitish tribes was itself a form of Nature-worship just as much as the religions of the Canaanites, Phœnicians, Philistines, and other surrounding peoples were. Most of the Israelites certainly saw no harm in these ornaments, since they were not aware of any very great difference between the character of Yahweh and that of Baal, Astarte, or Molech. But the true children of Moses, men of a spirit akin to Samuel's, were very deeply conscious of such a difference. Men who took their stand on the Ten Commandments were shocked by many of the ancient usages and beliefs common to the Israelites and these other tribes, though perhaps they might themselves have been at a loss sometimes to explain and justify their feeling of aversion. Whether clearly or obscurely felt by Solomon's contemporaries, it is at any rate a fact that his temple tended to destroy the work of Moses and of Samuel, and to bring the people a step nearer heathendom.

In fact, this tendency is characteristic of Solomon's reign of forty years¹ in all its aspects. Following in the footsteps of his father, he did all that he possibly could to make Israel like other peoples, and to obliterate the special characteristics that marked the tribes amongst which Moses had introduced the worship of Yahweh.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CURSE OF CANAAN.

1 KINGS IX. 15-22; GENESIS IX. 18-27.

WHEN the Egyptian king's daughter married Solomon, her father made her a present of the city of Gezer, with the lands belonging to it.² Such presents were not unusual amongst the royal families of ancient times, and were by no means a mere form, for the princess would receive for her own uses the tribute paid by the inhabitants of the city given her. Gezer lay in all probability north-west of Jerusa-

¹ 1 Kings xi. 42.

² Compare vol. i. p. 348.

lem, not far from Beth-Horon.¹ It was inhabited by Canaanites, and must have been very strongly situated, since it had managed to retain its independence up to Solomon's accession. It has been conjectured that it lay near the sea, that its inhabitants were pirates, and that the Egyptian king was therefore desirous of overthrowing it in the interests of his own country; but whether this was really so, or whether he conquered it simply for the sake of his son-in-law, we cannot say. In any case the present must have been extremely welcome to Solomon. He at once converted Gezer into a fortress, which, together with Beth-Horon and Baalath, covered Judah to the north-west, as Tamar in the desert did to the south-east.

Gezer seems to have been the last Canaanite city which retained its independence in the southern portion of Israel's territory; for though on one occasion we still read of Hittite kings² in the history of the northern kingdom, Judah does not appear ever to have come into contact with them again. Indeed, Solomon's predecessors had dealt them very heavy blows in the southern district, Saul having broken the power of the Gibeonites, and David having conquered the Jebusites.

Now when the Israelites had no longer anything to fear from the Canaanites they began to oppress them more and more. Solomon reduced them to absolute slavery, and employed them in fortifying Jerusalem, in building fortresses to command his frontiers and cities in which provisions might be stored in time of war, and also in laying out his pleasure grounds in various districts of the land. The historian adds that Solomon enslaved none of the sons of Israel, but only employed them as soldiers and officers, as ministers and attendants at court, as commanders of war chariots, and cavalry.³ This is certainly untrue, however, for the thousands of men who were forced to labor on the various works of which we read in the last chapter,⁴ must most of them have been Israelites. But there was doubtless a wide difference between the treatment they experienced and that to which the Canaanites had to submit. The latter were never spared and never set free. They were slaves all their lives. Many of them were attached to the temple of Yahweh at Jerusalem, where they had to perform the severest and most menial work, such as drawing water and hewing wood.⁵ Before long there was a special slaves' quarter established on the Ophel at Jerusa-

¹ See Map V.

⁴ See p. 84.

² 2 Kings vii. 6.

³ 1 Kings ix. 22.

⁵ Compare vol. i. pp. 349 ff.

lem, not far from the temple; and in all probability Solomon presented great gangs of Canaanite slaves to other sanctuaries also. But we must not suppose that all the descendants of the Amorites and other ancient inhabitants of the land were reduced after a time to slavery. On the other hand, many Canaanite families had intermarried with Israelites, and others had risen to wealth and distinction in their midst, and so had several foreigners. Thus, Uriah the Hittite was one of David's most trusted followers,¹ and Araunah the Jebusite possessed a threshing-floor in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. Long after Solomon's time, certain distinguished families were still well known to be of Canaanite extraction.² But the fact cast a certain slur upon them, and exposed them to the contempt of the haughty Israelites. This was doubtless true even before the time of Solomon, but much more so afterwards.

The light in which the Israelites of pure blood regarded the relations between themselves and the Canaanites is strikingly exemplified in the following legend, which certainly did not rise before the time of Solomon³: —

Noah had three sons, who became the ancestors of all the peoples of the earth. They were called Shem, Ham, and Japhet; and Ham was the father of Canaan. Now Noah had begun to till the soil, and had planted a vineyard, and once the wine that it produced made him so drunk that he lay naked on the ground in his tent. Then Ham, the father of Canaan, saw him; but instead of turning away his eyes from so shocking a sight, he went to his two brothers outside, and, with a shameless laugh upon his face, told them what a state their father was in. But Shem and Japhet were far from joining in his evil mirth. As soon as they heard what their brother said, they stretched a cloak across their shoulders, and going into the tent backwards, so as not to see their father as he lay there, they covered him up with it.

When Noah returned to himself he heard what his youngest son had done, and cried out, —

A curse upon Canaan!

May he serve his brothers as their lowest slave

But he blessed Ham's brothers in the following words: —

Blessed be Yahweh, the god of Shem!

May Canaan be his slave!

May God make Japhet extend!

May he dwell in the tents of Shem,

And may Canaan be his slave!

¹ 2 Samuel xxiii. 39.

² See vol. i. p. 341.

³ Genesis ix. 18 27.

To understand this legend rightly we do not need to know exactly what nations the Israelites regarded as the sons of Shem, of Ham, and of Japhet respectively; still less what were the rules that guided them in making the division.¹ We need only bear in mind that all distant nations were regarded as "sons of Japhet." In the Hebrew word (*japht*), which we have translated *make to extend*, there is a play upon the name "Japhet." Under the name of Ham the writer does not refer to the Hamites in general, but only to the Canaanites; for he repeatedly describes Ham as Canaan's father, and it is upon the latter exclusively that the curse of Noah and the doom of slavery fall. So, too, in speaking of Shem, he does not include all the Semitic peoples, but only Israel; and therefore he does not make Noah say, "Blessed be Shem!" but, "Blessed be Yahweh, the god of Shem!" since it was only Israel that worshipped Yahweh. To understand the significance of the promise that Japhet should dwell in the tents of Shem, that is to say amongst the Israelites, we must remember what a point the ancient peoples made of keeping themselves separate from each other. It was considered a glorious privilege "to dwell alone," as a certain poet expressed it,² "and not to be reckoned amongst the nations." Ancient peoples were so jealous of their land that they could hardly endure the presence of strangers in it; and if a prince allowed foreigners to settle in any of his cities, it was a proof of very special confidence in them. If any considerable number of people from one and the same country availed themselves of such a privilege, they had a special quarter of the city assigned to them in which they offered their wares for sale. So the wish, "May Japhet dwell in the tents of Shem," means: "May the dwellers in distant lands gain the privilege of settling in the cities of Israel; and in that case may the Canaanites serve them too!"

The curse pronounced upon these ancient inhabitants of Israel's territory is the one essential point of the story. The author shows manifest good-will towards foreigners in general, with many of whom Israel entered into very friendly relations under Solomon's reign, but he holds up the Canaanites as the one race doomed to slavery.

It follows from the nature of the case that this curse of Canaan would be more heartily responded to after the time of Solomon than before. There is usually bitter hatred between a conquering and a conquered people, especially as long

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 94 f.

² Numbers xxiii. 9.

as the former are still to some extent afraid of the latter. It is therefore only natural that the Canaanites should have cherished a violent hatred of the descendants of the invaders before whom their ancestors had been compelled to yield, and that the Israelites should have paid them back in the same coin. But during the two and a half centuries that elapsed between the conquest of Canaan and the reign of Solomon, the new rulers had been compelled to treat the old inhabitants with some consideration. And though there had always been a minority who detested the Canaanites and denounced all intermarriages with them, the great majority had found it advantageous to live at peace with them.¹ But when Israel's fame spread far and wide, and the splendor of the court of Jerusalem conferred a lustre upon the whole nation — when the surrounding tribes bowed beneath the sceptre of Yahweh's anointed, and even distant peoples sought his friendship — when the name of Israelite had become an honor, and every one who bore it felt the dignity it conferred upon him — then the Canaanites could be safely disregarded, then public opinion would no longer have attributed a famine to any wrong inflicted upon them, then it was borne in upon the mind of many an Israelite that the descendants of Canaan were only fit for slaves!

Of course there is nothing intrinsically noble in this national pride of the Israelites. On the contrary, it sometimes appears almost ridiculous. But it was inevitable that when the Israelites became independent and even powerful, under David and Solomon, they should rise greatly in their own estimation, for it lies in human nature to estimate worth by the outward privileges it secures. We must not therefore condemn Israel for this self-exaltation. A people that is conscious of its own strength gives us more hope for the future than one that is habitually cowed. No good can come of a child of servile disposition, that is always cringing or grovelling; but a lad who feels his strength, even if he is a little overbearing, may grow up into a noble man, and may make us forget how unfeeling he sometimes was, when a boy, towards his weaker companions. In the same way, a people that has no sense of its own worth has no future before it.

But in this respect, as in all others, there were great differences amongst the Israelites. The contemptuous conduct of many a shallow Israelite towards the Canaanites was simply the result of his sense of power; but in some cases nobler in-

¹ See vol. i. pp. 397 ff, and vol. ii. p. 18.

fluences were at work. This very legend shows that it was so. Canaan is cursed and doomed to the lowest slavery in expiation for the sin which Ham committed against his father. But, to appreciate the writer's indignation, we must remember that it was not a simple act of filial irreverence that drew down the punishment. Doubtless even this was an abomination in the writer's mind, and he would have heartily endorsed the proverb-writer's saying,¹ —

The eye of him who mocks his father,
And cares not to reverence his mother,
The ravens of the valley shall pick it out;
The young eagles shall devour it.

But Canaan was guilty of something still worse than irreverence. He was immodest and unchaste. To understand what the writer means, we must remember that the Israelite laws contain frequent warnings against sins which decency forbids us from so much as naming. These repeated exhortations, together with the emphasis laid upon them and the severity of the penalties they enjoin, show us that the Israelites were in constant danger of sinking below the brutes in this respect, and giving themselves over to the foulest sins. In fact, they show that this danger was not infrequently realized. Now, the most revolting offences of this description are always called "the abominations of the Canaanites."

The best of the Israelites, therefore, felt an aversion for the tribes they had conquered and oppressed, which was not simply the result of national pride and selfishness, but was based upon a deep moral sense. "Cursed be the infamous race of Canaan!" was a sentiment that had sunk into many hearts.

When we had brought down the history to David's ascent of the throne, we glanced back upon the period of the judges,² and remarked how deeply the history of religion had been affected by the fact that the unification of the people came about under the guidance of men of the genuine Israelitish stamp, and that Yahweh became the god of Canaan. The age of David and Solomon, which completed the subjection of the old inhabitants of the land, confirmed the boon which had been gained in previous times, and was also favorable in other respects to religious progress. For the two princes in question raised the people of Yahweh to greatness and thereby increased in no small measure the glory of the god himself. All David's wars were wars of Yahweh. When Israel con-

¹ Proverbs xxx. 17.

² See vol. i. pp. 544 ff.

quered the foe, then Israel's god triumphed over the gods of the humbled tribes. When Yahweh's anointed showed his might or displayed his wisdom, and spread the fame of himself and his people far and wide, must not every one exclaim with Hiram and the Queen of Sheba: "Praised be Yahweh!"¹ Did not the king's commerce by land and sea make known the name of Israel's god in distant lands? And thus the way was prepared for the belief in Yahweh, not only as Israel's national god, but as the ruler of all the world—a belief that we shall actually see hereafter springing up amongst the most advanced of his worshippers.

Moreover the horizon of the Israelites was extended under David and Solomon. They became acquainted with many different nations, some of them very distant ones; and this in itself dispelled many of their contracted views, many of their prejudices, and gave them greater mental breadth. And, again, the cultivation of music and other arts, such as sculpture and architecture, must have exercised a humanizing and elevating influence upon the Israelites. Increased luxury produced new wants and drove men to devise means of satisfying them; and this again would stimulate industry and encourage the exercise of handicrafts. After Solomon's time it would have been impossible to carry away all the smiths out of Israel, as the Philistines had done of old! The cultivation of "wisdom" and the taste for inventing and guessing riddles, which began to spread amongst the citizens as well as the courtiers, bears witness to the growth of intellectual power. In a word, the worshippers of Yahweh became more civilized in this century, and it is hardly necessary to say that this fact exercised a great influence upon the conception which they formed of their god.

But for all that, Israel would have trodden the path of the heathens, under the guidance of David and Solomon, and Yahweh would have become essentially such a deity as the Baals were, had there been none to insist, above everything, upon the moral demands of Israel's god. Henceforth we shall call these men the followers of Moses, because they built upon the foundation laid by him in the Ten Commandments, and so worked in his spirit.

We have already remarked that there was much in the principles of David's government, as well as Solomon's, to which these followers of Moses objected. They themselves were, in many respects, very one-sided, for not only were

¹ 1 Kings v. 7, x. 9.

they offended by the luxury of the court, the extent of the royal harem, and the idolatrous temples erected by Solomon, but they opposed the culture of the fine arts in almost every form,¹ and regarded the desire for knowledge as sinful pride. In short, they looked askance upon everything that was highly valued by mankind in general. "Yahweh stands up," said a prophet who lived two centuries after the time of Solomon,²—"Yahweh stands up against everything that is high, against all the mighty cedars of Lebanon and all the oaks of Bashan, against all the lofty mountains and high hills, against every proud turret and all fortified walls, against Tarshish ships and costly furniture.³ Then shall the loftiness of mankind be bowed down and the pride of men be humbled, that Yahweh alone may be exalted." This attack upon Tarshish ships is equivalent to a denunciation, in our own day, of "haughty East Indiamen," or "presumptuous Cunard steamers," for instance! Solomon's war chariots, cavalry, and fortifications were an offence and a scandal to the followers of Moses, and made the splendor of the temple he had built to Yahweh still more intolerable in their eyes.

Their views of life then were contracted in the extreme, and their vehemence in decrying everything but religion and morality, as they conceived them, provokes our opposition, while there is much that attracts us in the policy of David and Solomon. But we must never forget that the prophets had only too much reason to dread the baneful influence of worldly things, that if they fell into exaggerations they were of the noblest description, and that it was they who rescued the moral worship of Yahweh, Israel's most precious jewel, from the whirlpool of heathendom.

The thought that Yahweh values moral worth above all else finds emphatic expression in the twenty-fourth psalm. We have already quoted⁴ the closing verses, which probably contain the words that were chanted as the ark was borne back into the temple after a campaign: "Lift up your doors, ye everlasting gates! that the glorious king may enter. Who is this glorious king? Yahweh of hosts!" But the words which were made to precede them, evidently at a later period, breathe a far more exalted conception of Yahweh's being than we should ever gather from those cries of triumph. They run as follows⁵:—

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 59 ff.

² The translation is here conjectural.

³ Isaiah ii. 12-17.

⁴ See p. 63. ⁵ Verses 1-6.

The earth and its fulness are Yahweh's,
 The world and its inhabitants.
 For it was he who founded it on the seas
 And established it on the rivers.
 Who may ascend the hill of Yahweh?
 Who may stand in his holy place?
 He who has pure hands and a clean heart,
 Who has not been bold in deceit
 And has never sworn to a lie.
 He shall be blessed by Yahweh
 And saved by the god who delivers him.
 Such is the race of them that seek thee,
 That seek thy face, O god of Jacob!¹

If we go to the root of the matter we see that this god of Jacob is not the same being as the Yahweh of hosts whose might in war was his claim to honor;² but the Israelites did not perceive it, and united the two conceptions together.

So as long as moral strength is counted a treasure against which no culture, art, or knowledge can be allowed to weigh, so long must we exalt the party of the prophets, with all its one-sidedness, above that of David and Solomon; for the prophets supplied the indispensable counterpoise to a movement which, if left to itself, threatened danger to the "one thing needful."

We shall see from the following chapter that they had power to make themselves felt.

CHAPTER IX.

JEROBOAM.

1 KINGS XI. 26-XIV. 20.³

EVEN under David's reign many of the Israelites, especially amongst the northern tribes, had given unmistakable proofs of disaffection; but under Solomon their complaints became far louder. No wonder! It is true that Solomon was celebrated far and wide for his wealth and power, and that his rule was truly magnificent. But his lavish court and splendid works could only be supported by an enormous expenditure; and this fell upon his subjects, in the shape of taxes and enforced service. The kingdom was divided into twelve districts, each of which had to take its turn

¹ After an amended version. ² Verse 8. ³ 2 Chronicles x. 1-xi. 4.

in meeting the expenses of the royal court for one month,¹ and the governors must often have found it a hard task to supply the vast quantity of provisions needed for the royal table.² Moreover, thousands upon thousands of Israelites were compelled to work upon the palaces, the temples, the fortresses, and all the other buildings raised by Solomon, and for these services they received no wages; or, if some small allowance was made them, it did but increase the burden of taxation more. The fact that Solomon surrendered a part of his territory to Hiram in payment of a debt, proves conclusively that the imposts were already as heavy as his subjects could bear; for such a king would never take such a step unless all his other resources were exhausted.

Nor is it unnatural that these grievances should have been more keenly felt in the North than in the South. In the first place we must remember that "Israel" or the "house of Joseph," on the one hand, and Judah on the other, had really formed two separate groups of tribes ever since the conquest of Canaan. They were conscious of their relationship, but they had never been really united in the desert; they had penetrated Canaan from opposite directions, and had had nothing to do with each other in the period of the judges until at last compelled by imperious necessity to make common cause. The tie between North and South, therefore, had never been a close one, and Ephraim and the surrounding tribes were by no means prepared to put up with the despotism of a king who sprang from Judah. Moreover it was quite in the spirit of antiquity for a king to treat his own relatives and, next to them, his fellow-tribesmen with far more leniency than any others, while all the advantages which might be derived from the neighborhood of a luxurious court naturally fell to the district about Jerusalem.

Once during Solomon's lifetime the discontent had broken out. The leader of the rebels was an Ephraimite — Jeroboam, the son of Nebat — who stood high in the esteem of Solomon himself, and had been appointed by him to superintend the laborers from the north of the kingdom, who were employed in fortifying the castle at Jerusalem called the Millo.³ But Jeroboam's attempt to drive Solomon from his throne was unsuccessful, and he had to fly for his life to Egypt, where he was hospitably received by the king, Shishak, who was doubtless afraid that his neighbor Solomon might become dangerously powerful.⁴

¹ 1 Kings iv. 7 ff. ² Compare p. 72. ³ See pp. 4, 5. ⁴ 1 Kings xi. 26-28, 40
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This is the only insurrection against Solomon mentioned by history, and it appears to have been speedily suppressed. The mighty name of the warrior David, and the brilliance of his son's court, so overawed and dazzled the masses that Solomon was allowed to die in peace. But what he had sown his son Rehoboam reaped.¹ As soon as he ascended the throne it became clear that he would not establish his royal authority without some difficulty; for whereas on David's death all Israel had followed the example of Jerusalem and recognized his son Solomon as king, the northern tribes began, on this occasion, to make difficulties. They invited Rehoboam, who had been acknowledged at Jerusalem immediately on Solomon's death, to come to Shechem, the ancient capital of the northern tribes, to be crowned there also. The fact was that they only meant to recognize him as king upon their own conditions, which they preferred stating at Shechem rather than at Jerusalem. So when Rehoboam had accepted the invitation, they sent their chiefs to lay their grievances and their demands before him. Their spokesman was Jeroboam, who had now returned from Egypt.

The attitude of the northern tribes was certainly not encouraging; but the new king might probably have allayed the impending storm had he acted sensibly. The malcontents had evidently not resolved to refuse allegiance upon any conditions, for they expressly declared that if the king would lighten the heavy yoke of taxation and compulsory service which his father had laid upon them they would serve him faithfully. Rehoboam replied that in three days he would give them an answer. Meanwhile he desired to consult his advisers. Their opinions differed considerably, though they were all agreed on the main point, and were indignant with the conduct of the Israelites. What unheard-of audacity to use such language to a king! Conditions indeed! Why, they ought to be only too thankful that a grandson of the hero who had delivered Israel, and a son of the sage and illustrious Solomon, who had spread the fame of the people far and wide, was left to rule over them! None of the counsellors thought for a moment of suggesting that Rehoboam should submit to the dictates of his subjects. But as to the exact answer he should give, opinions differed. The old and cautious ministers who had supported Solomon gave the crafty advice: "Submit to the people to-day! Give them good words and promise all they ask! Then they will

¹ 1 Kings xii. 1-20.

submit to you ever afterwards." But Rehoboam's own friends, who were rash and headstrong, thought this would be unseemly language for a king, and cried, "Give these shameless upstarts the answer they deserve, and say, 'My little finger shall be thicker than my father's loins; if he laid a heavy yoke upon you, I will make it heavier yet; and if he chastised your obstinacy with rods, I will lash you with scourges!'" That was the answer that pleased Rehoboam best! "Ah," he thought, "those are the words that suit the lips of a king!" So he gave this answer to the chiefs; but the Israelites, it seemed, felt that they could dispense with him better than his courtiers had imagined; for hardly had the haughty answer been uttered when the signal of revolt was given in the cry: "What have we to do with David! We are no kin to Jesse's son! Henceforth let David rule his own house! To your tents, O Israel!" In vain did Rehoboam attempt to pacify the assembly. His messenger, the chancellor Adoram, was stoned to death by the infuriated people, and he himself, in terror of his life, fled with all speed to Jerusalem. Thus had pride gone before a fall. Judah alone remained faithful to Rehoboam, and all the other tribes proclaimed Jeroboam king of Israel.

After the disruption, the northern kingdom retained the name of Israel; and it had the fullest right to do so, for it is not improbable that the name originally belonged to the inhabitants of central Canaan, Ephraim, and Manasseh, and only spread to the other tribes by degrees.¹ And even if "Israel" had been the common name of all the tribes from time immemorial, still Judah was but small in comparison with the rest of the kingdom, and "Judah ought to return to Israel" would have been a more reasonable cry than "Israel ought to join Judah." It is but natural that we should find ourselves unable to draw the boundary line between the sister kingdoms with precision; and, moreover, it was constantly changing. The Benjamites would certainly have preferred to belong to the northern kingdom, rather than to Judah. From ancient times they had always formed a part of the house of Joseph,² and the legend has good reason for making Benjamin Joseph's full brother. Moreover it was but natural that Saul's fellow-tribesmen should feel no great love for David's house. But Jerusalem lay in the territory of Benjamin, and it followed from the very nature of the case

¹ 1 Samuel xi. 8, xvii. 52, xviii. 16; 2 Samuel xi. 11, xii. 8, xxi. 2; 1 Kings iv. 20, 25.

² 2 Samuel xix. 20.

that the region round about David's city should be welded, so to speak, into Judah. Thus it happened that while the more northern Benjamites rallied to the flag of Joseph, the southern portion of the tribe became part of Judah. And to Judah, of course, belonged the families of Simeonites who dwelt in the south-west corner of the land. They had, however, gradually ceased to constitute a separate tribe, and had been completely amalgamated with the Judæans. So, too, had the Kenites and other foreign tribes who had maintained their position in the South ever since the conquest. Rehoboam, then, was only acknowledged by one important tribe, to which, however, the tributary Edomites must be added. All the other conquered districts, from Moab to the towns of Syria, belonged to Jeroboam — as long as he could keep them!

The separation of the kingdoms took place about the year 978 B.C.

The serious objections entertained by the stricter followers of Moses to Solomon's principles of government will have prepared us to find them seconding the attempt of Jeroboam. A reminiscence of the part they took is preserved in the following story¹ : —

When Jeroboam was superintendent of the Ephraimite workmen who were fortifying Jerusalem, the prophet Ahijah of Shiloh met him once outside the city. No one else was present; and the prophet seized hold of a new cloak which he was wearing, tore it into twelve pieces, offered ten of them to Jeroboam, and cried: "Thus saith Yahweh, Israel's god: I will rend the kingdom out of Solomon's hand and will give ten tribes to you. One tribe I will let him keep for David's sake and for Jerusalem's sake, the city which I have chosen out of all the tribes; but the rest will I take away from him, because he has served idols and has not kept my commandments as David did. And yet I will not bring Solomon himself to destruction, but from his son will I take away the kingdom — except over one tribe, that my servant David may always have a light burning in Jerusalem. And as I have chosen you to be king over Israel, so will I keep your house upon the throne for ever, if you will but obey my commandments as my servant David did. And his posterity, for all the reasons I have said, I will humble — but not for ever."

This story breathes exactly the spirit of the historian who

¹ 1 Kings xi. 29-40.

gives it. Jerusalem appears as the one chosen city of Yahweh's worship, which it certainly was not in Solomon's days, when people still sacrificed wherever they liked. Such language is especially inappropriate in the mouth of an Ephraimite like Ahijah. And again, the extreme exaltation of David indicates a later age. It was easy for an Israelite who lived about the time of the captivity to make Ahijah predict that Rehoboam rather than Solomon would lose the greater part of his territory, and that David's house would continue to sit upon the throne of Judah; but Ahijah himself could not have foreseen these things; nor did any one deliberately contemplate the separation of the people into two sections, though many would have rejoiced to see David's house superseded by some other. The writer looked upon the past in the light of his own time. He was convinced that Solomon's idolatry was the sole cause of his rejection by Yahweh; but in the tenth century before Christ Israel was not yet the people it afterwards became. It was not yet prepared to sacrifice everything for its faith, nor did it regard the questions of religion as the only true questions of life. Solomon would have brought his throne into but little danger had he simply worshipped foreign gods. His proceedings in this respect were acceptable to the masses of his people, and only gave offence to a comparatively small band of zealots. What really raised his subjects against him was, as we have seen, the weight of the taxation. The disciples of Moses only played a secondary part in the revolution which wrenched the greater part of his kingdom from Rehoboam, but no doubt they threw their whole strength into the movement, hoping that a change would be an improvement.

Such a party as theirs, however, is destined to constant disappointment, for their comparatively pure and exalted principles could only be put into immediate practice at the expense of the nation's prosperity and independence. By attempting such a course Samuel brought Israel to the brink of destruction. Saul found himself compelled to desert the cause of the zealots. David and Solomon had never identified themselves with them, and it was hardly likely that Jeroboam would do so now. No doubt they hoped great things from him, but they were soon undeceived, for he too disappointed their expectations.

The writer of Kings brands him with infamy as the prince who set up the golden bulls at Dan and Bethel, and appointed priests who were not Levites. But we must not simply adopt

his judgment unchallenged; for he measured the deeds of all the former kings by the standard of his own times, and tested everything by the law of Deuteronomy. This is quite unfair, for in the tenth century before Christ this book did not exist, and even the most highly cultivated Israelites had not so much as thought of its special principles. We shall see, however, that even when judged by the best of his own contemporaries, Jeroboam was condemned for his conduct.

Of course he was compelled to turn his attention to religious matters very soon after his ascent of the throne. His line of action was in full accord with the spirit of antiquity. David and Solomon had already shown him how to identify the interests of religion with those of the king. The temple at Jerusalem, as the most magnificent of Yahweh's sanctuaries, would naturally attract a number of pilgrims even from the northern kingdom, and would thus keep up relations between Jeroboam's subjects and those of the house of David, which must be displeasing and might easily become dangerous to the northern monarch. It became necessary, therefore, for Jeroboam to establish magnificent temples in his own territory, to prevent the Israelites from going to Jerusalem. To this the prophets had certainly no objection; but what did offend both them and the other zealots was that Yahweh was openly worshipped in these new temples under the form of a bull; for when the king restored the famous and venerable sanctuaries of Dan¹ in the northern and Bethel² in the southern corner of his land, he set up a gilt image of a bull in each.

The meaning of these images we know with moderate certainty. It is a mistake to suppose, as some have done, that Jeroboam was introducing an Egyptian form of worship into Israel. For in Egypt the worship was offered to living bulls, Apis and Mnevis, and the *image* of a bull is quite another thing. Nor could a religion so completely foreign to the ideas of the Israelites, as the Egyptian bull-worship, have been imposed by the simple fiat of the king. Not even an oriental monarch has such power as that! We may depend upon it that these images were of Canaanite or ancient Israelite origin, or perhaps both. The fact is that the bull or buffalo was regarded by many ancient peoples as the symbol of strength and majesty. Hence many deities such as Molech, Baal, and Astarte are represented with horns. So, too, the image of the bull appears in connection with the worship of

¹ See vol. i. pp. 378 ff.

² See vol. i. pp. 178 ff.

Yahweh, which is not at all surprising when we remember that in the popular conception there was no such very great difference between Yahweh and Molech or Baal. Had not the altars of Yahweh horns? And was not the brazen sea in the forecourt of Solomon's temple supported by twelve brazen oxen? Nor is there the smallest doubt that Jeroboam's images represented Yahweh. The tradition, accordingly, makes him say when he sets them up, "Here, O Israel, is your god, that delivered you out of Egypt." Even the writer of Kings, utterly as he detested the images, admitted that they were intended to represent Yahweh. It is certain, therefore, that this was so.

To understand Jeroboam's conduct we must remember that when Moses introduced the worship of Yahweh amongst the Israelite tribes they already possessed a motley assemblage of religious ideas and usages, and had many images of gods. The commandment, "Thou shalt make no image of a god!" whether due to Moses or not, was at any rate observed by very few. The majority of the Israelites, especially in the North, where they were more strongly intermingled with the Canaanites, doubtless had images of every kind, and some of them in the form of a bull. Those who protested against the use of images in the worship of Yahweh had evidently great influence with the people, for in the temple of Solomon no image of Yahweh was to be found, and it appears that at Dan and Bethel there had been none before Jeroboam's time; but even then all manner of symbols of the deity were in use. Were there not two great obelisks standing before the temple at Jerusalem? Were not images of the sun, *asherahs*, and anointed stones to be found everywhere by the altars of Yahweh? Was not the temple itself ornamented with the significant forms of cherubs and many another creature? Was not a *teraphim* to be found in the houses of zealous worshippers of Yahweh, and in many a temple also? What wonder then that the great masses felt no scruple in making use of images of Yahweh!

But for all that Jeroboam's action marked a step backwards; for the disuse of direct representations of Yahweh was at least a step towards recognizing the spiritual nature of the deity — an attempt to rise above the low religious level at which the mass of the people stood. Jeroboam, then, favored the worse at the expense of the better, and though he thereby won the favor of the majority of his subjects and that of his Phœnician neighbors also, yet he sacrificed the respect of the more enlightened.

Other regulations concerning public worship were made at the time when these images were set up. In the first place the great yearly feast of harvest, commonly called the feast of tabernacles, was fixed by Jeroboam on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, whereas in Jerusalem it was celebrated just a month earlier. The writer of Kings, who regards the time observed at Jerusalem as prescribed by Yahweh himself, and therefore inviolable, is greatly shocked by Jeroboam's proceeding. But there was really no harm in it at all. Jerusalem was not then the sole norm of religious usages; and the probability is that in the North the feast was usually celebrated as a matter of fact in the eighth month, after the end of the grape harvest, and that Jeroboam simply sanctioned the existing usage.

But the historian's list of grievances is not yet exhausted. "Jeroboam," he says, "made a temple with *bamahs* in it, and entrusted the priesthood there to men who were not of the tribe of Levi, but were taken from any of the tribes indifferently."¹ It seems that a *bamah* was a sort of wooden altar in the form of a cone, and the sanctuaries in which these *bamahs* were erected were themselves often called *bamahs* after them. Now in Jeroboam's time such temples and altars existed everywhere. Did not Solomon offer his first sacrifice as king upon the celebrated *bamah* at Gibeon? And priests who were not Levites already existed in abundance, so that the king had no need to appoint them for the first time. Nor did he depose Levites from their office, as the writer of the Chronicles says he did;² for we know that the altar of the image at Dan was attended not only before but after Jeroboam's time, down to the fall of the kingdom, by descendants of Moses.³ Nor was this the only sanctuary in the northern kingdom at which Levites sacrificed and consulted the deity. They must have officiated at Bethel too; for otherwise the writer of Kings would not have confined himself to stating that non-Levitical priests were appointed at the "house of *bamahs*." It may be true that some of the priestly offices, which had been in the hands of Levites before the time of Jeroboam, subsequently fell to families from other tribes; but if so, it was not because the king desired it, since it was his interest to attach the old and influential families to himself: it was because the Levites themselves did not choose to preside over a mode of worship which was inconsistent with their own ideas. Few, however,

¹ After an amended version of 1 Kings xii. 31.

² 2 Chronicles xi. 14, 15, xiii. 9.

³ See vol. i. pp. 378-380.

would be equal to so great a sacrifice. Indeed we could hardly expect it of them, for though Jeroboam's conduct may have seemed reprehensible to them, it cannot have appeared by any means so shocking and wicked as it did to the Israelites of the seventh century B.C., who had adopted the law of Deuteronomy as their standard.

The king took one more step with reference to public worship, which gave offence to many; and that was making an altar out of hewn stones or metal which was led up to by steps. This could give no offence to the devotees in the seventh century before Christ, for in their days there was an elaborately-wrought altar in the temple of Jerusalem itself, and they never objected to it; but it was in direct opposition to the earlier usage which prescribed low altars made of earth or unhewn stone.¹

Against this unhallowed altar, then, the following legend is directed²:—

Once when Jeroboam was celebrating the great feast at Bethel, he stood in person by the altar, and was about to offer sacrifice, when a Judæan prophet stepped forward from the crowd and uttered the dread prophecy: "O altar, altar, thus saith Yahweh! In time to come a scion of David's house, Josiah by name, shall come and sacrifice the priests of the *bamahs*, and burn human bones upon you! And, as a proof of it, this day a miracle shall come to pass. You shall be cleft in two at the command of Yahweh, and the ashes that lie upon you shall be spilt." When Jeroboam heard these words he burst into fury, and, standing on the altar steps, he stretched out his hand and cried, "Seize him!" But his hand was stiffened, and he could not draw it back; and at that very moment, behold! the altar was cleft in two, and the ashes were spilt on either side, just as the man of God had said! The king cried in terror, "Pray to Yahweh for me, that my hand may be restored." The prophet complied, and Jeroboam's hand was at once restored, like the other. Upon this the king besought him to go home with him and eat with him before returning to his own land, and promised him rich presents also. But the prophet answered, "Though you should give me half your house, I could not go in with you, for Yahweh has forbidden me to eat bread or drink water here; and my god has commanded me also to return by a different way from that by which I came." And accordingly he set out at once upon his journey.

¹ See p. 86.

² 1 Kings xiii.

Now there dwelt in Bethel an aged prophet whose sons had witnessed all this scene, and when they came home and told their father what had taken place he asked them immediately which way the man of Judah had gone back; and when they told him, he ordered them to saddle his ass with all speed. Then he mounted his beast and hurried after the stranger, whom he found sitting under the sacred oak.¹ He asked him whether he was the man of God from Judah; and, finding that he was, he asked him to come back and share his meal. The Judæan gave him the same answer as he had given the king, whereupon the other replied, "But I too am a prophet, and the angel of Yahweh commanded me to invite you to eat with me." The Judæan allowed himself to be imposed upon by the lie, and went back with his companion to Bethel.

Now as they were sitting at table, the host, in obedience to a revelation from his god, suddenly cried out to the stranger, "Thus says Yahweh: Because you have disobeyed my commandment and have taken food and drink in this place, you shall not be laid in the tomb of your fathers." When the meal was over the Judæan prophet mounted an ass and returned on the way to his own land; but as he was going he met a lion which hurled him from his beast and killed him, and then stood quietly by the body together with the ass, which he had not injured in any way. As soon as the old prophet heard this he rode to the spot, placed the body of the Judæan on his ass, and carried it back to Bethel. There he mourned over him and had the customary dirge, "Alas, my brother!" chanted for him, and then buried him in his own grave and commanded his sons to lay him to rest in the same place when he should die himself, for all that this Judæan had foretold concerning the altar and the *bamah*-temples in the cities of Samaria would surely come to pass.

That the legend was brought into its present shape after the reform of Josiah is obvious; but its kernel is certainly much more ancient. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that the narrator misses the real point of the old legend, which he remodels. The unlawful altar was the original cause of offence, but our writer introduced the *bamah*-temples, which in his eyes were far worse than the altar, as the main object of the prophetic rebuke. In making the prophet speak of the cities of Samaria he falls into a great mistake, for, in Jeroboam's time, Samaria, so far from being the capital of

¹ See vol i. pp. 194, 461.

the kingdom, did not so much as exist. Our story was evidently attached to a certain grave in Bethel, known as the grave of the man of God from Judah. Why had not the prophet whose bones lay there been allowed to rest in his own family sepulchre? The legend answered that he owed his fate to his disobedience, and then wove around this central thought the motley garment which now clothes it. Strange as the story of this man's trespass of Yahweh's command appears to us, we shall find a companion picture to it in the following chapter.

We know little of Jeroboam's reign except with regard to his measures for regulating worship. As a matter of course he waged war against Judah. The book of Kings tells us that immediately after the division of the kingdom Rehoboam brought an army into the field with the intention of reducing the northern tribes to submission again, but that the prophet Shemaiah dissuaded the Judæans and their king from making war upon their brethren, inasmuch as all that had happened had been ordained by Yahweh.¹ This account makes it appear as if Rehoboam had had it in his power to expel Jeroboam from Israel, and was only restrained from doing so by religious considerations, inasmuch as he regarded the revolt of the ten tribes as a well-merited punishment. But this reverses the real course of events. It was Jeroboam who attempted to conquer Jerusalem really. It was probably at his instigation that the Egyptian king Shishak made a descent upon Judah about five years after Solomon's death. It appears, however, that Rehoboam succeeded in buying off this powerful enemy. At any rate he retained his independence, though he was forced to give up his treasures.²

Without the help of such an ally as the king of Egypt, Jeroboam did not feel strong enough to subjugate Judah; nor does the position he occupied with regard to the different districts of his own country appear always to have been equally satisfactory. So at least we may gather from his repeated change of residence. At first he established himself at Shechem, then at Penuel in the Transjordanic region,³ and finally at Tirzah, a place that probably lay not far from Shechem, and was greatly beautified by Jeroboam and his successors.⁴ Moreover, the Syrian provinces revolted from him. Even in Solomon's time Damascus had become independent,⁵ and

¹ 1 Kings xii. 21-24.

² 1 Kings xiv. 25-30.

³ 1 Kings xii. 25.

⁴ Song of Solomon vi. 4.

⁵ 1 Kings xi. 23-25.

after the division of Israel it became easier for the vigorous rulers of this city to extend their power. Accordingly we find them styled kings of Syria not long after Jeroboam's death; and even before that time, Abijah, king of Judah, had entered into an alliance with one of them against Jeroboam.¹

On the whole, then, Jeroboam's reign was not prosperous, and his son, Nadab, who succeeded him upon the throne, was soon to find how insecurely his dynasty was seated. For as he was besieging the Philistine city of Gibbethon, in the second year of his reign, he was bereft of life and throne by the hand of Baasha, of the tribe of Issachar.² Of course the historian brought the speedy fall of Jeroboam's house into connection with the worship of images; and it seemed very natural to make the same Ahijah who had foretold Jeroboam's exaltation to the throne also announce his doom. Such is the purpose of the following story:—

Jeroboam's son, Abijah, had fallen sick. The king, in deep anxiety as to the result, suggested to his wife that she should disguise herself, go with a present to Shiloh, and consult the prophet Ahijah. She complied with his request, and took her journey to Shiloh. Now, Ahijah was blind with age, but he did not even need the use of his eyes to recognize his visitor in spite of her disguise. What did her precautions avail? Did she think they would mislead a man whom God instructed! Yahweh had already forewarned Ahijah who it was that was coming to see him, and what she was about to ask. At the same time, he had put an answer into his mouth. So as soon as ever the prophet heard the footsteps of the queen within his door, he cried, "Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam! Whereto does this strange clothing serve? I have a hard message to deliver. Tell your husband this from Yahweh: I have exalted you to be prince over Israel, but you have not obeyed me as David, who did nothing but what was right in my eyes, obeyed me. You have made strange gods and images, which are an abomination to me, and you have rejected me. Wherefore I will bring destruction upon Jeroboam's house, and will utterly root it out from Israel. Whosoever of his descendants dies in the city, the dogs shall devour him; and whosoever perishes in the country, the birds shall eat him! And do you go straightway home; and, as you enter the city, the boy shall die. It is well for him; for all Israel shall bewail him, and he alone of Jeroboam's de-

¹ 1 Kings xv. 18, 19.

² 1 Kings xv. 27.

scendants shall be buried honorably ; and in him alone does Yahweh still see any good ! And not only Jeroboam's house shall be rooted out, but Yahweh shall smite all Israel, because of the *asherahs* with which they provoke him, and they shall be like a broken reed drifting on the water. Yahweh will carry Israel captive beyond the Euphrates. And all this shall come to pass because of Jeroboam's sin ! " Ahijah's prophecy concerning the child full soon came true, for, as Jeroboam's wife entered the capital, Tirzah, Abijah died.

The historian himself evidently composed this speech of Ahijah's, for not only does it mention the transportation of Israel beyond the Euphrates, but it misses the real nature of Jeroboam's offence. Ahijah is made to tax the king with serving other gods, with rejecting Yahweh, and with making *asherahs*. Now, nobody saw any harm in this last practice, in the tenth century before Christ, and we saw but now that setting up the bulls was not by any means rejecting the worship of Yahweh ; but in the seventh century B.C. the worship of images and the worship of other gods than Yahweh were completely identified, as they are in the Ten Commandments, according to the version current at that time and afterwards. The two practices are there regarded as one and the same.¹

Although the best of Jeroboam's contemporaries were opposed to the images, not only did the great mass of the people hail them with acclamation, but even the prophets were soon reconciled to them. It is very remarkable that, although great numbers of prophets labored in Israel during the next two centuries, and exercised a most powerful influence, yet, as far as we can tell, not one of them ever uttered a word against the images, and neither Elijah nor Elisha protested against them.

The fact is that before long far more important questions were at stake than whether Yahweh might or might not be lawfully worshipped under the form of a bull.

¹ Deuteronomy v. 7-10; Exodus xx. 3-6; compare vol i. p. 315.

CHAPTER X.

AHAB.

1 KINGS XV. 25-XVI., XX. 1-XXII. 40.

BAASHA, who mounted the throne of Israel after rooting out the house of Jeroboam, appears to have been especially distinguished for his valor.¹ All that we know of him is that he vigorously prosecuted the war with Judah, whence we may infer that one of the chief grievances against Jeroboam and his son was their failure to subjugate this kingdom. With a view to compelling the southern district to unite itself to Israel, Baasha built a fortress at Ramah, to cut off the commercial intercourse of Judah with the North. At this time Asa was king of Judah, and the measures taken by Baasha reduced him to such straits that he sent a handsome present to Benhadad, the Syrian king, who was Baasha's ally, and implored him to turn his arms against Israel. The Syrian complied, fell upon Baasha's rear, and conquered the northern districts as far down as the sea of Chinnereth. Upon this Baasha was compelled to relinquish his project against Judah, and return with his army to Tirzah. Asa immediately demolished the castle at Ramah, and fortified Gibeah of Benjamin and Mispah with the materials of which it was built, and thereby protected his northern frontier against future invasion.²

In other respects Baasha appears to have adopted Jeroboam's policy during the four-and-twenty years of his reign. The writer of Kings tells us that a certain prophet named Jehu, the son of Hanani, announced his fall, because he worshipped the golden bulls as his predecessors had done. But his disasters in war no doubt undermined his power more than the line he took in religious matters did. He himself, however, maintained his seat on the throne till his death, but his son Elah had not reigned two years before he was murdered, together with all his relatives who were in Tirzah, by Zimri, the captain of half his war chariots. We know nothing of him except that when the conspiracy broke out his army was besieging Gibbethon, and he himself was holding a festival and was drunk.

¹ 1 Kings xvi. 5.² 1 Kings xv. 16-22.

The conspirator apparently went to work hap-hazard, for he had not even made sure of the troops. They were by no means inclined to recognize him, and proclaimed their captain, Omri, king. He immediately marched upon Tirzah, where Zimri was as careless in taking measures to preserve his crown as he had been headlong in seizing it. At any rate, the capital fell into Omri's hands within seven days of Elah's murder, and Zimri withdrew into the palace and then set it on fire. The writer of Kings concludes his brief account of this adventurer by declaring that he fell because he had sinned against Yahweh in walking in the way of Jeroboam, and so seducing Israel. But this only shows that the accusation which he brings successively against almost all the Israelite kings was not based upon an adequate knowledge of the facts, but was simply an inference from the fate which overtook the princes and dynasties in question. For further details concerning Zimri, as well as his predecessors and successors, we are referred to the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" — a work which must have contained a great amount of very valuable information, but which has unfortunately been lost.

Zimri's death was far from placing Omri in undisputed possession of the crown, which was contested four years by a certain Tibni. After the death of this rival Omri remained on the throne eight years. He was more successful in establishing his dynasty than his predecessors had been, for his family swayed the sceptre of Israel for half a century. All that we are told of his reign is that he purchased from a certain Semer a hill upon which he built a city, which he called Samaria. This place became the capital of the kingdom, and played an important part in the history of the people. The derivation here given of the name Samaria, which means "watchmen," is certainly incorrect. Perhaps a watch-tower originally stood upon the site.

The Judæan historian, to whom we owe the book of Kings, looks with strong disapprobation upon all the monarchs of north Israel. According to him, they were all of them godless men, for they committed "the sin of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat." But the house of Omri he holds in more especial detestation. And no wonder! For if Jeroboam had violated the principles of the Mosaic school by raising the golden bulls, Omri's race went infinitely further in the evil path by openly encouraging the worship of the Phœnician god Baal. It is highly probable that Omri himself took the lead in this

religious policy; but we have no particulars on the point. Tradition makes up for its silence concerning Omri by the fulness with which it treats his son and successor, Ahab.

The name of this prince occurs in several narratives, which differ widely in character. Some of them give us historical accounts, only slightly colored by legendary embellishments or the religious views of the writer; whereas others simply give us a poetical version of the internal history of Israel under Omri's house. Only the former class of narratives will be treated at present. The others compose a prophetic epos, which we shall reserve for another chapter.¹

The path in which Ahab trod, following the steps of his father, was that of Solomon. He encouraged commerce and industry, fortified a number of cities, laid out pleasure grounds, and built himself a palace, richly adorned with ivory.² All this encouraged the cultivation of art and the pursuit of knowledge; and it is not without significance that just about this time people began to get over their superstitious terror of everything that had been laid under the ban. A striking instance is furnished by the rebuilding of Jericho. Ever since the conquest, this city had laid in ruins, with its fruitful land untilled, because it had been consecrated to Yahweh; but now a certain rich and enlightened inhabitant of Bethel ventured to rebuild the place. It is true that the ignorant multitude saw a sign of Yahweh's wrath in the death of two of this man's children,³ but the fact only serves to emphasize the victory won by enlightenment over a primeval superstition.

Ahab naturally contracted a close alliance with the Phœnicians. In the first place he sought their support against the Syrians, who had again conquered some of the Israelitish cities during his father's reign,⁴ and were constantly threatening the land still further. Moreover, the industry, enterprise, and skill of the Phœnicians formed the model after which Ahab regulated his own government. He had married Jezebel, a daughter of the Tyrian prince (whom the book of Kings,⁵ probably by mistake, calls the ruler of the Sidonians), and, since he was a man of weak character himself, he was completely ruled by his ambitious wife. Under her influence he chose an obvious means of drawing still closer the tie between his own people and the Phœnicians by favoring

¹ 1 Kings xvii-xix.

² 1 Kings xvi. 34; compare vol. i. p. 341.

³ 1 Kings xvi. 31.

⁴ 1 Kings xxii. 39.

⁵ 1 Kings xx. 34.

the Tyrian religion. So, while Bethel and Dan still remained the centres of the worship of Yahweh, he founded a temple for Baal at Samaria, raised an altar to him there, and reared a great *asherah* in front of the sanctuary.

Here we may say a few words on the subject of *asherahs*, as to which students of ancient religions are not quite agreed. What an *asherah* was seems to be clear enough. It was the trunk of a tree stripped of its branches, or a pillar that resembled such a trunk in form; and it was placed by the side of an altar or in front of a temple. In this sense the word (which the Authorized Version always mistranslates "a grove") is constantly used. So far all are agreed; but the question is whether "*Asherah*" was properly speaking the name of a goddess of whom this pole was the symbol, or whether it was the designation of the pole itself. It certainly does occasionally appear as the name of a deity, and we also hear of priests of *Asherah*; but this is only seldom, and it may be simply a mistake on the part of the historians, for they often confuse different religious usages and the names of distinct deities. We must leave the question undecided; but in no case must we identify this *Asherah* with *Astarte* or *Ash-toreth*, the goddess of the Sidonians, who was worshipped at *Askelon* as well as *Sidon*; for *Astarte* was a virgin goddess who required from her devotees unnatural abstinence, fasts, and self-inflicted torture; whereas the *asherahs* were closely connected with licentious practices.¹ We must also bear in mind that the fact of an *asherah* standing by an altar or sanctuary of Yahweh is no proof in itself that any other deity was worshipped there, for this symbol may have been used in the worship of Yahweh himself, as we know to have been the case with the images of the bull, the *massebahs* (anointed stones), the *chammanim* (images of the sun), and the *bamahs* (heights). Rightly to comprehend the religious practices of the Israelites, we must constantly bear in mind that their worship of Yahweh was a strange compound of the teaching of Moses with the ancient usages of the Semitic tribes common to the worship of Baal, Chemosh, Dagon, or *Astarte*, as well as Yahweh. Just as Solomon had erected *Jachin* and *Boaz* in front of Yahweh's temple at Jerusalem, so Ahab reared an *asherah* before Baal's sanctuary at Samaria.

We must not suppose, however, that Ahab intended to abolish the worship of Yahweh. So far is this from being the case that we shall presently see him surrounded by the

¹ Compare vol. i. p. 318.

prophets of Israel's god; while the names of three of his children, the only ones we know, are compounded with the name of Yahweh, which appears at the beginning of *Jehoram*, and at the end of both *Ahaziah* and *Athaliah*. Ahab then had no intention of substituting Baal for Yahweh; though this might have been the ultimate result of the indulgence he extended to his worshippers.

While Ahab was thus undermining the national religion of Israel by the freedom of his worship, he gave proof of his courage and generosity in the war against Syria.

Benhadad II. had brought Israel to the brink of ruin. He had already laid siege to Samaria, and, if it fell, he would reduce Ahab to the position of the two-and-thirty princes who followed him as vassals to the field. There seemed small chance of escaping this fate, and Ahab was willing to make peace upon very humiliating terms. He offered not only to pay a large sum of money, but even to suffer the most beautiful of his wives to be removed to Benhadad's harem, and his own sons to be taken as hostages. But even this would not satisfy the Syrian prince, who insisted on sending some of his courtiers to strip the palaces of Ahab and his chief nobles of everything they thought worth taking. This was too much! Benhadad was evidently bent on compassing the utter ruin of his opponent; and, after due consultation, Ahab rejected the cruel terms. Then Benhadad sent him another vaunting message: "May the gods undo me, if I grind not Samaria till my followers can hardly fill their hands with the dust!" but despair and anger gave Ahab courage, and he answered with equal point and dignity: "Let not him, who is girding on his armor, boast as though he were taking it off!"

When Benhadad received the answer he happened to be feasting in his tent with his two-and-thirty vassals. Hot as he was with wine, he cried at once, "Bring up the storming rams!" and was immediately obeyed. With a deafening war-cry, and a storm of arrows, the Syrians hurled the battering rams against wall and gate of Samaria. Huge masses of stone fell crashing upon the walls and rolled into the fortress, while all Samaria trembled. But behold! a prophet has accosted Ahab with the words of cheer, "Do you see this mighty army? Thus says Yahweh: I will give it over this very day into your hand, that you may know my might!" "By whose hand will he do it?" asked Ahab. "By

the pages of the provincial governors!" was the strange reply. "And who must lead them?" said Ahab again. "You yourself!" answered the prophet. The valiant prince was ready, for he had absolute faith in Yahweh's promise. He hurriedly ran over the attendants, grooms, and pages of the nobles — a strange army, truly! — and found that there were two hundred and thirty-two in all. They were soon in readiness to lead the van; and all the other men of military age, to the number of seven thousand, followed after them. Now, throw wide the gates and charge! Benhadad is still carousing when news is brought him that a band of Israelites is issuing from the city. "Whatever they are coming for," cries the drunken chief, "to fight, or to surrender, seize them alive." But he was soon to repent his over-weening pride. The new-made soldiers, so suddenly transformed from grooms, struck home, and the Syrians turned in panic flight. Benhadad himself barely escaped in a chariot; but all his horses and war chariots fell into Ahab's hands.

Benhadad was not driven to despair by this defeat. On the contrary, he sought the means of revenge. He attributed his reverse to two causes. In the first place the gods of Israel were evidently mountain gods, and in the second place his army was not sufficiently united. To secure better luck in future he must offer battle on a plain; but he must first supersede those vassal kings who still retained a certain amount of liberty, by governors removable at will, and wholly dependent upon himself. The belief that the gods of Israel had more power on the mountains than in the valleys was the natural result of the difficulty which the Israelites had experienced ever since the conquest in subduing the inhabitants of the valleys.

Having thus weighed his chances and made all necessary arrangements, Benhadad took the field again the following spring, with an army as strong as ever. Ahab, too, had prepared for the conflict; for immediately after his victory the prophet who had instigated him to make the sally urged him to renew the contest on a more extensive scale.

At Aphek, then, probably in the plain of Jezreel, the two armies encamped over against each other. But alas! how poor were the chances of Israel. Ahab's troops looked like two little flocks of goats in the face of the countless hosts of the Syrians! But once again a man of God spoke words of cheer. "O King!" he cried, "thus says Yahweh: Because the Syrians dared to call me a god of mountains only and not

a god of valleys also, I will give this mighty host into your hand, that you may know that I am Yahweh."

Seven whole days the armies lay encamped against each other, without ever joining battle; and when at last they met, the Syrians were so utterly routed that they lost a hundred thousand infantry on a single day! The survivors fled to Aphek; but when the city walls were broken in, twenty-seven thousand more were slain. Benhadad himself fled from one chamber to another, and when all hope of escape was lost, his attendants advised him to throw himself upon Ahab's mercy. The princes of Israel, they said, were famed for their clemency, and perhaps if they went as suppliants to Ahab, with sackcloth on their bodies and ropes round their necks, he might spare Benhadad's life. This plan, accordingly, was adopted, and was crowned with the wished-for success; for when Ahab heard the humble prayer, "Your servant Benhadad entreats his life!" he exclaimed: "Is he still living, then? He is my brother!" Benhadad's servants eagerly caught his gracious words, and repeated, "Remember what you have said: Benhadad is your brother!" Then Ahab ordered the king to be brought into his presence, received him graciously, and gave him a seat by his own side in his chariot. Now it was Benhadad's turn to pay the price of peace. He offered to return the cities which his father had conquered from Omri, and to assign a certain quarter of Damascus to the Israelite merchants, while Ahab, on his side, was to restore him to liberty and recognize him as his ally.¹ Ahab agreed to the terms, entered into the alliance, and released his captive.

But this act of leniency drew upon the king's head so sharp a prophetic rebuke that for the moment it embittered all the joy of victory. A member of one of the prophetic schools had a revelation from Yahweh that very day, and consequently went to one of his friends with the abrupt request, "Beat me!" The other refused to comply with the strange demand, upon which the prophet exclaimed in anger, "Since you will not obey Yahweh's word, a lion shall come and slay you." It need hardly be added that the threat was at once fulfilled, and that the man became the victim of his own contumacy. Meanwhile the prophet went to another man who, luckily for himself, was more accommodating, and beat him severely. Disfigured and bleeding, with his head bound up in a bandage,¹ as one who had been wounded in battle, the prophet waited for the king, and as soon as he drove by, implored his

¹ After an amended version.

help. When permitted to state his case he said, "I had withdrawn from the turmoil of the battle when a man came to me with a Syrian captive. He gave him into my keeping and threatened that if I let him escape he would sell me myself as a slave, unless I paid him a talent of silver. But alas! when I was just looking about me¹ the man slipped off. Protect me, then!" But the king at once told him he was wrong. "You have pronounced your own condemnation," he said, "and must bear the loss." On hearing the sentence the prophet tore the bandage from his brow, and Ahab recognized him instantly. "Thus says Yahweh," cried the messenger of God, "inasmuch as you have let the man go unhurt upon whom my curse rested, you shall perish in his place and your people in the place of his!" Then Ahab returned to Samaria, deeply disturbed by what had taken place.

This story, like many others, helps us to understand the light in which the prophets were regarded by the people, and the kind of submission they endeavored to exact. The members of the prophetic schools were inspired by Yahweh, and received communications direct from him. They were bound to implicit obedience. Woe to him who evaded Yahweh's command! The prophet who suffered another to persuade him to break bread at Bethel, contrary to the divine command, had to pay for the trespass with his life. But again, the prophet's own commands must be obeyed by every one without hesitation, for Yahweh would support the honor of his interpreters with a mighty hand. Woe to him who resisted them! The hand that was raised against one of their number grew stark and stiff, and the man who refused to wound the prophet according to the word of Yahweh perished miserably. It was not for him to ask the meaning of the strange request. He had only to obey.

We must observe the cause of the prophet's wrath with Ahab. Benhadad had escaped. That was unbearable. Was not Yahweh a stern god who demanded bloody sacrifices? Had not Samuel done well to hew Agag in pieces? David's barbarous treatment of the conquered tribes was certainly far more in accordance with Yahweh's will as conceived by the prophets, than the clemency of Ahab which savored more of his freer conceptions and his worship of *asherahs*.²

On another occasion, however, the king of Israel appears in a very unfavorable light.

¹ After an amended version.

² Compare vol. i. pp. 318, 319.

In Jezreel, where he had laid out a house and grounds, there lived a certain Naboth, who refused to let him have his vineyard, however much he offered him for it. He would part with the piece of land that had so long descended from father to son in his family on no consideration. "Yahweh preserve me from it!" he cried, when the king proposed that he should barter or sell it. How monstrous it seems that his refusal should have thrown the king, in spite of all his wealth, into such dejection, that when he got home he flung himself upon his couch, with his face to the wall, and obstinately refused to come to table! How like a sulky child! Indeed, men of undisciplined character are often like great children, the mere sport of their own whims and passions. But there is danger toward, when one who gives the rein to his inclinations in this way happens to be king, especially if he has such a wife as Jezebel!

While Ahab was indulging his vexation, his wife came and asked him why he was so cast down, and why he refused to eat? He told her all about it, in great wrath; but she covered him with raillery, and cried, "A fine king of Israel, indeed! Rise up and eat your fill, for I will get this vineyard for you!" Then she set about accomplishing her promise, and wrote a letter in the king's name, signed it with his seal, and sent it to the elders and chief inhabitants of Jezreel. In this letter she gave an account of what had happened, and how Naboth had dared to refuse the king his vineyard. She pointed out that this was nothing short of treason and rebellion against God's anointed,¹ and ordered the elders to treat it as such. They were to proclaim a fast-day to appease the offended deity, and were then to bring the charge against Naboth. They must take care to provide certain men who would set the affair in the proper light; and, in fact, must arrange the details as best they could, only taking care that the result should be Naboth's death.

Jezebel found the elders of Jezreel only too submissive; and ere long Naboth, with all his family²—for such was still the barbarous custom of the age—was stoned to death.

As soon as the evil deed was done news was sent to Jezebel, and directly she heard it she said to her husband, "Now go and take possession of the vineyard which Naboth would not give you, for the man is no more in the land of the living!" Now, though Ahab was not cruel and unjust enough to commit the murder himself, he was sufficiently unprincipled

¹ See p. 24.

² 2 Kings ix. 26.

and covetous to eat the fruit which his daring and ambitious wife had plucked ; so he set off at once for Jezreel, accompanied by his officers, Jehu, Bidcar,¹ and others, to take possession of the murdered man's estate, which had, of course, been confiscated.

But he was not to be left in undisturbed enjoyment of his acquisition. Hard by Naboth's plot of land he met a man in the rough garment of a prophet, whom he and all his company knew well. It was Elijah, of Tishbeh in Gilead, the stormy and intrepid preacher of repentance. He stayed the royal chariot, and cried out to the king, who was doubtless dismayed by the very sight of the man, "Here is a word of Yahweh for you! Do you think to murder and steal unpunished? On this very field shall the dogs lick up your blood—your very blood—and the city women shall bathe in it!" The king's heart sank within him, but he put on a show of defiance: "Do you dare to strike me thus in the face,² you enemy of me and mine!" he cried to the messenger of vengeance. "I do!" replied Elijah, "and I have struck home too! Since you have sold yourself to do evil, says Yahweh, I will bring evil upon you. I will pursue you till I have rooted out all that belongs to your house, down to the very slaves, till I have made it like the house of Jeroboam and the house of Baasha!" Ahab was always quickly moved, and this denunciation completely broke him. His joy in the possession of Naboth's vineyard was gone; he moved about sadly with naked feet,² and clothed in sackcloth, till Yahweh said to Elijah, "Do you see how Ahab humbles himself? I will not bring these curses upon his house during his lifetime, but in the reign of his son."

The writer who inserted this story in the book of Kings adds that Yahweh also foretold the mournful fate of Jezebel, and that she was the chief cause of Ahab's going so much further than his predecessors had done in his idolatrous practices.² This threat against Jezebel may easily have been added to the story by some one who knew the result, and doubtless the older legend was itself to some extent colored in the same way. This accounts, amongst other things, for its making Elijah say that destruction should not come upon Ahab's house till the time of his son. We can hardly suppose that Elijah really predicted this; but, since it so fell out, the later writer, seeing that Ahab had been spared, attributed the fact to his great penitence. He forgot that a repentance

¹ 2 Kings ix. 25.

² After an amended version.

which allowed him still to keep possession of the land he had stained by innocent blood, must have been barren and worthless in the eyes of God.

The following story tells us how Elijah's announcement of the punishment inflicted by Yahweh began to be fulfilled:—

After three years' peace between Syria and Israel the war broke out again. Ahab longed to conquer Ramoth, in Gilead, which lay in Israel's territory, but was in the hands of the Syrians. He was the more disposed to undertake the expedition because he had entered into a close alliance with Jehoshaphat, king of Judah; but when the two princes had assembled their united troops at Samaria and were ready to set out, Jehoshaphat proposed that they should first consult Yahweh. Ahab acquiesced, and summoned the prophets before him. They came before the thrones of the two monarchs to the number of four hundred, and Ahab asked: "Shall we go up against Ramoth? Or shall we not?" And they all shouted in reply: "Go up, for Yahweh will give the Syrians into your hands!" Encouraging as this answer was, Jehoshaphat was not yet satisfied. "Is there no other prophet of Yahweh whom we can consult?" he asked; and Ahab answered, "Yes! there is one more prophet here whom we could consult if we liked. It is Micaiah the son of Imlah. But I detest the man, for he never foretells success, but always failure to me!" Jehoshaphat, however, persuaded him to send for Micaiah. The officer of the court who went to fetch him said to him on the way: "All the prophets are speaking after the king's heart. You, too, must give the same advice, and prophesy success!" But Micaiah was deeply conscious of his prophetic calling, and met the well-meant but seductive words of his companion with the earnest protest: "As sure as Yahweh lives, I will say nothing but what he commands me."

He was soon standing in the market place. If his god should lay a hard word upon his lips, it would demand no little courage for him to utter it! There sat Ahab and Jehoshaphat in their robes of state; and there were the four hundred prophets before them! What burning zeal inspired them! How certain they were of the result! One of them, a certain Zedekiah, had fixed a pair of iron horns upon his head, to give additional force to his words, and furnish a visible illustration of his cry, "Thus says Yahweh: Herewith shall you strike the Syrians until you shatter them!"

At a sign from the king of Israel they checked their wild gesticulations, and were silent. Then Micaiah stood before the princes, and Ahab asked him, as he had asked the others, "Shall we go up against Ramoth or not?" At first he answered as the four hundred had done, "Go up, by all means! for Yahweh will give it into your hand." But there was a tone of mockery in his words, which forced the quick reply from Ahab, "I conjure you to utter nothing but the truth in Yahweh's name!" And thereupon Micaiah resumed, but with a sudden change of tone, "I see all Israel scattered upon the mountains, like sheep without a shepherd, and Yahweh says: They have lost their ruler, let them return in peace to their homes!" "There," said Ahab angrily, as he turned to Jehoshaphat, "you see how this man always prophesies disaster to me!" But hark, this one prediction is not all. The hand of Yahweh is upon Micaiah. "Listen to Yahweh's word," he cries. "I saw Yahweh upon his throne, with the host of heaven standing upon either side, and Yahweh said: 'Who can draw Ahab into a snare, and lead him up against Ramoth?' Then one angel said one thing and another said another, but none of their words seemed good to Yahweh. At last the spirit of prophecy came forward and said that he could do it. He would go and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all the king's prophets. This plan pleased Yahweh well, and he said, 'Go then! for you are sure to prosper.' And so," continued Micaiah, pointing to the four hundred prophets, who had doubtless given expression by cries and gestures of indignation to the feelings aroused by the fatal prophecy, "so Yahweh has sent a lying spirit into all these your prophets; and, though they promise you success with all their might, yet Yahweh foretells disaster to you!" Upon this Zedekiah, boiling with rage, sprang up to the prophet of evil, and, striking him in the face, cried scornfully, "Which way did Yahweh's spirit leave me to speak to you?" "You will know well enough," was the bitter answer, "when you fly from chamber to chamber to hide yourself!" Here Ahab put an end to the passionate altercation, which he must have thought in the highest degree inopportune, by commanding Micaiah to be thrown into prison, and kept upon the poorest prison fare, till he should come back safe and sound. Micaiah on his part retired with the cry, "If you ever come back safe, then Yahweh has not spoken by me. Mark it well, all you assembled tribes!"

What a strange affair this consultation of the deity must

have been! If a man got the answer he wanted, so much the better. If not, he might yield to the oracle if of a timid disposition; but otherwise he went his way just as if he had never consulted it at all! If any disaster overtook him he accused himself of disobedience; but if he succeeded, then woe to the representative of Yahweh who had prophesied failure! We find it difficult to conceive how these prophets could really believe that their god revealed the future to them, but there is no room to doubt that they did; and here we see one of the ways in which they explained their failures when the event falsified their predictions. Yahweh sometimes sent a lying spirit to a prophet, with the express purpose of destroying the man who consulted him.

On this occasion the two kings paid small attention to Micaiah's gloomy prophecy, though Ahab took one special precaution with the view of putting it to shame. He did not go to battle in his royal arms, but accounted as a common soldier. Did he think to escape the lot that Yahweh had decreed? Fool! Though all things seemed to conspire with him to make his plan successful, yet was all in vain! The king of the Syrians had ordered the thirty-two commanders of his war chariots to fight with no one but the king of Israel. Him they must seek out and slay. Now when they saw Jehoshaphat they thought he was the king of Israel, and turned all their strength against him. Jehoshaphat was hard put to it, but when he raised his war-cry, "For Yahweh and Jehoshaphat," his assailants saw their mistake and left him. But while these doughty warriors were seeking Ahab in vain, a certain Syrian drew his bow against the bands of Israel. He simply aimed his shaft where he thought that it would strike, without knowing against whom he bent his bow — and behold! he struck the king of Israel between the breastplate and the lower armor. Ahab felt that he was deeply wounded and said to his charioteer, "Drive me behind the lines of battle, for I am sore wounded!" But though he could no longer fight he would not needlessly discourage his men, so he still remained, standing in his chariot with his face turned towards the Syrians — hero that he was! — while his blood flowed down into the car beneath. At last when evening drew on he sank into the chariot, and was no more. The battle was indecisive, but the king's death dispersed the Israelites in all haste to their homes.

Ahab's body was carried to Samaria in the chariot and buried there; and, when his blood was washed from the car

in the public pool, the dogs licked it up, and the city women bathed in it, just as Yahweh had foretold. Ahab had been king two-and-twenty years.

He was, doubtless, deeply lamented by many of his subjects. He had made peace with Judah and recognized its independence, perhaps following his father, or perhaps inaugurating a new policy thereby. He had repulsed and humbled the Syrians. Commerce, industry, arts and sciences had flourished under him; and, if he had given Baal a temple in Samaria, the majority of the worshippers of Yahweh did not complain of it.

This is manifest from the scene with those four hundred prophets, whom it would be a great mistake to regard as deceivers. It is true that they no more received direct communications from Yahweh than you or I; but neither did Micaiah, the son of Imlah, or any other human being. This does not give us the smallest right to doubt their good faith. The sight of the united armies of the monarchs dazzled them. Surely, the union of Israel and Judah gave good grounds for the hope that their common god would help them. Surely, Yahweh would be with them in his might. The unanimity of the four hundred prophets shows how much they were attached to their valiant and generous king, the patron of art, of knowledge, and of commerce. Such were, doubtless, the sentiments of the great majority. It is true that Naboth's death leaves a stain upon Ahab's life; but there was hardly a king in ancient times who had not some such deeds upon his conscience. The unlimited power which they exercised led them but too easily astray. By one such crime, or even more than one, a king did not necessarily forfeit the respect and affection of his people, if he conferred upon them benefits that might weigh against them.

In any other country, then, Ahab would have been an honored prince; but in Israel he had to reckon with the vehement opposition of the followers of Moses. They were more indignant than the general public at Naboth's murder, and they could not endure the temple of Baal at Samaria. At their head stood Elijah, of Tishbeh; and they contributed not a little to the fall of the house of Omri.

I

CHAPTER XI.

THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF OMRI.

1 *Kings* XXII. 51-53; 2 *Kings* I., III., VIII. 7-15, 28 b, 29, IX. 1-X. 28

IMEDIATELY after Ahab's death Mesha, the king of Moab, who had been tributary to Israel and had paid a hundred thousand unshorn sheep and a hundred thousand rams each year,¹ threw off the yoke.

As long as we had no authorities for the history of these times but the Israelite writers, we knew absolutely nothing of the doings of the Moabites between their subjection by David and their revolt after Ahab's death; but not long ago a most interesting monument of antiquity was discovered, which we must not pass over in silence.

In August, 1868, Professor Petermann, of Berlin, happened to be in Jerusalem, and was there informed by a certain Mr. Klein, a missionary in the employment of an English society, that a stone of basalt had been discovered on the site of the ancient city of Dibon, east of the Dead Sea, in the former territory of Moab. It was about three feet ten inches long, two feet broad, and fourteen and a half inches thick, and bore a distinctly legible inscription in three and thirty lines. When the Bedouins showed Mr. Klein this stone they told him that he was the first European who had ever known of its existence. Since he had not the necessary means of taking an impression of the inscription with him, he had only copied a few letters, which the Professor, however, immediately recognized as old Phœnician. Petermann was convinced that the inscription must be of the deepest interest, and accordingly did his best to get possession of the stone, but without success. Meanwhile, the interpreter of the French consulate at Jerusalem, M. Ganneau, had heard of the discovery, and had sent an Arab to the spot to take an impression of the inscription. But since the Bedouins had now become aware of the great value attached to the stone by European scholars, they began to quarrel violently as to who should have the price that it might fetch; and M. Ganneau's Arab and his companions were exposed to danger of their lives in attempting to accomplish their task. They barely escaped with a few tattered fragments

¹ 2 *Kings* iii. 4.

of wet paper, upon which a part of the inscription was stamped. Soon afterwards the Bedouins broke the stone, and the antiquarians had difficulty in rescuing even a portion of the fragments. With the various means at their disposal, however, they have attempted to recover the contents of the inscription, and have succeeded in completing it, all but a few lines. The stone turns out to be a monument raised by this very king Mesha, who revolted after Ahab's death, and to belong to the period that intervened before King Jehoram endeavored to make him tributary once more. The fact that the language and the form of the letters of this inscription closely resemble those of the Israelites and Phœnicians is in itself a matter of interest to us, for it shows how closely all these peoples were related to each other. But as students of Israel's religion we are far more interested in the contents than in the form of the inscription, for they teach us the ideas that Mesha entertained concerning his god Chemosh. To throw light upon this subject we give the following passages of the inscription:—

“I am Mesha, son of Chemoshnadab, king of Moab. My father ruled Moab thirty years, and I succeeded him. I have raised this *bamah* for Chemosh, — a *bamah* of deliverance, for he has delivered me from all my foes and has given me vengeance upon all that hate me. Omri, king of Israel, came up and oppressed Moab many years; for then was Chemosh angry with his land. Omri was succeeded by his son, and he too said: I will oppress Moab! But in my days Chemosh said: I will look upon him and upon his house, and Israel shall fall for ever. Now Omri had conquered the city of Madebah and taken possession of it. He and his son oppressed Moab forty years. But in my day Chemosh took pity on his people. I fortified Baal-meon with walls and moats, and then I laid siege to Kirjathaim wherein the Gadites had long dwelt, and which Israel's king had fortified. I fought against the city and took it, and put all the inhabitants to death in honor of Chemosh, the god of Moab . . . And Chemosh said to me: Go forth and take the city Nebo from Israel! Then I went out by night, fought against the place from dawn of day till noon, took it and slew all the inhabitants, for they were laid under the ban in honor of Astar-Chemosh. And I also took thence all the sacrificial instruments of Yahweh and consecrated them to Chemosh.”

Then follow further statements as to the capture of cities, the erection of palaces and temples, measures to supply the

capital with water, the fortification of certain places suitably situated for the purpose, and, in conclusion, a command from Chemosh to go up against Horonaim, a city of the Edomites, all which is matter of less interest to us. The whole tone of the passages we have given is precisely similar to that of many a narrative from the ancient history of Israel. Change the names and read David, for instance, instead of Mesha, Jerusalem instead of Dibon, Yahweh instead of Chemosh, and Chemosh instead of Yahweh, and you will have a record that might very well have stood upon some Israelitish "stone of help."¹ Moab's humiliation is ascribed to the wrath of Chemosh, just as Israel looked for the cause of her defeats in the anger of Yahweh. Mesha wrote: Chemosh said to me, Go forth! Just as Ahab might march upon Ramoth in obedience to Yahweh's command. Mesha laid the inhabitants of a conquered city under the ban in honor of Astar-Chemosh, just as David did in honor of Yahweh. In short, the spirit and the very style of expression are the same.

When this king Mesha erected his memorial on the *bamah* of Chemosh at Dibon, Ahab's son Ahaziah was king at Samaria. He trod in the footsteps of his father, both in fostering commerce by land and sea² and in worshipping the Tyrian Baal. We have only one narrative of any considerable extent that refers to him. It represents him as the worshipper of a foreign god and the enemy of Elijah, that sturdy champion of Yahweh's claims, and is so far in accordance with the facts; but in other respects it is purely legendary. Its contents are as follows:—

Ahaziah had fallen from a window in his palace at Samaria, and perceiving that his life was in danger, he sent messengers to the temple of Baalzebub, at Ekron, to ask the deity whether he was destined to recover from the effects of the accident or not. We may remark in passing that this name of Baalzebub, which means "Lord of flies," was probably given to the deity because his help was specially invoked against the plague of flies which is often so serious in the East. The name Beelzebub, which the Jews afterwards gave to the prince of the devils,³ is certainly connected with the name of the Philistine deity; and the change of the last letter is either accidental or made with express reference to the

¹ Compare vol. i. p. 447.

² 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49.

³ In Matthew xii. 24, and elsewhere, the true reading is Beelzebub, not Beelzebub.

possible meaning of "dung-god," which may be attached to the word in this form.

But to return to our story. Ahaziah believed that this Baalzebub could give him the most trustworthy prediction as to the issue of his sickness, and he therefore sent certain of his courtiers with rich presents to Ekron to consult his oracle there. But Yahweh commanded Elijah the Tishbite, by an angel, to go to meet them and tell them what folly it was to consult a foreign god, as if there were no god in Israel who could give them light and help. Elijah obeyed, and added, at Yahweh's command, that Ahaziah's bed of sickness should become his death-bed, to punish him for his contempt of Israel's god.

Ahaziah's messengers perceived that their encounter with Elijah had made it useless for them to continue their journey to Ekron. So they returned to Samaria and told the king all that had happened. They described the prophet who had uttered the fateful prediction as a man clad in a rough hide strapped round his body with a leathern girdle; and the king knew that it must have been Elijah. But so far from experiencing any sense of awe, so far from bowing down before the prophet's rebuke in shame for the sin he had committed, he sent an officer with fifty men to bring him into his presence.

Now Elijah was seated at the summit of a hill when the soldiers came to apprehend him, and the captain cried in a tone of rough command, "You man of God! In the king's name come down!" But the prophet answered in wrath, "If I am a man of God, then let fire come down from heaven to consume you and all your men!" And lo! the lightning flashed from heaven, and in a moment all the reckless ones who would have laid hands of violence upon the messenger of Yahweh, lay dead.

But Ahaziah did not yet repent, and sent another band as numerous as the first to seize Elijah. Their captain bore himself in the same overweening fashion, and thereby brought upon himself and his men the same dreadful fate as before. Ahaziah sent a third company, and the same fate would doubtless have overtaken them also, had not their captain dealt far otherwise than his predecessors had done with the prophet. Approaching him with every token of respect, he threw himself upon his knees before him and cried beseechingly: "O man of God, spare my life and the life of my followers! Let us not perish like the other messengers of

the king!" Then Yahweh's angel said to Elijah, "Go down with him, fear nothing!" So the man of God allowed the officer to conduct him into the presence of the king, to whom he repeated the prophecy which he had uttered to his messengers on their way to Ekron. He told him he should die, because he had acted as though there were no god in Israel. And accordingly Ahaziah died.

Nine centuries afterwards, when the disciples of one who was greater than Elijah endeavored to persuade him by an appeal to the ancient man of God to punish those who had treated him with disrespect after the same fierce manner, he replied, "The son of man is not come to destroy men's lives but to save them;"¹ and whoever has anything of his spirit joins with him in rejecting Elijah's conduct as a model of his own. Our story illustrates the truth of the saying that as a man is so is his god; for Yahweh, who puts the lightning at his servant's command, becomes his accomplice, and sends the punishment not upon the chief offender, Ahaziah, but upon the instruments of his will. If we may judge by all the other stories about Elijah and the prophets who worked with him, this legend is a true embodiment of the spirit in which the zealots for the exclusive worship of Yahweh acted. Elijah's spirit is the spirit of zeal and courage, but also of cruelty and vengeance; and the Israelites might well deem it the spirit of that Yahweh who revealed himself as the consuming fire.

Ahaziah died childless, after a reign of only two years, and was followed by his brother Jehoram. The line of conduct pursued by this prince with reference to the State religion shows that the zeal against Baal displayed by the prophets of Yahweh had not been without its effect. Not that the worship of Baal was by any means banished from Israel, or that Jehoram entirely reversed the policy of his house; but he favored the worship of Baal far less than his predecessors had done, and even removed the anointed stone which Ahab had erected in honor of Baal in front of his temple at Samaria. Doubtless this stone gave special offence to the supporters of Yahweh's exclusive worship.

It is not impossible that the king's attempt to propitiate the national god was the consequence of the unfavorable issue of his campaign against king Mesha. On this subject the following narrative is given us²:—

To reduce the revolted Moabites to subjection, Jehoram

¹ Luke ix. 51-56.

² 2 Kings iii.

called in the help of Jehoshaphat the king of Judah. The allies determined to penetrate into Moab from the south, which would involve their passing through the territory of the Edomites; and since the king of Edom was Jehoshaphat's vassal, he too added his forces to the allied army. They met with every kind of obstruction on their way, and were delayed seven days, till at last a dearth of water came to complete their distress. Hereupon Jehoram cried in despair: "Alas! Yahweh has brought us all three into the field to give us up, without a blow, into the hands of the Moabites." Jehoshaphat answered his lamentation by asking whether there was not a prophet in the camp by whom they might consult Yahweh. One of Jehoram's courtiers replied that Elisha the son of Shaphat, Elijah's constant follower, had accompanied the army. "He is a true prophet," exclaimed Jehoshaphat; and at once the three princes approached him with the prayer that he would pronounce an oracle. Elisha did not receive the visit very graciously. He was no friend to this son of Ahab, this servant of Baal! "What have I to do with you?" he said to him. "Go rather to your father's and your mother's prophets!" The king of Israel redoubled his entreaties: "Nay, but it would be too fearful, should Yahweh give over these three princes into the hands of the Moabites. Help us!" Elisha was persuaded by this reference to Jehoram's allies to consult his god, and cried: "By Yahweh of hosts, whose servant I am, were it not for the sake of Jehoshaphat I would not heed you! But since he is here, bring me a harper!" His order was obeyed, and when the musician stood before Elisha and touched the strings, the hand of Yahweh was laid on the prophet and he burst forth: "Thus says Yahweh: Fill the valley with trenches; for though you will perceive neither wind nor rain, yet the valley shall be filled with water, and man and beast shall drink. And this is the least part of what Yahweh will do for you. He will give the Moabites into your power, and you shall take all their strongholds and all their open cities, and shall cut down all their fruit trees, and shall stop up all their wells, and shall spoil all their fruitful fields with stones."

On the very next morning the water streamed into the valley from the direction of Edom. Thus the Israelites and their allies were saved from destruction; and, moreover, the Moabites were led into a snare; for they had advanced to the boundary of their land to meet the foe, and now they saw the water, upon which the rising sun behind them threw a ruddy

glow that made it red as blood; so they thought the allies must have quarrelled and fallen one upon the other, and they advanced in careless haste to the camp to seize the booty. In this condition they were easily routed; and when once the army was dispersed the whole country lay exposed to the invaders, and they were enabled to take possession of all the cities. But the capital, into which King Mesha and a part of his troops had thrown themselves, still offered a valiant resistance. Fearful devastations were committed by the conquerors everywhere. Men, women, and children were slain, the cities burned, the fruit trees felled, the wells stopped up, and the fields covered with stones. But the capital stood the siege bravely. Many of the garrison fell beneath the stones which were showered from the slings of the assailants, but the city still held out. Gradually Mesha was too hard put to it. He saw that unless some vigorous measure were taken, the place must inevitably fall into the hands of his exasperated foes. In vain did he lead seven hundred heavy-armed troops in a sally against the position held by the Edomites. Perhaps he imagined that Judah's vassals would take his side, or at least allow him to escape; but he was disappointed, and the sally failed. At his wit's end, he had recourse to a desperate and fearful step! He was determined, cost what it might, to compel his god, Chemosh, to come in might and aid him. So he took his eldest son, the heir to the throne, and sacrificed him on the city walls! This deed produced the desired effect. Disaster after disaster fell upon the camp of Israel, and the allies were compelled to retire without accomplishing their purpose.

At first sight it seems difficult to understand how an Israelite historian could suppose the sacrifice of the Moabite king to have been the cause of disaster to the besiegers; and accordingly the commentators have invented all kinds of other explanations of his words, which are, "So there was a very great wrath against Israel." This expression cannot really mean anything but that the wrath of some deity burned against Israel. We cannot tell exactly what the writer supposed the connection of events to be. Did he really think that on this occasion Yahweh was worsted by Chemosh, whose zeal to succor his people had been roused by so precious an offering? At any rate, we need not be surprised at the power he ascribes to the sacrifice offered by the Moabite king, when we reflect that he no more doubted the existence of Chemosh than he did that of Yahweh. When Israel was victorious in

battle it was ascribed to the mighty help of Yahweh, who fought against the foes of those he loved, seizing his shield and buckler and rising up to help his people, brandishing his spear and blocking the way against his foes.¹ But from this it followed that when Israel was defeated Yahweh must have been far away,² or deaf,³ or asleep,⁴ or angry with his people; and so they implored him to make haste, to rouse himself, not to keep silence, but to rush to their aid. We are naturally disposed to accept all these expressions in a figurative sense, and they do indeed frequently occur in the mouths of authors, especially poets, whose conception of the nature of their god is far too exalted to be really consistent with such modes of expression; but of course there must once have been a time when they were used literally, for otherwise they could never have become current as metaphors.

Quite consistent with this childlike conception of Yahweh's nature is the idea which clearly shines through our story, that the prophet Elisha could not only foretell the future but could also bring about the deliverance of the army. The three princes bring their petition to him as to one who has power to help; and he himself speaks as though he held the fate of the allies in his hands. He will help them for Jehoshaphat's sake, but were he not with them he would not heed Jehoram. That is to say, his kindly feeling towards the king of Judah induced him to utter a favorable prediction and so to save the armies. We shall find other examples as we go on of this belief in the power of a prophet's word. When every allowance has been made for the involuntary confusion both of belief and feeling, which finds it so difficult to distinguish between the author and the herald of a misfortune, there is still abundant evidence that the Israelites, like other ancient peoples, believed that an unfavorable prediction actually caused an unfavorable event. The belief of antiquity in the foreknowledge of certain men was closely connected with a belief that they had power over the forces of Nature and the fates of men, in virtue of the supernatural means they had at their disposal. Soothsaying is near akin to magic.⁵

Jehoram, then, was unable to recover the revolted provinces; and moreover, at the close of his reign of twelve

¹ Psalm xxxv. 1-3.

² Psalm xxii. 19, and elsewhere.

³ Psalm lxxxiii. 1, and elsewhere.

⁴ Psalm xxxv. 23, xliv. 23, lix. 5, and elsewhere.

⁵ Compare vol. i. pp. 171, 172, 382.

years' duration, war broke out again with the Syrians. In this war Jehoram was fairly successful. At any rate we find Ramoth in Gilead, which had been in the hands of the foe at the death of Ahab, once more in the hands of Israel at the end of Jehoram's reign. But just at this period Syria developed quite new powers under the rule of the terrible Hazael. The way in which this man became king is related as follows: ¹

Once on a time Elisha went to Damascus. Benhadad the king happened to be ill, and no sooner had he heard that the famous man of God from Israel was in his capital than he sent Hazael to him with a rich present of gold and forty camel loads of precious things, to consult Yahweh as to the issue of his sickness. Elisha answered Hazael thus: "Go and say to him 'Your life shall be preserved!' but Yahweh has revealed to me that he will surely die." Amazed by such an answer, Hazael stood staring the prophet in the face, till the latter burst into tears; and when asked by his visitor why he wept, replied: "Because I know all the misery you will bring upon Israel—how you will burn down the fortresses with fire, slay the young men with the sword, dash the suckling children to pieces, and slaughter the women with child!" "Who am I," cried Hazael, "that I should do such mighty deeds? I! a mere dog!" "Yahweh has revealed to me," answered the prophet, "that you shall be king of Syria." Then Hazael returned to his prince and told him that Elisha promised he should recover; but the next day he took a napkin, soaked it in water, laid it over Benhadad's face and so smothered him. Then he ascended the throne himself, and soon became a scourge to the Israelites, whose king he sent back wounded to Jezreel from a battle near Ramoth in Gilead. ²

Really, these Israelites were woefully deficient in love of truth! We have another proof of it in this story. Elisha is represented as urging Hazael to lie to his monarch and say that Yahweh had promised he should recover, and as telling him in Yahweh's name, that he should obtain the crown. Not a hint is dropped that Hazael had the least intention of murdering the king before this interview, and it is clearly implied that the change of the Syrian dynasty was effected entirely by Elisha. And all this is related in honor of the prophet and of Yahweh, who gave him his commission, and made use of Hazael as an instrument for chastising the sins of Israel!

We cannot tell whether this narrative has any historical foundation; whether, for instance, the Israelite prophets, and

¹ 2 Kings viii. 7-15.

² 2 Kings viii. 28, 29.

especially Elisha, in their zeal against Baal and the house of Omri, did really assist in raising Hazael to the throne; or whether they hoped that war with the Syrians and heavy military disasters might work a wholesome change in the disposition of their people, and at the same time prove fatal to the detested royal house. If they did believe that Hazael's reign would be more favorable than Benhadad's to the worship of Yahweh, they would certainly have had no scruple in adopting any means they could devise for securing the change. But it is quite possible that the historian invented Elisha's visit to Damascus and his interview with Hazael as a form under which to express his conviction that Yahweh's power was not confined to the land of Canaan.

However this may be, it is certain that Elisha and those who felt with him cherished an intense hatred of the reigning family in Israel, that even the partial reformation effected by Jehoram when he put away Baal's *massebah* failed to reconcile them, and that nothing could satisfy them short of the entire extermination of the race of Ahab and Jezebel, as a penalty for their idolatry. Their ultimate success in exterminating Jehoram and his house is recorded in the following story:¹

Once on a time as certain Israelite generals and officers were sitting together in front of a house in Ramoth, they were startled by the sudden approach of a man whom the hide thrown over his naked body marked out as one of the "inspired." He was one of the "sons of the prophets," and had been sent to Ramoth by Elisha on a weighty mission. Casting his burning glance upon the officers he cried, "I bring you a word of God, O general!" "And which of us is it for?" asked one of them, half in derision. "It is for you," was the reply. The man thus singled out from his comrades was Jehu, the son of Jehoshaphat, generally called the son of Nimshi, after his grandfather. He was probably the commander-in-chief of the army. He went with the prophet into an inner chamber to hear what Yahweh had to say to him; and as soon as they were alone the man of God poured the oil of consecration over his head and cried, "Thus says Yahweh, the god of Israel, I anoint you king of Yahweh's people, king of Israel. Root out the race of Ahab your master, and avenge the death of my servants the prophets and all the worshippers of Yahweh whose blood Jezebel has poured out! Every male creature of the whole house of Ahab must be slain, rich and poor together, that it may be with

¹ 2 Kings ix. 1 ff.

them as with the house of Jeroboam and the house of Baasha. And Jezebel too shall be torn by the dogs and shall go unburied in Jezreel." Hardly had he ended his words when he burst from the chamber and vanished, as Elisha had expressly commanded.

When Jehu returned to his comrades he was assailed by a storm of questions. "Well! what is it all about? What had the fool to say to you?" Jehu shrugged his shoulders as if he thought nothing of it, and answered, "Oh! the kind of nonsense you'd expect from such a fellow!" But of course this did not satisfy the others. "No! but tell us what he said!" they cried; and at last Jehu, with a sudden change in his voice and manner, answered, "Well then! I will tell you what he said. He anointed me king of Israel in Yahweh's name!" No sooner had he uttered the words than the whole bearing and language of his companions underwent a sudden change. They accepted the words of this "fool" as the words of God, the signal for the execution of their project of raising Jehu to the throne. For they had doubtless been conspiring with him before this against Jehoram; and now Yahweh had spoken! They sprang to their feet, bowed down before Jehu, heaped up their mantles for him to stand upon, and cried amid the clang of trumpets, "Long live King Jehu!"

The new prince rapidly concerted his measures. He ordered his followers to take good care that no one bore the news of what had been done at Ramoth to Jezreel, where, as we know, Jehoram lay wounded in bed. As soon as ever he could make the most necessary arrangements he himself set out for Jezreel.

Now Jehoram had but just received a visit from his ally the king of Judah, whose name was Ahaziah and whose mother was a daughter of Ahab, when the guard on the royal watch-tower announced that a body of soldiers was approaching. Two horsemen whom the king sent, one after the other, to reconnoitre, were ordered by Jehu to join his company, and did not return. Meanwhile the scout on the watch-tower recognized the leader of the band as Jehu, by his reckless style of driving; and, on hearing this, Jehoram ordered his chariot to be yoked instantly and drove out, followed by Ahaziah, never dreaming of treachery, to meet his general and learn what cause had brought him from the camp. Just on the plot of land that had once belonged to Naboth they met each other, and Jehoram cried, "No ill news, Jehu? Is all well?" But terror sank into his soul when he heard

the answer, "How should all be well while the idolatries and witcheries of your mother Jezebel fill the land?" He turned his chariot sharp round and cried aloud, "Treachery, Ahaziah!" but it was too late already. Jehu's shaft had struck him between the shoulders and pierced his body through. He fell down dead in his chariot. "Throw the body down here, upon this very field," said Jehu to Bidkar: "Do you remember how Elijah foretold all this to Ahab when we two rode behind the king?" Ahaziah, who had fled with all speed, was now pursued at Jehu's command. How could he let a grandson of Ahab escape? The king of Judah was overtaken and wounded before he found a refuge at Megiddo, where he died.

Jehu meanwhile had entered Jezreel, where Jezebel, the queen-dowager, resided. As soon as she heard what had happened she knew that her days were numbered, for she, the Phœnician, had always been the great rock of offence to the enemies of Omri's house. But she was determined to retain her dignity and die like a princess. So she painted and decked herself as for some great occasion of state, and sat waiting for the approach of Jehu. No sooner did he enter the gate than she cried scornfully from the window of her palace, "Hail to thee, Zinri! murderer of thy lord!" Jehu saw her and shouted to her attendants, "Who is for me?" and then commanded the two or three chamberlains who signified their willingness to serve him to hurl her down below. They did so, and as Jezebel fell to the ground her blood bespattered the walls and Jehu's horses. The savage warrior drove right over her body and went to his meal! But when he had done he said, "Go and take this cursed woman and bury her. For be she what she may, she was at least a king's daughter!" So they went to take up the body, but nothing was left except the skull and some of the bones of the hands and feet. The dogs had devoured or dragged away the rest. And thus, as Jehu said when they brought him the news, Elijah's prophecy was fulfilled: "Jezebel's body shall be like dung upon the ground, and no one shall be able to say — This is Jezebel!"

All this was but the beginning of the massacre which Jehu executed or ordered. In Samaria there were seventy youthful members of the royal house, whose education was entrusted to special governors; but neither they nor the rulers of the city ventured to resist Jehu, and at his command they beheaded all these princes and sent their heads in baskets to Jezreel. Then Jehu had them all piled up in two heaps at

the city gates, and went the next day and said to the people, whose curiosity was not unmingled with horror at the ghastly sight, "See now! I have risen against my master and have slain him. And who has destroyed all these? Have I? Yes, but yet I am guiltless, for I have but accomplished all that Yahweh foretold concerning the house of Ahab. Yahweh has done what he proclaimed by the mouth of his servant Elijah."

Having thus attempted to justify himself, he went still further on the path he had entered, and slew not only every member of the royal house at Jezreel, but all the court officers, all the grandees, all the soothsayers and priests who were faithful to the old dynasty. Then on his way to Samaria he came to a spot called "the gathering place of the shepherds," where he met two-and-forty members of the royal house of Judah. They suspected no evil, and were on their way to the court at Jezreel to pay their respects to the queen mother and the princes. In contempt of all laws of hospitality Jehu slaughtered them also. Was not the whole court of Jerusalem polluted by kinship with Ahab?

A little further on he met Jonadab the son of Rechab. He was a Kenite, but was a zealous worshipper of Yahweh, after Elijah's heart. It was he who commanded his fellow-tribesmen to abstain from wine and always to lead a wandering life, cultivating no fields, planting no vineyards, and possessing no fixed homes. Whether he had already issued these commands or only gave them afterwards, at any rate his sympathies lay in the same direction as those of the Nazarites, and his spirit was akin to that of the zealous opponents of the worship of Baal.¹ When Jehu met this man, whom he evidently knew and respected, he cried: "Is your heart toward me as mine is toward you?" and on receiving a hearty affirmative, he asked him to take a place by his side in the chariot. "Come with me, then," he said, "and witness my zeal for Yahweh."

The zeal which Jonadab was to witness was frightful in the extreme; for, in the first place, every creature at Samaria that was ever so slightly connected with Ahab's house was murdered; and, in the next place, the priests of Baal were all destroyed and the temple of the god himself laid waste. The following account of this last measure is given by the historian:—

Jehu summoned a great national gathering and said:

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 455, 456.

"Ahab served Baal but little in comparison with what I shall do! Then let all the priests and prophets of Baal and all the servants of his temple come together for a great festival and sacrifice. Let no one fail!" When the feast day came, Jehu gave each of those who were to take part in the ceremony a festal robe from the royal wardrobes to distinguish them from all others, and having carefully ascertained that there was not a single worshipper of Yahweh amongst the throng of sacrificers, he ordered his body-guard to rush into Baal's temple and put them every one to the sword. His orders were obeyed. First, every one in the forecourt was slain. Then the sanctuary itself was stormed, and every one in it slaughtered. The great image of Baal was burned, the *massebah* broken to pieces, and the whole temple razed to the ground. The place upon which it stood was made a dung-hill, and so remained for centuries. Thus did Jehu root out the worship of Baal from Israel.

This final assertion is evidently far too sweeping, for in the time of Jehu's son we find the *asherah* still standing at Samaria,¹ and in still later times the prophet Hosea speaks of the worship of Baal as a stain that cleaved to Israel even in his days. Nor is it easy to believe that Jehu entrapped the worshippers of Baal in the manner here set forth. The trick was far too obvious; and at the very beginning of the revolt every Israelite must have known perfectly well that the worship of Baal was the very thing that most offended those who had raised Jehu to the throne. But the main fact that Jehu was zealous in the service of Yahweh, and was the great opponent of Baal, stands above all possibility of doubt.

Such, then, was the end of Omri's house, about 884 B.C. This dynasty had held the throne of Israel, not without honor, for half a century. In one respect its princes adopted a policy at variance alike with that of their predecessors and their successors. They not only kept constant peace with Judah, but even counted her kings amongst their allies. Moreover, they adopted Solomon's policy of encouraging commerce and adopting a thoroughly tolerant attitude with regard to religion. They were brave and enterprising princes, were not without success in war, and made the name of Israel feared by the surrounding peoples. Doubtless their subjects were in general well content with their rule; but there was one party bitterly opposed to them — the party of Yahweh's zealots with Elijah and Elisha at their head. They hated the

¹ 2 Kings xiii. 6.

house of Omri with an implacable hatred ; and a century and a half later their successors still spoke of idolatrous practices as "the deeds of Omri and of Ahab."¹ The fall of this dynasty shows what a powerful influence an ecclesiastical party may exercise upon the fortunes of a State, for it was these zealots, and they alone, that put Jehu upon the throne. In doing so, however, they doubtless did good service to their people, for Jehu's triumph marked the victory of Yahweh over Baal.

The conflict between the two religions is depicted in the magnificent poetry of the narrative with which our next chapter deals.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN YAHWEH AND BAAL.

1 KINGS XVII.-XIX.

ONCE on a time Elijah the Tishbite uttered these fearful words to Ahab : "As sure as Yahweh lives, the god of Israel whose servant I am, there shall no rain or dew fall within these coming years unless I bid it !"

Then Yahweh said to him, "Go eastwards and hide near the brook Cherith, on this side of Jordan. Fear not for your sustenance. With the water of the brook you can quench your thirst, and I have commanded the ravens to bring you food." Elijah obeyed, and behold ! the ravens brought him meat and bread night and morning, and he drank the water of the brook. But when months had come and gone at last the brook dried up, for not a drop of rain had fallen to recruit its waters.

"Rise up," said Yahweh, "and go to sojourn in Zarephath, near Sidon. There dwells a widow to whom I have given the charge of sustaining you." The man of God obeyed the summons, and as he drew near the city gates he saw a widow gathering fire-wood. Almost dying of thirst, the prophet cried, "Ah ! give me a draught of water from your cruse." The woman granted his request, but when he went on to beg a mouthful of bread she answered, "By Yahweh your god ! I have nothing left but a handful of meal in

¹ Micah vi. 16.

the barrel and a few drops of oil in the cruse; and I have come out to gather a few sticks to make my last cake for myself and my little son. When that is gone we must starve!" The dull misery of her face, as she uttered these words, was lightened by a great joy when Elijah answered, "Fear nothing! do as you have said. But prepare a portion of it for me first and then make ready the rest for yourself and your child. For thus says Yahweh, the god of Israel: The barrel of meal shall not be emptied nor the cruse of oil run dry till the rain falls!" And so it came to pass. Month after month they three lived upon that handful of meal and those few drops of oil.

But however great the blessing which Elijah brought the widow, the time soon came when she conceived an utter dread of him, for her boy grew ill and died. Surely that was because Elijah had come to live with her! For the presence of so holy a man might well bring Yahweh's wrath upon a sinful mortal whose unrighteousness was now forced upon his attention. So she cried out to the prophet, "What have I to do with you, O man of God! Why must you take up your abode with me and rob me of my child!" Elijah was touched by her grief, took the corpse from her bosom, went into the upper chamber in which he lived himself, laid the child upon the bed and then cried aloud to Yahweh, "O Yahweh, my god, art thou wroth with the widow in whose house I live, that thou hast slain her child?" Then he stretched himself three times upon the body and prayed, "Nay, Yahweh! let the child's breath come back!" His prayer was heard, the boy returned to life, and when he took him back to his mother she cried from the fulness of her joyful heart, "Now I know that you are a man of God indeed, and that your word is truth!"

It was now two years since Elijah had foretold the drought, and the third year was beginning when Yahweh commanded his servant to appear once more before Ahab, for rain was now about to fall. There was a fearful famine in Samaria, and when Elijah came to seek Ahab the latter had just been concerting measures to obtain fodder and water for his horses. In pursuance of this project he and Obadiah, the steward of the royal house, had set off by different routes to scour the land and examine every place where wells or streams had once been known to exist. But it was all in vain.

Now this Obadiah was a zealous worshipper of Yahweh. He had once hidden a hundred prophets in two caves, fifty in

each, when Jezebel was seeking the lives of all the prophets of Yahweh, and had fed them with bread and water. This man now met Elijah, and recognizing the messenger of Yahweh at once, he fell upon the ground in reverence before him and exclaimed in amazement, "Are you here, my lord Elijah?" "Yes!" he replied shortly, "and do you go and tell your master that I am here!" But Obadiah shrank from doing so. "Ah, my lord," he urged, "what sin have I committed that you should expose me to Ahab's wrath? As sure as Yahweh lives, he has sent to all the surrounding lands to seek you, and when his messengers have said they could not find you he has made them confirm their tidings with an oath. And now you tell me to go and say to my king, 'Elijah is here!' and perhaps as soon as I am gone Yahweh's spirit will take you I know not where, and when Ahab finds that you are gone he will destroy me. Nor do I deserve such a fate, for I have feared Yahweh from my youth. Have you never heard how I defended a hundred prophets against the rage of Jezebel? Why should you cause my death?" But Elijah answered his appeal by the solemn assurance, "By Yahweh of hosts, whose servant I am, I will stand before Ahab's face this day!" Thus reassured, Obadiah went to find the king.

The words of Ahab's greeting to Elijah showed clearly enough what his feelings towards him were. "Are you here, you troubler of Israel's peace?" he cried. But Elijah did not yield to the king in acerbity. "I am no troubler of Israel's peace," he retorted. "It is you and your father's house who trouble Israel by forsaking the commands of Yahweh and worshipping the Baals! But come," he added, "it is time the matter were decided once for all. Call the whole people of Israel together to Mount Carmel, and call Jezebel's four hundred prophets with them. Then we shall see whether Yahweh or Baal is God."

Ahab accepted the challenge, and a countless multitude streamed to Mount Carmel. Then Elijah, who stood with the prophets of Baal upon the summit, came forward and cried to the people, "How long will you halt between two beliefs? Make your choice between them! If Yahweh is God, then serve him; but if Baal, then worship him!" A dead silence followed his words. The people were evidently undecided, and intended to await the issue of the conflict. Elijah soon began it. "See!" he cried, "I am the only one of Yahweh's prophets left alive, and Baal's prophets are more than four hundred men. Now give us two oxen, and

let them choose which they will; then let them slaughter it and lay it upon the wood upon their altar, but without setting fire to it. And I will do the same with the other. Then do you," he added, as he turned to the prophets of Baal, "call upon your god, and I will pray to Yahweh; and the god who answers by fire from heaven, he shall be God." A deafening shout proclaimed the people's approval of his words.

Elijah let the worshippers of Baal choose their ox, and invited them to begin the trial, since they were so numerous. They did as he proposed, and the victim soon lay upon the altar. Then a great cry rose from the priests, "O Baal, hear us!" But there was no sign that any deity had heard. From early morning to mid-day they raised their prayer, and ever from the whirling mass of dancers swaying round the altar the shout rose louder and more shrill. When this had lasted till noon Elijah cried in mockery, "Shout louder; for, since he is a god, he cannot fail to hear you! But perhaps he is immersed in thought. Or perhaps he has gone away somewhere. Can he be on a journey? Or can he be asleep? Ah! but he is sure to wake up again, if you only shout like men!" Have they obeyed his words of scorn? Their shouts grow louder than ever, their voices rise into a shriek, their gestures are yet wilder and their dances fiercer than before! At last, in the very frenzy of their ecstasy they dash their knives and lancets into their own and each other's flesh till the blood streams down their bodies. Their entreaties wax more passionate yet. Surely their overwrought systems must give way! Not yet! they are leaping in the sword-dance yet again; their voices blend into one piercing yell, and a great twisted mass of swaying, leaping, rolling, dancing human forms, with distorted features, and bodies and faces covered with blood and dust, whirls before the swimming eyes of the spectators! and so till the time for evening sacrifice. But no answer came from heaven.

And now a change comes over the scene. The priests of Baal drop at last exhausted and confounded to the ground. Elijah stands up and motions the people with his hand. It is his turn now. A deathlike stillness succeeds the wild confusion, and the multitude gaze with reverence upon the man of God, whose whole bearing and expression tell of his invincible confidence in the triumph of his cause. He advances and cries, "Draw near!" upon which the people throng closer round him. There are the discomfited servants of Baal sitting, lying, and

standing about their altar, on which the sacrifice lies unconsumed. Here is Elijah on the spot where Yahweh's altar stands, all broken, rent, and overturned. He piles up twelve great stones, after the number of the tribes of Israel, and the assembled multitudes look on in strained expectation as he throws out a broad trench right round the stones, arranges the wood for his sacrifice, slaughters the ox and lays it on the pile. Then he ordered some young men, who had offered their services, to pour four buckets-full of water over the sacrifice, which they did a second and a third time, until not only all the wood and the sacrifice were thoroughly drenched, but the water had even filled the trench. At least there was no fire hidden in the pile. And now the time of evening sacrifice had come, and behold! Elijah, the prophet, raised his hands with solemn earnestness to heaven and prayed, "O Yahweh, god of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel! let it be known this day that thou art God in Israel and that I am thy servant, and have done all this at thy command! Hear, Yahweh, hear me! Teach this people that thou art God, and hast designed this famine to turn their hearts to thee." See there! The lightning has flashed from heaven! The wood bursts into a flame, the sacrifice is consumed, the very water that stands in the trench is licked up by the flames, and the awe-struck multitude fall trembling to the ground with the cry, "Yahweh is God! Yahweh, indeed, is God!"

The conqueror took instant advantage of the favorable disposition of the people, and urged them to seize the prophets of Baal. "Let not one of them escape!" he said, and was obeyed. The prophets were dragged to the brook Kishon, and there they were all slain. Then Elijah said to Ahab, "Rise up, eat and drink, for I hear the rushing sound of coming rain."

Whilst the king, rejoicing in his words of promise, was ordering the preparations for a festival, Elijah went up the mountain to pray. The strain upon him was still great, for though he had heard the sound of heavy rain in the distance not a speck of cloud was yet to be seen. The heavens were like brass. Elijah bowed down with his head between his knees, and commanded his servant to go to the side of the mountain that looked towards the sea and tell him whether there was a cloud on the horizon yet. He returned, and said that there was nothing; but the prophet, not discouraged yet, sent him a second time. Again the same blank answer mocked his hopes. Again, and yet again, the servant went upon the

self-same errand, till at last, when he returned for the seventh time, he brought the news, "A little cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, is rising out of the sea." Little as this might seem, it filled Elijah's soul with joy, so great was his faith in Yahweh's promises. The little cloud was but a herald of the coming rain. "Go," he cried to his servant, "go at the top of your speed to Ahab, and tell him to haste away lest the rain stay his journey!" Meanwhile the wind arose, and great clouds rolled up right across the heavens. The rain descended in torrents. Ahab drove hard to Jezreel; but Elijah was there before him, for his feet were strengthened by Yahweh, and far outstripped the speed of Ahab's horses.

When Ahab had returned to his country place, he told Jezebel all that Elijah had done, and how he had slain all the prophets of Baal. Enraged by what she heard, the queen took a deep oath that she would have his life. In mortal fear, Elijah fled to Beersheba, in Judah, and there he left his attendant behind him. Then he entered the wilderness alone and journeyed on a whole day; after which he sat down under a tree, wearied in body and soul, and longed for death. "O Yahweh!" he cried in prayer, "it is enough! now let me die, for I deserve no better lot than my fathers!" Filled with such gloomy thoughts, he sank to sleep. But his god was ready to renew his spirit, and sent his angel to rouse him with the words: "Rise up and eat!" Gazing round him, as he waked, the prophet saw close at his head a baked cake of bread and a cruse of water. When he had eaten and drunk he fell asleep again. But the angel waked him a second time, and said: "Rise up and eat! else the journey will be too hard for you." The food and drink which he now took gave him strength to journey forty days and forty nights, till he came at last to Horeb, the mount of God, where he took refuge in a cave.

Thus his life was rescued, and he was safe from the plots of Jezebel. But at night, as he was sleeping in the cave, he heard his god cry to him, "Elijah! what dost thou here?" "O Yahweh, god of hosts," he answered, "I have been very zealous in thy cause, for the sons of Israel have broken thy covenant; thrown down thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the edge of the sword, so that I am the only one now left alive; and they seek my life also." Without letting it appear, as yet, whether he accepted the excuse or not, Yahweh commanded the prophet to place himself at the entrance

of the cave. As soon as he obeyed, Elijah received a clear enough reply to his complaint, in a vision. For behold! as he stood in front of the cave, Yahweh passed by before him. First there arose a mighty wind, which broke the mountains in pieces and rent the rocks before the face of Yahweh; but Yahweh himself was not in the storm. After the storm came an earthquake, but Yahweh was not there; and after the earthquake a fire, but Yahweh was not there. After all these terrible convulsions there came at last the whispering of a sweet and cooling breeze,¹ and Yahweh was there! Full of reverence and awe, Elijah hid his face in his mantle and waited with bowed head to know what his god would say to him. And straightway Yahweh said, as in the night, "Elijah! what dost thou here?" Again the prophet gave the answer of despair: "I have been very zealous for Yahweh, the god of hosts; for the sons of Israel have broken thy covenant and destroyed thy altars, and slain thy prophets. See, Lord! I am the only one yet left alive, and they seek to slay me also." So spoke the man of God, the fugitive; but he soon perceived how ill his excuses satisfied his god, for Yahweh said: "Go straightway back! Go first to Damascus to anoint Hazael king of Syria. Then anoint Jehu, son of Nimshi, king over Israel. And anoint Elisha, son of Shaphat, of Abel-meholah, to be your successor. And if any escape the sword of Hazael Jehu shall slay them, and if any escape the sword of Jehu Elisha shall slay them. But I shall¹ spare me seven thousand whose knees have not bent before Baal, and whose mouths have not kissed him."

Thus rebuked, Elijah turned back from Horeb.

On his way he came upon Elisha, a rich land-owner, who had taken twelve pieces of land under the plough.¹ When Elijah found him, he was just ploughing up the twelfth. His work would, therefore, soon be over, and he then could enjoy his life at ease. But behold! Elijah went right up to him, flung his prophet's mantle upon his shoulders, as a sign that he called him to be his follower, and without uttering a single word pursued his way. Elisha would have been very ready to join him, but the call was so utterly unexpected! He hurried after him and said, "Let me go and kiss my father and mother, and then I will follow you!" "Go where you will!" was the rough reply. "It seems to matter little what I do to you!" Elisha saw that he must obey at once, and was prepared to do so. He slaughtered his oxen, offered the

¹ After an amended version.

due portions to Yahweh, broke up his plough, cooked the rest of the meat with the wood, and prepared a feast for the people with it. When he had broken with his former life by this symbolical act, he followed Elijah and became his servant.

This story of the dearth proclaimed beforehand, the food which the ravens brought Elijah, the miraculous vessels in which the meal and oil never grew less however much was taken from them, the return of the dead child to life, the battle of the gods on Carmel, with the ocular demonstration that Yahweh was the true god, the prophet's miraculous meal in the desert, which enabled him to walk right on for forty days and nights (in which time, by the way, he could have covered the ground between Beersheba and Horeb twelve times over), the audible and visible appearance of Yahweh and his detailed injunctions to the prophet, — all this, as we need not stay to prove, is entirely unhistorical.

Nor must we suppose that it is a highly-embellished tradition, and set about ascertaining what it really was that took place on Mount Carmel or Mount Horeb. It is indeed quite possible that under Ahab's rule Canaan suffered from a heavy famine. The Jewish tradition makes it last three years and a half.¹ It is possible, also, that Elijah, or some other prophet, seized the opportunity of exhorting both prince and people. It is certain at any rate that Elijah, the Tishbite, is as much a historical personage as Ahab himself. But throughout Elijah's story we must look for no account of deeds that were actually done at some definite period and by certain special people, but rather for a poetical conception of the battle waged by the zealots of Yahweh against the worship of Baal. Ahab represents the whole dynasty of Omri; and Elijah represents the prophets of Yahweh. As regards Elijah, his representative character is shown by the commands which Yahweh gives him when a fugitive on Mount Horeb. He tells him to anoint Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha. Elijah himself, however, simply summons Elisha to be his successor; while it is Elisha who anoints Hazael; and a prophet, whose name is not given, who anoints Jehu. It is possible, however, that our story is but a fragment of an old legend that represented Elijah as himself anointing Hazael and Jehu. In that case the editor of the book of Kings, when he introduced it into his work, may have omitted the passages which most

¹ Luke iv. 25; James v. 17

directly contradicted the accounts he intended to adopt of the beginning of Hazael's and Jehu's reigns.

Be this as it may, our story pictures the great contest between Yahweh and Baal, which really lasted half a century, in the concentrated form under which a later generation looked back upon it. Of the four princes of the house of Omri, under all of whom the worship of Baal enjoyed peculiar privileges, none but Ahab, with his wife Jezebel, survived in the people's memory. The spirit of his government is sketched with manifest exaggeration. The legend never tells us that he actually worshipped Yahweh as the god of Israel, though he treated the worship of Baal with great indulgence. It makes Jezebel, who can hardly have gone further than to persecute or destroy some few of the most troublesome of Yahweh's prophets, compass a massacre on so great a scale that only a few of them escaped with their bare lives, and Elijah might even suppose himself the only one left alive. The dancing, shrieking, and self-mutilations of the priests are doubtless founded upon fact, since elsewhere, too, the servants of the sun-god Baal were wont to lament the death of their god, or celebrate the festival of his resurrection in some such rude and boisterous fashion as is here described; but the writer is not the least aware of the meaning of these religious practices, and his picture of them, therefore, is a simple caricature. Again, he delights in making Elijah mock and even massacre the prophets of Baal, wholly forgetting that the obvious good faith which he himself attributes to them removes them from the rank of impostors, and should have saved them from so miserable a fate.

In the popular traditions of the Israelites the details of the conflict between the two religious parties were forgotten; the circumstances under which the worship of Baal was introduced into Israel, the motives which directed the conduct of Omri and his successors, the reasons why the worship of Baal struck such deep root, the gradually increasing courage and influence of the prophets of Yahweh, before which even Jehoram had to yield to some extent, — all this was forgotten by posterity. A long period was compressed into the narrow limits of a single contest, in which the whole question was decided. The slaughter of the prophets of Baal, which was really accomplished by Jehu, was placed under Ahab and attributed to Elijah; the prophets who had fought by the Tishbite's side (such as Micaiah, the son of Imlah) were forgotten, while the glory of all their achievements fell to Elijah. In

the person of this rugged and passionate man of God, with his strange deportment, as he appeared where least expected or vanished suddenly, with his usual intrepid faith in Yahweh's help occasionally dashed by fits of bitterness and despondency, posterity sketched the prophets of the olden time.

And the sketch is a true one. Remember the prophet who rebuked Ahab for the leniency with which he had treated Benhadad; remember Elijah's rebuke of the same monarch for murdering Naboth; remember Micaiah, the son of Imlah; or the rough mode in which Elijah summoned Elisha as a prophet; or the anointing of Jehu, and his zeal for Yahweh. We shall presently meet with yet further illustrations of the same type of character.

Elijah's vision on Mount Horeb is often misinterpreted. It has even been called the gospel of the Old Testament, because the story of the cool and gentle breeze in which Yahweh was, when he could not be found in storm or fire or earthquake, seemed to convey a rebuke of Elijah's cruel conduct in slaughtering the priests of Baal at the brook Kishon. But this was evidently not the writer's meaning, as we may see from the injunctions that immediately follow: "Anoint Jehu, Hazael, and Elisha, that their swords and lips may slay all the idolaters." The idea of reformation by the strength of conviction and affection was essentially foreign to antiquity, which was not yet ripe for it. Jehu's cruelty was doubtless applauded not only by Jonadab, but by all the other zealots of Yahweh. The vision is simply intended to give the prophet courage to take up his work once more, since the evil times will give place at last to the supremacy of Yahweh.

After generations, rejoicing in the victory of Yahweh over Baal, which had preserved the most precious of Israel's treasures, ascribed the triumph to the might of Israel's god and the courage of his prophets; and with good reason in either case.

But in making Elijah the embodiment of the prophetic order, the writer went astray in one respect. For the story of the four hundred prophets who urged Ahab and Jehoshaphat to go up against Ramoth is in itself enough to show that all the "inspired" of Yahweh had not zeal or courage to dare the king himself as Elijah did. Noble men, who are ready to risk their lives for a great purpose, are always rare, and were rare even in the schools of the prophets. But a handful of genuine enthusiasts can do much towards enno-

bling a whole class, a whole society, a whole period of history. Most of the prophets were commonplace men, but from their midst arose the greatest heroes of their time, the champions of the truth, who have conferred upon the name of prophet a lasting and well-earned glory.

But although posterity held these stout-hearted champions in grateful reverence, yet the chief glory of the victory was always given to Yahweh himself. He had triumphed by his own superior strength. This thought is presented in the strangest guise. Yahweh chastises the land by a famine; he shows that he is the true god by sending down lightning to consume his sacrifice, and sustains his servants by his miraculous power. Such things do not happen in reality. But there is a truth embodied in these miraculous stories, as there is in that of the conflict between Moses and Aaron and the Egyptian sorcerers, for instance; and that truth is that Israel's god was mightier than any other. This appeared by the issue of the conflict. Baal was driven out by Yahweh. This result proved that the worship of Yahweh had more life and elasticity than the other. In spite of the indulgence shown to the Baal-worship by the princes, the people could not be permanently induced to adopt it. At first they may have allowed themselves to be beguiled by the king's example, but they were soon roused by the mighty voice of the prophets and made their own will felt. Omri's house yielded to some extent, but too grudgingly as the zealots thought, and too late to wash out its sin; and so it fell.

The trail of blood which marks the progress of Yahweh's triumph, and the carnal weapons with which his champions fought his battle, must not blind us to the fact that at bottom his victory was a moral triumph. How did Yahweh expel Baal? By the influence of the prophets. And yet these men had as little control over the fire of heaven as their opponents had, nor did any supernatural power watch over their lives to preserve them. The "inspired" of Baal doubtless sought the cause of the national disasters in the anger of their god, just as Yahweh's messengers looked for it in the wrath of theirs. In all these respects the two parties stood upon the same footing; and the worshippers of Baal had the king upon their side. If Elijah and his followers won the victory, then, the result can only be due to their superiority to the priests of the Tyrian god. The best, the bravest, the most true-hearted sons of Israel were on Yahweh's side, and against Baal, and the people bowed before their moral force.

Thus regarded the contest is most instructive, and the picture of Elijah on Mount Horeb is full of consolation to all lovers of the truth. Sometimes they cry that all is lost! and are ready to despair. But God answers: Never lose heart! Storms in which God is not, in which the power of darkness seems to sweep unbridled and unconquered o'er the earth, come before the whispering of the cooling breeze; but the kingdom of peace and blessedness is ever drawing nigh. Let all who love God truly, work for its approach!

CHAPTER XIII.

ELISHA THE PROPHET.

2 KINGS X. 20-36, XIII., II.-VIII. 6.

FOR eight-and-twenty years Jehu reigned over Israel, and his family retained the throne to the fourth generation. The historian points this out as a reward conferred upon Jehu by Yahweh for his zeal in extirpating the worship of Baal. Like all his predecessors he allowed the golden bulls to remain in the sanctuaries, but this conduct was less offensive even to the most advanced of his contemporaries than it was to the Judæan historian of a later age, who reproached all the kings of Israel with not relinquishing "the sin of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat." In Jehu's days a time of suffering began in Israel, for the Syrians under the dreaded Hazael, gradually conquered almost all the land beyond the Jordan. Under Jehu's son and successor, Jehoahaz, who reigned for seventeen years, things went no better. He was so completely dependent upon Hazael that he was only allowed to keep such a standing army as that prince permitted; namely, a troop of fifty horsemen, ten war-chariots, and ten thousand infantry. Under his reign the king of Syria succeeded in taking the city of Gath, which had formerly belonged to the Philistines, and even threatened Jerusalem.¹ His troops must, therefore, have been able to pass freely through the land of Israel. But the country recovered at last from its humiliation. Joash, the son and successor of Jehoahaz, defeated the Syrians three times, and his son Jeroboam not only completed the deliv-

¹ 2 Kings xii. 17, 18.

erance of Israel but even raised it to power, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter.

Elisha's chief activity falls under the reigns of the first three princes of the house of Jehu. This is not the impression we gain from a continuous reading of the first half of the second book of Kings, for there most of the stories of Elisha precede the account of Jehu's exaltation to the throne. But we have a perfect right to reverse this order, for the stories of Elisha, as well as those of Elijah and others, are drawn from a different source from that which supplied the accounts of the Kings. They were evidently written to glorify the ancient men of God, to instruct, admonish, and console the disciples of the prophetic schools, and in their collected form they made up what our ancestors might have called a "mirror for prophets." Now in these stories the princes are seldom mentioned by name. "The king of Israel" or "the king of Syria" is introduced without any indication which particular king is meant. Thus, in the long account of Micaiah the son of Imlah, Ahab is only once mentioned by name, and is everywhere else described simply as "the king of Israel." Now since the names of the kings are seldom mentioned in the stories about Elisha, we are left to make out from the contents themselves at what period we ought to place them. We know, however, that Elisha lived down to the reign of Joash, and we almost always find him on a friendly footing with the Israelite princes. This would have been impossible under Jehoram, whom he detested¹ and whose overthrow he compassed; but it is quite natural under Jehu and his sons. Moreover, the stories about him assume that Israel was in the power of Syria, which was not the case before Jehu ascended the throne.

Let us now draw together the stories of Elisha.

Summoned by Elijah to be his follower,² he doubtless accompanied this man of God in his wanderings for some considerable time, serving him as his attendant,³ executing his commands, and receiving his instruction, till he came to be known as the great Tishbite's foremost disciple. How long this lasted we cannot tell. Were it not that Elijah plays a part in the legend of Ahaziah's death, we should have no hesitation in assuming that he died before Ahab; for we should gather as much from the scene in which the four hundred prophets promise victory to this prince and Micaiah alone utters a note of warning, while Elijah is

¹ See 2 Kings iii. 14.

² See p. 145.

³ 2 Kings iii. 11.

never mentioned at all. Not that he would necessarily have been present, but we should have expected Ahab to mention him when Jehoshaphat asked him whether there were no other prophets of Yahweh. And again, the fact of the whole mass of Yahweh's interpreters taking the wrong line is best explained on the supposition that Elijah was already dead, and no one else had as yet inherited his influence; and since we cannot be sure whether or not there is any historical foundation for the story of Elijah's foretelling Ahaziah's death, we must leave this point unsettled; but, at any rate, it is certain that Elijah did not live far into the reign of Jehoram, for when this prince and his allies were waging war with Moab, and inquired after a prophet, Elisha was described to them as the former servant of Elijah. Doubtless, the help which Elisha gave on this occasion established his fame, so that he was henceforth recognized by the members of the prophetic schools as their "father," and gradually gained the powerful influence of which he availed himself to overthrow the house of Omri, and raise Jehu to the throne.

The legend, however, does not trouble itself about the successive steps by which influence is won and the position of a leader attained, and simply regards it as divinely ordained that Elisha should take up Elijah's task. We are therefore told, in the following story, how this took place, at a definite moment:—

When Yahweh was about to catch up Elijah into heaven in a storm, the man of God left Gilgal, accompanied by Elisha. "Stay here," he said to his disciple, "for Yahweh has sent me to Bethel." But Elisha knew well that his master would be taken from him, and refused to comply with his request. "By Yahweh and by your own life," he answered, "I will not leave you." So they went on to Bethel together. There the sons of the prophets said to Elisha, "Do you know that Yahweh will take away your master from you this day?" "Alas!" he answered gloomily, "I know it but too well. Speak of it no more." Again Elijah tried to throw him off. "Stay here," he said, "for Yahweh has sent me to Jericho;" but his faithful servant clung to him, and they went together to the City of Palms. And here the same words passed between Elisha and the sons of the prophets as at Bethel; for here, too, it had been revealed to them that Elijah would be taken away. So Elisha could not suffer him to cross the Jordan alone, even though he said that Yahweh had commanded it. He would stay with

him still. When they reached the bank of the river, Elijah rolled up his mantle, and, in the presence of fifty prophets, smote the waters with it, upon which the river instantly stood still, while the lower waters rolled away and allowed the two companions to cross over dry-shod. Hardly had they reached the other side when Elisha was rewarded for his fidelity. "What is your wish?" asked the Tishbite. "What would you have from me before I go?" "A double share of your spirit," said Elisha instantly. "That is no small thing," was Elijah's reply: "but if you are present when I go, it shall be granted you; not otherwise." As they went on conversing thus, behold! a chariot of fire, yoked to fiery horses, shot between them. Elijah was caught up in a storm to heaven, and when Elisha saw it he cried out, "O my father! my father! the war-chariots and horsemen of Israel!" The Tishbite was gone; and his disconsolate disciple was left, rending his cloak for grief! Then he took up the mantle that Elijah had let fall, and retraced his steps to the bank of Jordan. There, on the further side, stood the fifty sons of the prophets, who had seen him cross the stream with his master. They saw him come back alone, but there was no room to question whether or not he had inherited Elijah's spirit, for hardly had he struck the water with the mantle he had caught up from the spot on which it fell from Elijah's shoulders, than in answer to his cry, "Where is Yahweh, the god of Elijah?" the river stayed its course and let him pass dry-shod. The prophets bowed in reverence before him, and recognized him as their chief.

But yet they could not quite believe that Elijah was really gone for ever. "Let us," they said to Elisha, "send fifty stalwart men to seek him. Who can tell if the spirit of Yahweh has set him down upon some mountain, or in some valley?" In vain did Elisha dissuade them. He knew that the master was gone for ever; but the others persisted, till at last he gave an unwilling consent. So the men went to seek Elijah, but could find no trace of him. "Did I not foretell the result?" said his successor to the incredulous prophets.

Yes, he had foretold it; for he, as Elijah's true successor, who had received a double portion of his spirit like a first-born son, well knew it to be true. Henceforth blessed be they who honor Elisha, and woe to them who despise him! The men of Jericho, for instance, came to him with the complaint, "See, lord! the site of our city is fair, but the water is bad,

and gives us many diseases.”¹ Elisha told them to bring him a new dish, with a little salt in it; whereupon he went to the city well and commanded the water, in Yahweh’s name, to become wholesome. It was at once deprived of every hurtful property, and remained good ever afterwards.

But the little children found that Yahweh’s representative was not to be mocked with impunity, for, as he was on his way from Jericho to Bethel, they shouted, “Bald-head!” after him, upon which he turned round and cursed them in Yahweh’s name, and straightway two she-bears came out of the forest and tore forty-two of them to pieces.

Since Elisha had to deal with a friendly dynasty, and a people suffering under the oppression of their enemies, it was but natural that he should be far less severe than Elijah, who had opposed the idolatrous Ahab, and that he should set himself to consoling and encouraging rather than chastising his people. Accordingly, the deeds ascribed to him, if we except that hideous curse of the little children, are generally deeds of love, and we seldom hear hard words from him. But all the stories preserved about him deal in the marvellous, and moreover are so loosely strung together that it is impossible to weave a connected history either of the prophet or his people from them. Thus, at the close of this story of the children torn to pieces by the bears, we find the words, “Then he went to Mount Carmel, and then he returned to Samaria,” though we have never heard of his having been in Samaria before. Another story is closed by the statement that the Syrians came no more into the land; whereas the very next passage begins, “Then Benhadad, king of Syria, collected his army and came and besieged Samaria.”²

Let us now listen to some of the stories of Elisha’s miracles.

Once on a time a certain woman, the widow of a prophet, appealed to Elisha in distress: “Ah, my lord!” said she, “my husband, who feared Yahweh greatly, as you know, is now dead; and a creditor is going to sell my two sons because I cannot pay him what I owe.” “I will help you,” said the prophet. “What have you left?” “Alas!” she answered sadly, “nothing but a cruse of oil!” “Then ask all your neighbors to lend you empty vessels, as many as they can spare,” answered Elisha. “After that go home with your sons, shut the door close, and pour all the vessels full of oil.” Strange as the injunction sounded, the widow obeyed the

¹ After an amended version.

² 2 Kings vi. 23, 24.

man of God in perfect faith. Her sons kept bringing her buckets and all kinds of vessels, while she poured them full of oil, for the contents of her cruse were never exhausted. At last, when she said to her sons, "Bring me another cask!" they said they had no more, and then the oil ceased flowing. Upon this she went to the man of God rejoicing; but he was not at all surprised at what she told him, and simply said: "Now go and sell the oil, pay off your debt, and live with your two sons, upon the surplus."

Elisha often travelled about, as Elijah had done, to look after the welfare of the people and visit the schools of the prophets. On these journeys he sometimes passed through Shunem, not far from Mount Gilboa. In this place there lived a certain woman of some distinction, whose hospitality Elisha usually shared. Wishing to be of still more service to the holy man of God, she proposed to her husband that they should fit up¹ a room especially for him, that whenever he came that way he might stay with them. A bed, a table, a chair, and a lamp soon made an upper chamber very habitable; and Elisha, who was much pleased by the hospitality he received, desired to give some token of his gratitude. Accordingly he sent his servant Gehazi to question his hostess, and ask whether he could be of any service to her by saying a good word to the king for instance, or asking the general of the army not to press her too hard for war levies. They must do something for her, he said; she had been so kind to them! But the woman answered: "What can you do for me? I live in the midst of my own people and am quite content." So Gehazi had no success to report to his master, but nevertheless he had a suggestion of his own. "She has no son," he said, "and her husband is an old man now." Then Elisha told him to call the woman; and she came and stood reverently in the doorway before the man of God. How her heart must have leapt when Elisha said straight out: "In a year you will have a son at your breast!" She could not believe that she was really to have such a blessing, and cried out: "O man of God! you are surely mocking me!" But a year thence she really had a son.

Thus the child's very birth had shown that Elisha's word was a word of God; but a greater proof of his power was shortly to be given. The boy throve well at first; but afterwards, one day when he had gone out to join his father, who was with the reapers, he complained of a pain in his head,

¹ After an amended version.

was carried home to his mother, and died that same day upon her lap. The mother straightway laid the little body upon the prophet's bed, shut the door of his room, and begged her husband to let her have an attendant and an ass to ride on, for she must visit the man of God. He asked her what it was that took her to the prophet, when it was neither new moon nor Sabbath; but she only pressed the more for his permission, and was soon seated on her ass. "Drive on the ass," she cried to her attendant, "drive on hard till I tell you to slacken." So she went with all speed till she came to Carmel, where the prophet was. No sooner did he see her coming than he sent Gehazi to ask after her welfare, and her husband's and her son's. "All well!" she answered, and rode on. But when she came to the man of God, she flung herself down before him in speechless agony, and grasped his knees in supplication. Gehazi thought it highly unbecoming to take such liberties with the holy man. We often find that servants are more anxious than their masters about the observance of outward forms of respect, partly because they feel that the honor shown to their masters gives a dignity to their own position, and partly out of genuine respect for them. Elisha himself well knew how to make allowance for the woman's grief, and set Gehazi aside with the words, "Let her alone! Her heart is full of misery, though I know not why, for Yahweh has hidden it from me." At last the woman's grief found words; "My lord," she sobbed, "did I ever ask you for a son? Nay, I besought you not to mock me!" Then Elisha saw it all, and, turning to Gehazi, cried hastily, "Gird up your loins, take my staff, go to this woman's house, greet no one on the way, nor even stay to return another's greeting, but haste to lay my staff upon the child's face!" Still the mother cried, "All this suffices not. By Yahweh's life and by your life, I will not leave you." Thus pressed, Elisha consented to go with her himself. It was well that she had persevered, for Gehazi met them on their way with the doleful tidings that he had laid his master's staff upon the child's face in vain. He had not awakened. So as soon as Elisha reached the house, he shut himself up in his own room, where the little body lay upon the bed, and prayed to Yahweh. Then he stretched himself upon the child, laying his mouth to its mouth, his eyes to its eyes, and his hands to its hands till it began to grow warm. Then he paced up and down in the house for a time, and then returned and lay upon the child again. At last it sneezed, again and again, seven times, and then opened its eyes.

Upon this Elisha told Gehazi to call the Shunammite woman, and, when she came, he gave her back her son alive. Dumb with amazement and gratitude, she bowed herself to the ground, and carried away her child, now given her a second time.

This same Shunammite had afterwards still further cause for gratitude to Elisha.¹ After calling her son back to life, he prophesied that Yahweh would send a famine of seven years upon Israel, and advised her to spend the time in some foreign country. Accordingly she went to sojourn amongst the Philistines; but at the end of the seven years she returned to her own country, and, since her property had meanwhile been seized by some one else, she went to implore the king's assistance in regaining it. Now it happened that when she came into the royal presence the king was talking to Gehazi, whom he had asked to give him an account of all Elisha's miracles. At the very moment when Gehazi was telling him how his master had once brought a dead child back to life, he saw the woman drawing near, and of course exclaimed, "See! there is the very woman of whom I was speaking, and there is her son with her!" The king was naturally predisposed to take the woman's part, and no sooner had he heard her petition than he commissioned one of his officers to restore her to the possession of her house and land, and even to see that all the produce of her estate during the seven years of her absence was handed over to her.

It was probably in this same time of famine, according to the story in the book of Kings, that Elisha gave proof of his power of robbing poisonous plants of their deadly properties, as well as restoring the dead to life. A number of the sons of the prophets at Gilgal had boiled a great pot full of greens, with a quantity of wild cucumbers amongst them; but when the hungry men sat down to eat the pottage they recognized the poisonous plant by its bitter taste, and cried in consternation to Elisha, "Man of God! there is poison in the pot!" But Elisha put a little meal to it, after which they ladled it out and found it perfectly wholesome.

On another occasion Elisha miraculously fed a number of his companions. A man of Baal-shalisha, not far from Gilgal, had given him twenty barley cakes as the first fruits of his harvest, together with a bag of bruised wheat. He told his servant to set this provision before a hundred men, who were probably members of the prophetic community. "What is

¹ 2 Kings viii. 1-6.

the use of setting such a slender meal before so many guests?" asked the servant; but Elisha answered calmly, "Do as I tell you, for such is Yahweh's will. There will be some left over." And so there was, though all had eaten their fill. It was just as Yahweh had said.

One of these sons of the prophets was helped out of a great difficulty by Elisha when they were all busy removing their home to the valley of the Jordan. Their present abode, they said, was too small for them, but there was room enough in the valley. There were so many of them that the labor of making a new home would be but light. If each of them cut one good plank the chief part of the work would be done. So Elisha consented to the plan, and even accompanied the prophets to the Jordan. Now as one of them was felling a tree the head of his axe flew off and fell into the water; and what made the matter worse was that the axe was not his own. He had borrowed it. No sooner was the place where the iron had sunk pointed out to Elisha than he threw a piece of wood upon it, and the iron immediately floated up to the surface.

This last story stands between two others intended to show that foreigners as well as Israelites experienced Elisha's miraculous powers. The first of the two relates the cure of Naaman.

Naaman was the general of the Syrian king, and enjoyed the utmost power and distinction, for Yahweh had given victory to the Syrians by his hand. But his greatness brought small comfort to him, for he was a leper. At last he heard from a little Israelite slave-girl of his wife how there was a mighty prophet in Samaria who could heal him; so he went, with a great retinue and rich presents, to the capital of Israel to seek for help. When he reached Samaria, he went straight to the palace, for his monarch had given him a letter to present to the king of Israel, the purport of which was as follows: "The bearer of this letter is my servant Naaman, whom I command you to heal of his leprosy." We can imagine the dismay with which the king of Israel read the letter. He tore his clothes in despair and cried aloud: "Am I a god, to kill and to make alive, that he tells me to cure a man of leprosy? Mark well my words; it is but a pretext for attacking me!" But as soon as Elisha, the man of God, heard what had happened he sent this message to the king: "Why should you tear your clothes? Only let the sick man come to me, and he

shall know that there is a prophet in Israel indeed." Accordingly Naaman was soon standing at Elisha's door, with all his train, upon which Gehazi came out and brought the Syrian this message from his master: "Go and bathe seven times in the Jordan, and then you will be clean." These words put Naaman into a towering passion. "What is this man of God about?" he cried. "I thought he would at least have come out himself, and called solemnly upon the name of Yahweh, and then struck his hand upon the leprous spots and healed them! Is this the way he treats me? And as for bathing in the Jordan, what good will come of that? Are not Abana and Pharpar, the rivers of Damascus, better than all the streams of Israel together?" So saying, the offended noble turned away; but his servants said: "My father, if this prophet had bid you do some desperate feat, you would doubtless have accomplished it. Why then should you refuse so easy a behest? You can but try." Naaman yielded to their sensible advice, and bathed in Jordan seven times, upon which he was completely restored. He returned in transports to his deliverer, and leaving his chariots and horses at the door, pressed in himself and cried: "Now I know that there is no god on earth except in Israel!" He was naturally anxious to reward Elisha with costly presents, but the prophet steadily refused; upon which Naaman made a request which was readily granted — namely, that he might take a few sacks of earth with him to make an altar to Yahweh when he reached his own home again. Yahweh, the god who dwelt in Canaan, could only be worshipped on his own soil; so the Syrian determined to make a little Canaan in the heart of his own country. But though he vowed never to bring a gift to any other god, he begged to be forgiven for accompanying his prince to the temple of the god Rimmon and bowing down there with him. Elisha simply answered, "Go in peace!"

So Naaman turned homewards deeply impressed with Yahweh's might, and the disinterestedness of his prophets. As to the latter point, however, Elisha's purpose was crossed by Gehazi. This man could not bear to think of his master's refusing to take anything from the wealthy Syrian. So he hurried after him, and, as soon as Naaman saw him, he sprang from his chariot, hastened to meet him, and cried, "Is all well?" "Yes," said the treacherous servant, "all is well; but my master has sent me after you to say that two sons of the prophets from the mountains of Ephraim have just come to visit him, and that he would be glad to have a talent of

silver (say £400) and two suits of clothes for them." "Nay, let me beg you," said the grateful Syrian, "to take two talents." Gehazi refused at first; but finally consented, upon which Naaman sent a couple of servants with him to carry the treasure. When they came to the city, Gehazi relieved the men of their burden, and hid it all himself in Elisha's house. Then he went back into his master's presence. "Where have you come from?" asked Elisha immediately. "Your servant has been nowhere!" was his shameless answer. As if Elisha did not know where he had been! "Do you think," said the prophet, "that I did not see how the man leapt from his chariot and ran to meet you? Was this a time for grasping at money? May the leprosy of Naaman be upon you and upon your family for ever!" Hardly had Elisha said the words when the snowy whiteness of leprosy spread its flakes over Gehazi's body.

Sometimes, again, the Syrians were put to shame and loss by Elisha's power.

In the wars between Syria and Israel Elisha's help was a great source of strength to the latter; for Yahweh revealed the secret plans of the enemy to him, and again and again he warned the king of Israel of ambuscades that had been laid against him. So all the Syrian plans were rendered futile; and the king was much dejected, and thought there must be traitors amongst his private advisers. But they said, "It is not we who betray our monarch, but Elisha the prophet, who tells his king everything that is spoken here, though it be never so secret." The king determined to put an end to this by ridding himself of Elisha altogether; so he sent a great army, with war-chariots and cavalry, to Dothan, where Elisha was. The soldiers surrounded the city by night; and in the morning, when the prophet's servant went out, he saw the army, and cried in terror to his master, "Alas! my lord, what shall we do?" But Elisha answered quietly, "Fear not, for those on our side are stronger than those on theirs." Then he prayed, "O Yahweh, open his eyes that he may see!" Then Yahweh opened the servant's eyes, and he saw upon the mountain round about a host of fiery chariots and riders compassing Elisha. Thus reassured, he followed his master, who went to meet the enemy; and prayed, "O Yahweh, strike these troops with blindness!" His prayer was heard, and thereupon he said to the men, "You have made a mistake! Follow me, and I will bring you to the man you seek." They gave themselves up to his guidance, and he led

them right into the middle of Samaria and then prayed again, "O Yahweh, open their eyes!" upon which they discovered to their terror where they had been brought. The king of Israel was lost in amazement, and said to the man of God, "My father! shall I slay them?" "Not at all," he replied, "no more than you would massacre your prisoners of war. Rather give them meat and drink, and let them return to their master." So the king gave the Syrians a great feast, after which they returned to their own land. In consequence of this event their troops came into the land of Israel no more.

Some time afterwards — we have already called attention to the extraordinary contradiction between the beginning of this story and the end of the last — some time afterwards Benhadad, the son of Hazael,¹ king of Syria, laid siege to Samaria and brought it into dire extremities. He cut off the supply of provisions so completely that there was a fearful famine in the city. An ass's head was sold for eighty shekels (say £8) and a small quantity of dove's dung for five shekels. Once, as the king of Israel — whom the sequel shows to have been Jehoahaz — was going round the walls, a woman begged him to help her. "If Yahweh cannot help you," he replied bitterly, "how can I? not with meal or oil at any rate! But speak out," she added, good-naturedly, "and tell me what it is!" Then she told her ghastly tale, as follows: "This woman here persuaded me to kill my baby by promising to kill hers afterwards. So yesterday we ate my son, and now that it is her child's turn she has hidden it." The king's heart sickened as he heard the words. He rent his upper robe, and all the people saw that he had a mourning garment under it, next to his skin. His rage and horror vented themselves upon Elisha. Why did he bring no help? "May God requite me," he exclaimed, "if I do not roll the son of Shaphat's head before his feet!"

The man of God, whose life he threatened, was sitting in his own house with the elders of the city, who had doubtless come to him for comfort and advice. A few moments before, he had sent a messenger to request the king's attendance, but before he had returned the prophet said to those about him, "See now! this murderer's son is sending a man to strike off my head. Shut the door upon him and keep him out, for his master is following close upon his heels." When we think of the massacres of which Jehu had been guilty, we cannot wonder that even a zealot of Yahweh should

¹ See 2 Kings, xiii. 3, 24.

call him a "murderer."¹ While Elisha was yet speaking the messenger arrived, closely followed by the king himself. The latter burst into a volley of reproaches and lamentations as he related the occurrence upon the walls, and finally exclaimed, "See now, it is Yahweh himself who sends this misery upon us. Why should I trust him any more?" But Elisha answered solemnly, "Hearken to Yahweh's word! Thus says your god: To-morrow shall a quart of flour or two quarts of barley be sold for a shekel in the gate of Samaria!" This oracle revived the drooping hopes of many a heart, but there were some who could not believe it, and the noble on whose arm the king was leaning cried in mockery, "Why! if Yahweh made windows in heaven such a thing could never come to pass!" Upon which the prophet turned to him with the words of doom: "You shall see it with your own eyes, but you shall not eat of it!"

Now, in the neighborhood of Samaria there were four lepers, cut off from all intercourse with the world, as was customary with the miserable sufferers from this infectious disease. Tortured by hunger, they were taking counsel this very evening as to the course they had best pursue. Should they force their way into the city? All was a prey to famine there. Should they stay where they were? To do so was certain death. They had nothing to lose by making a bold stroke; so they agreed to go to the Syrian camp, and try whether they could lay hold of anything to eat. As soon as it was night, they carried out their plan; but who shall describe their amazement when they found the outposts deserted! Yahweh had made the Syrians hear a noise as of the war-chariots and horsemen of a mighty host, and they had cried one to another, "Hark! there are the Hittites coming! The king of Israel has bought their help. And there are the Egyptians coming upon us!" So they all fled for their lives in panic-stricken haste, leaving everything behind them — arms, baggage, tents, horses, and chariots. So when the lepers reached the first tent they found not a soul there. They ate and drank their fill, laid hold of all the clothes and other valuables they found, hid them, and went on to the next tent. Here, again, they seized all the booty; but then they said, "This will never do, after all! We have the chance of bringing the good news to the city now; but if we go on enjoying ourselves and gathering plunder all night, we shall come off badly when the morning overtakes us!

¹ Compare Hosea i. 4.

Let us go to the city gate, and tell them at the palace how we have found things here." No sooner said than done. The lepers drew near to the sentinel, and shouted out to him that they had just come from the Syrian camp, where they had not seen a living soul or heard a human voice, but had found the horses and asses tethered, and the tents deserted. They roused the king at once with the news; but he thought he was clever enough to see through it, and told his officers that it was very likely a stratagem of the Syrians to entice the starving garrison beyond the gates, and then surprise the city. One of the captains proposed that a few men should be sent to reconnoitre. Even if they perished, they would meet a fate no worse than that of their brethren. The king approved of this, and accordingly some warriors were sent off in two chariots, and they followed the track of the flying Syrians, all strewn with arms and raiment, as far as the Jordan. Then they came back with the news to the king. Upon this the inhabitants of Samaria streamed through the gate to plunder the deserted camp, and the sudden abundance of provisions made them cheap, as Yahweh had foretold. But the captain, who had mocked Elisha's word, had been commanded by the king to keep order in the gate; and the rush of people coming for food was so great that he was trampled under their feet and perished. Thus Elisha's prophecy was fulfilled. He saw the abundance, but might not share it.

The origin of some of these legends is pretty obvious. Thus the story of Elisha at Dothan is nothing but a visible presentation of the truth which a poet of a later time¹ expressed in the words, "The angel of Yahweh encamps round about them that fear him and delivers them." Or again, leprosy may have been a hereditary disease that reappeared from time to time in the family of Gehazi, the servant of Elisha, and the narrator may have sought an explanation of the fact in some sin committed by the founder of the house, while the mercenary character of many of the prophets induced him to fix upon covetousness as the specific failing in question. The story would then serve as a warning to the sons of the prophets.

Our attention is especially attracted by the story of Elijah's ascension to heaven. According to the belief of the Israelites, all men, good or bad, descended to the world below, with the sole exception of Elijah and Enoch,² who escaped the common

¹ Psalm xxxiv. 7.

² See vol i. p. 66.

lot and were taken up to heaven, the abode of Yahweh and his angels. So the Greek poets also sung of favored mortals who never died and went to the land of shadows, but were taken to the Elysian fields. It is obvious why the legend selected Elijah to enjoy this privilege; he was the representative of the faithful prophets, and the messengers of Yahweh exalted their order in his person. The story describes with singular felicity the attributes which made Elisha the successor of Elijah, and secured him a greater share of his master's spirit than fell to the lot of any of his other disciples. Elisha clung to him with intense fidelity, and was far more capable of seeing with the eye of the spirit than any of the other sons of the prophets. The story, however, is of rather late origin, and the title of honor, "chariots and horsemen of Israel," which the writer makes Elisha confer upon Elijah, was in reality first given to Elisha himself, and afterwards transferred to his master.

It is a great pity that in all these traditions the history is so overlaid with miracle that the true features of Elisha can no longer be traced. But we can still make out with more or less distinctness the circumstances under which he lived. The Syrians were in the land; Samaria was repeatedly besieged, though it never fell, and there was a famine of seven years. Such were the times of Elisha. What he was to the king and people we can only guess; but we are surely safe in saying that he was the comforter of Israel, and cheered the hearts of his countrymen when broken down by the oppression of the enemy and the continued dearth. He told the sufferers of Yahweh's might, said that he was wroth with his people because they had served Baal, but that now his favor was secured by the rooting out of idolatry, and he would bless them soon. He taught them that Yahweh's might extended to foreign peoples too, and that he could strike the hostile camp with panic when he would. Such was Elisha, the revered head of the prophets and the comforter of the oppressed. From time to time the king or people, in the bitterness of sheer despair, might throw the blame of all their sufferings upon him, but their anger was soon changed to veneration when his promises were fulfilled and his prayers answered. Then he was honored as the firmest prop of the throne, as Israel's greatest benefactor. And this position he held until his death.

It is only natural, then, that a wonder-loving posterity should have made him foretell the fates that awaited Israel even after his death. Such is the purpose of the following story:—

When Elisha was lying on the bed of sickness which it was feared would prove his death-bed, King Joash came to see him, stood weeping by his bed and cried: "Alas! my father, must you go from us?—you, the chariots and horsemen of Israel!" The sick man raised himself to comfort his visitor, and said, "Take up your bow and arrows." The king did so, and Elisha commanded him to fit an arrow to the string and lay his hands upon it. Then he put his own hands upon the king's and blessed them, and told him to open the window towards the east and shoot an arrow through it. As the arrow whistled through the air the prophet cried, "It is Yahweh's arrow of deliverance. He promises deliverance from the hand of the Syrians. You shall utterly defeat them at Aphek!" Greatly comforted Joash came and stood again by the prophet's bed. Elisha raised himself once more. "Take your quiver full of arrows," he said, and then added, "strike the ground with them." The king struck the ground three times and then paused; upon which the man of God was wroth, and cried, "You should have struck five or six times, and then you would have completely overcome the Syrians. As it is, you will defeat them three times only." Soon after this the prophet died. But his miraculous power did not cease even with his life; for once on a time as certain men were carrying a body to its grave they were terrified by a band of marauding Moabites, and huddled the corpse into Elisha's tomb; but no sooner had it touched the prophet's bones than the man returned to life!

Just as children are attracted by anything that glitters, so people of the olden time were attracted by miraculous stories. They measured the worth of their departed heroes by the marvellous deeds and astonishing predictions which were ascribed to them; but their eye for moral greatness was dull, and they had little perception of the influence which a commanding personality may wield. Elisha, they thought, had delivered Israel by deluding and entrapping the Syrian armies by his prayers and soothsaying, or by revealing the secrets of the hostile kings. He had rescued and succored the favorites of Yahweh by casting magic salt into a well, or meal into a pot of poisoned herbs, or by multiplying oil and bread. We, who reject all these stories, can find something else to admire in Elisha. For us the scene at his bedside contains a lesson of comfort and encouragement. Let us try to realize it.

A man with no material power is dying in the capital of

Israel. He is not rich; he holds no office which gives him any immediate control over the actions of men; he has but one weapon, the power of his word. Yet Israel's king stands weeping at his bedside, weeping because this "inspired" messenger of Yahweh is to be taken from him. In him both king and people will lose a mighty support, for this man is a greater strength to Israel than chariots and horsemen are. Joash does well to mourn for him, for he has had courage to wake the people's conscience; the might of his personality has sufficed to turn them in the true direction, and rouse their moral and religious life.

Such men as Elisha everywhere and always give a strength to their people above the strength of armies, for the true blessings of a nation are reared on the foundations of its moral force.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH IN THE FIRST CENTURY AFTER THE DISRUPTION.

1 KINGS XIV. 21-XV. 24, XXII. 41-60.¹

THE day of Israel's suffering was to be followed by unexampled prosperity; but, before we go on with the thread of the story, we must glance at the history of Judah during the first century and a half after the disruption of the kingdom. It is very uninteresting, however. Possibly the "Book of the Chronicles of Judah's Kings," to which we are constantly referred for further information,² may have contained very interesting details as to the royal deeds of the princes of Judah; but this book is lost, and therefore cannot help us. Our books of Kings deal almost exclusively with the kings of Israel, and, except when those of Judah come into connection with the northern kingdom, they tell us hardly anything about them, except their names and how long each of them reigned. It is true that the books of Chronicles in their turn, deal exclusively with the kings of Judah, and only speak of those of Israel in connection with the history of Judah; but this avails us little, for the Chron-

¹ 2 Chronicles xi.-xvii., xix., xx.

² 1 Kings xiv. 29, xv. 7, 23; xxii. 45; 2 Kings viii. 23, xii. 19.

icler generally drew his meagre narratives from the same sources as those used by the author of Kings, and eked them out chiefly by the help of his own imagination. We are, therefore, seldom at liberty to follow him. We will now give a short sketch of what we may regard as the genuine history of Judah during this first century.

The house of David retained undisturbed possession of the throne, and accordingly none of those massacres took place which usually accompanied a change of dynasty in ancient times. But, though the land was spared all civil strife, it had only too frequent experience of the miseries of war. As early as in the fifth year of his reign, Rehoboam was compelled to sacrifice the treasures of the temple and of his palace, and to substitute brazen shields for the golden ones of his father's life-guard, in order to satisfy the demands of Shishak, king of Egypt. Throughout the remaining twelve years of his reign he was constantly at war with Jeroboam; and so was his son, Abijah, during the three years he reigned. We have already seen¹ how Abijah's son Asa, who occupied the throne for forty-one years, called in the help of the Syrians against Baasha of Israel, who had fortified Ramah, as a means of keeping Judah in terror and subjection; and how he afterwards built fortifications himself with the stones and beams he had torn from Ramah's walls and turrets. Asa died of a disease in the feet, and his son Jehoshaphat became king in his place. This Jehoshaphat was Ahab's ally in war, and joined his son, Ahaziah, in building some great ships at Ezeongeler to trade with Ophir; but on the failure of the first expedition, and the wreck of the vessels, he declined to try a second venture, as Ahaziah wished. Jehoshaphat reigned five-and-twenty years, and was succeeded by his son Jehoram, who married Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab.

Let us pause at this point to review the religious condition of Judah during this period. Were we to accept the evidence of the Chronicles we should have to suppose that there was a wide gulf between the religion of Judah and that of Israel. It is true that this book attributes the humiliation of Judah by Shishak to the prevalent neglect of Yahweh; but the people humbly confessed their guilt, we are told, at the exhortation of the prophet Shemaiah, and "there was good still left in Judah;"² so Yahweh did not destroy it. But this was not the case in Israel, nor could it be; for Yâhweh had once for all concluded a "covenant of salt"³ with David and his house to

¹ See p. 110.

² After an amended version of 2 Chronicles xii. 12.

³ Compare Leviticus ii. 13; Numbers xviii. 19.

give them the kingdom for ever; and therefore when Jeroboam rose up against Rehoboam he was rebelling against God. Moreover, the actual gulf that divided the two kingdoms was wide. Israel worshipped golden bulls, and had priests that were not Levites! But Judah had Aaronites for her priests, and observed the whole Law of Yahweh. What could Israel do against Judah then? According to the Chronicles King Abijah reminded Jeroboam and his troops of all these facts before they joined in battle. The Ephraimite king neglected his warnings, and attempted to surround his army; but it soon appeared how Yahweh fought for the Judæans, for no sooner did they raise their war-cry, no sooner did the priests sound the trumpets, than Yahweh scattered Jeroboam's army in flight, and five hundred thousand of his soldiers perished. All this, we are told, together with Abijah's other deeds and words, was recorded in the book of the prophet Iddo. After all that has been said of the religious condition of the people under David and Solomon on the one hand, and of the Chronicler's views of history on the other, we need not stay to prove that this account of the religion of the Judæans in Abijah's time is as far from the truth as the statement that five hundred thousand Ephraimites fell! If we are to form a just conception of the religion of Israel, we must beware above all things of transplanting to the ninth and tenth centuries B.C. the religious laws and the opinions concerning the house of David which really belong to the third, in which the books of Chronicles were written.

The truth is that there was no important difference between the religion of the North and that of the South. We must not attach too great importance to the fact that the temple at Jerusalem contained no image of Yahweh, whereas golden bulls were set up at Dan and Bethel. The inhabitants of Judah stood upon no higher level than those of Israel. The conception of Yahweh's being, and the methods adopted to appease him, were identical in the two kingdoms. Altars, *bamahs*, *asherahs*, *chammamim*, *teraphim*, and images were common to them both. In both of them, every city, every village, nay, every family and every member of a family, enjoyed the most perfect freedom to worship his own god or gods in the way that pleased him; in both of them abominable licentiousness was here and there perpetrated in honor of the deity; in both a motley polytheism prevailed, but in both the worship of Yahweh, as Israel's god, was maintained through everything. The unsatisfactory religious condition of Judah is

admitted with perfect frankness by the book of Kings¹ in the very passages that deal with Rehoboam and Abijah, the latter of whom is so highly extolled by the Chronicler.

The book of Kings, however, speaks much more highly of Asa and Jehoshaphat than of their predecessors. Asa, we are told, opposed every kind of idolatry, and even degraded his mother, Maachah, from her position and influence as the queen-mother, because she had carved "something abominable," probably some licentious symbol, upon an *asherah*. Asa burned the *asherah* itself,² but did not remove the *bamahs*.³ Jehoshaphat trod in his father's footsteps.⁴ But, although these monarchs purged the worship of Yahweh in the temple of Jerusalem of more than one strongly Canaanitish element, they certainly did not institute a complete reform, and on the whole the religion of Judah continued to resemble that of the northern kingdom in its main features. Had it been otherwise, we should hardly be able to understand the friendship which united the sister kingdoms so closely throughout the rule of Omri's house in the North.

Indeed, this alliance seriously perplexes the author of Chronicles, who has also sundry other accusations to bring against Asa and Jehoshaphat, in spite of the praise he found awarded to them in the book of Kings. Asa, in particular, incurs his displeasure. Why did he call in the help of the Syrians against Baasha? He ought to have put his trust in Yahweh alone, especially as he had been favored above any other monarch with the proofs of Yahweh's readiness to help. To understand this last allusion we must examine the account of Asa's reign given by the Chronicler. It differs considerably from that in the book of Kings, and runs as follows: No sooner had Asa reformed the religion of Judah than Zerah, king of the Ethiopians, marched against him, with an army no less than a million strong! But Asa prayed to Yahweh, and the mighty host was so utterly dispersed and routed that it could never be rallied any more. After this victory, the king, at the instigation of Azariah the prophet, prosecuted his religious reforms with great vigor, and went on growing more and more prosperous. But alas! twenty years afterwards, when Baasha came up against him, his faith forsook him, and instead of simply trusting that Yahweh would help him against Israel's king he called in the assistance of the Syrians. For this offence he was sharply rebuked by the seer Hanani, who fore-

¹ 1 Kings xiv. 22-24, xv. 3. ² 1 Kings xv. 13. ³ v. 14. ⁴ 1 Kings xxii. 46.

told that he would be involved in war all the rest of his life; whereas the first six-and-thirty years of his reign had been spent in profound peace — the war with the Ethiopians apparently not being reckoned. But Asa, so far from repenting when thus admonished, threw the bold prophet into prison, and in some other instances likewise behaved oppressively towards his subjects. During the last two years of his life he suffered from a disease in his feet; but neither did this bring him to repentance, for he relied more upon the skill of his physicians than upon Yahweh's help.

Of Jehoshaphat the Chronicler has much to say in the way of praise. This king, he tells us, not only reformed public worship in the same sense as his father, but even commissioned some of his nobles, supported by certain priests and Levites, to teach Yahweh's law to the people. He was, consequently, very prosperous and rich. No doubt it was wrong of him to marry his son into the family of Ahab, and so the seer Jehu, son of Hanani, distinctly told him as he returned from the battle at Ramoth, in which Ahab lost his life; but the man of God felt bound to add that there was much good in him, since he had put away the *asherahs* and served Yahweh with all his heart. Thus encouraged, Jehoshaphat pushed his religious reformation vigorously forward throughout his country, and paid special attention to the administration of justice. To reward his zeal and piety Yahweh blessed him marvellously. News was once brought to him of an enormous army of Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites who were marching against him and had already reached Hazazon-Tamar, or Engedi. Upon this he turned to Yahweh and proclaimed a universal fast. The Judæans streamed from every side into Jerusalem. The king stood in one of the forecourts of the temple, in the midst of the panic-stricken multitude, and prayed fervently to Israel's god. Then suddenly a Levite, Jehazael by name, one of the descendants of Asaph, was filled with the spirit of Yahweh, and cried in the midst of the assembly, "Hearken, ye men of Judah and Jerusalem, and thou King Jehoshaphat! Thus says Yahweh: Fear not, for God can give the victory to whom he will! Advance tomorrow to the desert of Jeruel. You will not need to fight, for you will see how Yahweh rescues his beloved." When Jehoshaphat heard this both he and all his subjects bowed down in prayer to Yahweh, after which the choirs of Levites, Kohathites, and Korahites raised a psalm of praise. The next morning the Judæans marched out to the desert of Tekoa,

and as they passed by the king he exhorted them to be of good courage and to trust implicitly in Yahweh. Finally he ordered the temple-choir to head the army, which marched to the sound of the hymn, "Sing praises to Yahweh whose mercy endureth for ever!" Their faith in Yahweh was abundantly justified, for when the song of praise rose up to heaven their god hurled all their enemies to destruction. The Moabites and Ammonites joined together and fell upon the Edomites, and when they had destroyed them turned upon each other. When the Judæans came to the camp they found nothing but corpses there. Not one was left alive. For three whole days they gathered the spoil, and on the fourth they assembled in a valley, ever afterwards known as "the valley of thanksgiving," and praised Yahweh for his succor. After this they returned to the temple with music and singing. It need hardly be said that all the neighboring peoples were struck with terror when they heard how Yahweh fought against Israel's foes. After this glowing description of Jehoshaphat's success and piety, the Chronicler rather incongruously adds a piece of information he had derived from some earlier authority; namely, that Jehoshaphat trod in the footsteps of his father Asa and served Yahweh, but did not remove the *bamahs*, inasmuch as the people did not yet serve the god of their fathers steadfastly. Moreover, he joined Ahaziah, king of Israel, in building some ships to trade with Tarshish; but they were wrecked, and the prophet Eliezer plainly declared to the king that his alliance with the godless Ahaziah was the cause of the disaster. We may note in passing that the Chronicler makes a mistake about the ships, which were of the kind known as "ships of Tarshish," but were in this instance intended to trade with Ophir.

Now, when we set aside all these incredible stories in the Chronicles about the first four kings of Judah, and clear our minds of the underlying conception of the religious condition of the kingdom during their reigns, we have very few indications left of the moral and religious fruits which this first century bore.

All that we can infer from the information given in the books of Kings is that as yet comparatively few had fully realized the great distinction between the religion of the Canaanites and the worship of Yahweh after the spirit of Moses. Under Rehoboam and Abijah, who trod close in the footsteps of Solomon, this kernel of the nation had but little influence; whereas Asa and Jehoshaphat placed themselves to some

extent under its guidance, and opposed some at least of the prevalent heathen practices. But Jehoshaphat's close alliance with the house of Omri shows how far from complete both his reformation and his father's must have been.

CHAPTER XV.

BAAL DEFEATED IN JUDAH.

2 Kings VIII. 16-29, XI., XII.¹

THE battle between Yahweh and Baal, which raged so fiercely in the northern kingdom, during the first century after the disruption, was fought in Judah also. This is only what we should have expected from the similarity of the religious condition of the two kingdoms at this time. Indeed, it was rendered inevitable by the close alliance which united them, for the house of Omri was always on good terms with that of David, and Jehoshaphat had married his son to Ahab's daughter Athaliah. This Athaliah appears to have inherited the ambitious and enterprising character of her mother Jezebel, and to have gained a complete ascendancy first over her husband Jehoram and afterwards over their son. Jehoram's reign of eight years was far from prosperous, for the Edomites revolted, and though the king inflicted a severe defeat upon them, he could not make them tributary again. The Chronicler does not fail to trace the avenging hand of Yahweh in these events. He has more to tell us concerning this Jehoram, and appears to have gained some of his information, at any rate, from ancient sources. Jehoshaphat, he tells us, had left rich legacies, including fortified cities in the territory of Judah, to all his sons, while the crown descended to the eldest, Jehoram. But the latter had all his brothers, together with other Judæan princes, massacred. It is not improbable that Jehoram did this deed with the same object which afterwards moved his wife to imitate it; namely, to disarm the opponents of his policy. The Chronicler, however, goes on to say that the prophet Elijah rebuked him, in a letter, and declared that Yahweh would punish him by inflicting heavy losses on him in his family, and bringing him

¹ 2 Chronicles xxi.-xxiv.

to a fearful end himself. This is certainly untrue, for the prophet was already dead. Then we are told that the Philistines inflicted severe defeats upon Jehoram, and even carried away his wives and all his sons except the youngest, Ahaziah. But since this Ahaziah was two-and-twenty years old¹ when his father died at the age of forty,² he can hardly have had many elder brothers and sisters. Finally Yahweh smote Jehoram with an incurable disease of the bowels, of which he died after suffering for two years. He was held in such contempt that the usual burial of a king was denied him, and his body was laid in the City of David, but not in the royal tomb.

A few months afterwards his son Ahaziah, who had gone to pay a visit to his kinsman Jehoram of Israel, fell by the hand of Jehu, upon which Athaliah seized the reins of government. She began by slaughtering Ahaziah's children (her own grandchildren) and the other princes of the blood. The spirit of her subsequent rule may well be guessed. The worshippers of Baal, when persecuted in the northern kingdom by Jehu, found a refuge in Judah, and the temple of Baal at Jerusalem was much frequented and was soon filled with costly offerings; though here, as in the North, Yahweh was still recognized as Israel's god, and his temple still regarded as the principal shrine of the capital. Thus things went on for six years.

One of Ahaziah's children, however, had escaped the massacre. His aunt Josheba, a daughter of Jehoram, had at first hidden him, with the assistance of his nurse, in the "bed chamber" of the palace, and afterwards the chief priest Jehoiada had secured a place of refuge for him in one of the buildings that surrounded Yahweh's temple. Here he remained until, in the seventh year of Athaliah's reign, Jehoiada saw his chance of hurling the usurping queen from the throne and placing the scion of David's house upon it. For this purpose he entered into a conspiracy with the captains of the royal body-guard, introduced them to an interview with the king, swore them to secrecy, and accurately instructed them in the part they were to play. When the necessary plans had all been laid, the day was fixed for putting them into execution. It was a Sabbath, the day on which one half of the guards were relieved of their duties at the palace, while the other half took their place. The relieving guards were to beset the three

¹ 2 Kings viii. 26; compare 2 Chronicles xxii. 2.

² 2 Kings viii. 17; 2 Chronicles xxi. 5.

gates of the palace and prevent any one from going in, and the others were to go to the temple to protect the king. As soon as they had secured the passages from the great altar to the sanctuary, Jehoiada brought out Joash, placed him on the steps of the portico, presented him to the people, set the crown on his head, and anointed him. On this the guards clapped their hands and shouted, "Long live the king!" All who were present either joined the cry or held their peace in terror. The deafening shout and the ceaseless braying of the trumpets reached the palace, and Athaliah hurried to the temple. The moment she saw the youthful king surrounded by her own guards she understood the position of affairs, and hastened towards the palace rending her garments and shrieking "Treason! treason!" Jehoiada would not have the temple polluted by her blood, so he ordered the guards to let her pass, but some of the soldiers followed her and slew her by the stables of the palace. Then beasts were slaughtered, and the heads of the people walked between the severed halves, swearing fidelity to the youthful king, while solemn sacrifices were being offered; after which the priest sprinkled them with the blood, and took an oath from the representatives of the people and the commanders of the army that they would uphold the worship of Yahweh.

This oath is a proof of the religious character of the revolution, which is further evinced by the attack which the people immediately made upon the shrine of Baal. It probably stood close by the temple of Yahweh, in the forecourt; but wherever it was the people utterly destroyed it, broke the images and altars to pieces, and slew the chief priest Mattan. Having thus purified the house of Yahweh, Jehoiada took steps to secure it from further pollution, and then escorted the young king, with the body-guards and commanders of the army, to the palace.

There are several points in this account of the accession of king Joash that are not quite clear; but in spite of some few difficulties the whole account, which is taken from the book of Kings, is very intelligible. This is more than we can say for the story in Chronicles, which it is almost impossible to understand. The cause is easily detected on comparing the two accounts. The story in the book of Kings must have deeply shocked the Chronicler. The revolution itself he thought highly praiseworthy, for it restored the house of David to honor, and devastated Baal's temple; but the way in which tradition reported it to have been carried out appeared simply

horrible to him. It was quite natural and proper for the chief priest to take the lead ; but that the body-guard, who were not Levites, perhaps not even Israelites, should have had the chief honor of the revolution, that they should have taken their stand by the altar, and at the command of a priest too ! was something so inconceivable, or rather so utterly impossible, that the Chronicler was compelled to substitute Levites for these guardsmen, and to make Jehoiada summon all the people to Jerusalem (a strange way of securing secrecy !) and forbid any layman to approach the temple. No doubt, a priest living in the Chronicler's own time would have done as he makes Jehoiada do ; but the narrative in the book of Kings shows us that in the time of Joash there was no such sharp distinction between the priests and the laity as to exclude the latter from the sanctuary.

Of the reign of Joash, which lasted forty years, we know but little. When we remember how very young he was when he came to the throne, we shall see that he must, as a matter of course, have allowed himself to be entirely guided at first by Jehoiada, to whom he owed his crown. The worship of Yahweh, therefore, flourished again, and indeed Joash did some very special services to the temple at Jerusalem, which had fallen here and there into a ruinous condition. The Chronicler attributes this state of things to wanton injuries inflicted on the temple by Athaliah ; but this is out of the question, for she, too, worshipped the god of Israel. Neither she nor Jehoram, however, would be likely to take much trouble to keep the temple in repair ; and the history of the measures taken by Joash will show us how it came to pass that the injuries inflicted by the hand of time were not made good. During the early years of his reign, Joash followed what was evidently the ancient custom of leaving the repairs needed by the temple to be done by the priests. They were expected to meet the cost out of the fixed revenues of the temple, such as the proceeds of vows and sacrifices of atonement, and the incidental sources of income ; such as the free-will offerings of people who came to offer sacrifices, or who required the good offices of the priests for any other purpose. It was not unnatural that the priests should have been expected to keep the temple in repair, but it appeared that they were more anxious to look after themselves than the sanctuary. They kept the money in their own hands, and the temple was left to gradual decay. At last, in the twenty-third year of

his reign, Joash took decisive measures. At his command, Jehoiada put a box, with a hole in the lid, by the altar, and into this box the door-keepers put all the money that was brought into the temple, leaving the priests, when deprived of this source of income, nothing but the proceeds of the guilt and sin-offerings. When there was enough money in the box, the chief priest, together with an officer sent by the king, counted it out, and paid it over to the carpenters and masons who were engaged in restoring the temple: it deserves remark that these contractors were not required to give any account of the money handed over to them, for they dealt honestly. But even now no gold or silver utensils could be bought, since all the available money was required for the building itself. Moreover, Joash greatly diminished the temple treasure by using it to buy off Hazael, who laid siege to Gath and threatened Jerusalem, after humbling the northern kingdom.

According to the Chronicles we must distinguish two periods in the life of Joash. That during which Jehoiada, who was married to his aunt Josheba, stood at his side, and that which elapsed after his death. As long as Jehoiada lived, Joash served Yahweh; but when the priest was dead, and was laid in the royal tomb at Jerusalem in reward for his services to Yahweh and the house of David, Joash was led away by the flattery of his followers, and together with all the people he deserted the temple of Yahweh, and served *asherahs* and idols. Vain were all the warnings of the prophets, for Joash would not hearken; and at last when Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, prophesied against him in the forecourt of the temple, and threatened Judah with the wrath of Yahweh, he ordered him to be stoned to death. "May Yahweh see it and repay it!" cried the dying Zachariah; and his curse was fulfilled by the woe that Hazael brought upon Joash, and by his wretched end; for when he came back wounded from battle with the Syrians, he was murdered by two of his courtiers.

This story is as inaccurate as most of those in the book of Chronicles. The accusation brought against Joash of having deserted the temple and the service of Yahweh, with all his people, is too vague and too sweeping to be admitted. But the older historian mentions in a few words Jehoiada's great influence upon the king for good, and also tells us how the latter fell by the hand of conspirators, though he knows nothing of his having received any wounds from the Syrians, which would indeed be strange, since he never fought with

Hazael at all, but bought him off, as we have seen. It is therefore quite possible that the succession of events may have been as follows: After Jehoiada's death, Joash lost the affection of many of his subjects; and when Zachariah, Jehoiada's son, made himself the mouthpiece of the malcontents he was put to death, not without complicity on the part of the king, upon whom, accordingly, his murder was revenged. In what respect the conduct of Joash underwent so great a change we do not know, but it is not difficult to guess; for we know that twenty-three years after he came to the throne he began to put some check upon the arrogance of the priests, who were letting the temple fall into ruins and appropriating all its revenues. The priests were doubtless far from pleased, but as long as Jehoiada was alive and sided with the king, all violent collisions were avoided. After the death of his benefactor, however, Joash may have carried out his measures with greater violence and harshness. The mediator between him and the priests was no more; and if Zachariah presumed too much upon his father's services, it is not difficult to see what the result would be. Joash, who had probably been more or less hampered for some time past by his desire to treat the hoary Jehoiada with respect, would now be in no mood to yield to the pretensions of his son, and may very well have uttered a hasty word to the effect that he wished he were well rid of the insolent priest. When his followers took him at his word and found means to incite the populace to stone the king's enemy, the powerful clan that ministered at Yahweh's altar avenged themselves by murdering the king. But this view of the connection of events is only conjectural.

Joash was succeeded by his son Amaziah, whose first care was to bring his father's murderers to justice; but we are expressly informed¹ that he did not put the sons of the murderers to death, because it was written in the law-book of Moses: "The fathers shall not be put to death for the sins of their children, nor the children for those of their parents; but whoever has done what is worthy of death must bear the punishment himself." Here the historians have fallen into a mistake, for the book of law in which these words are found² was not written in Amaziah's time. In this as in so many other instances the practice was reformed before the precept. About this period, therefore, the general sense of justice and humanity triumphed over the barbarous custom

¹ 2 Kings xiv. 5, 6; 2 Chronicles xxv. 3, 4. ² Deuteronomy xxiv. 16.

of not only slaying the offender, but rooting out his whole family with him.

In a subsequent chapter we shall see how Amaziah reigned in considerable prosperity at first, but finally lost his crown. Here we need only add a few words on the power of the priests at Jerusalem.

We have already traced out the conceptions upon which the influence of a priesthood is based, and have observed the germs of a future hierarchy in Israel.¹ Now it followed, from the nature of the case, that the servants of the sanctuary at Jerusalem must have great advantages over all others. Living as they did in the immediate neighborhood of the palace, and in constant requisition to place their art at the service of the king, they had certainly less freedom and independence than was enjoyed by other priests; but at the same time the honor paid to the royal sanctuary was reflected upon its servants, and they might easily turn their connection with the court to account in extending their own influence. The chief priests were often in the palace, and took their place amongst the king's most intimate advisers;² and even priests of a subordinate rank were sometimes entrusted with important political functions. Thus David, when flying from Absalom, chose the sons of the priests to bring him word of what was going on in Jerusalem, and Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, served him as a messenger. Amongst Solomon's ministers of state Azariah, the son of Zadok the priest, is mentioned first,³ and Zabud, the son of Nathan, appears as a priest and as "the king's friend."⁴ Conversely, too, David's sons are said to have been priests,⁵ and it is quite probable that they really exercised the priestly functions, as David himself did when the ark was brought to Jerusalem, and as Solomon did at the consecration of the temple.⁶

The disruption of the kingdom struck a heavy blow at the general prestige of the priests of Jerusalem, no less than at that of their king; but, on the other hand, it greatly strengthened their influence in Judah itself. As long as the twelve tribes were united, the temple at Jerusalem, though the principal sanctuary in the kingdom, had many rivals;

¹ See vol. i. pp. 382-383. ² 2 Samuel viii. 17, xx. 25; 1 Kings iv. 4.

³ 1 Kings iv. 2.

⁴ 1 Kings iv. 5, where *priest* should stand instead of *principal officer*.

⁵ 2 Samuel viii. 18, where *priests* should stand for *chief rulers*.

⁶ 2 Samuel vi. 14, 17, 18; 1 Kings viii. 54, 55, 64.

some of them, such as the *bamah* at Gibeon, very near, but the most formidable, such as those at Beersheba, Gilgal, Bethel, Mount Carmel, and Dan, at a more or less considerable distance. Now the disruption of the kingdom, while depriving the priests of Jerusalem of all influence in the North, enabled them to overshadow their colleagues in Judah all the more completely, and to reduce them to entire dependence upon themselves.

The course of events during the first century after Solomon's death was exactly calculated to increase the power of the priesthood at Jerusalem. There were no great civil or religious conflicts here, as there were in northern Israel. There all the agitations caused at first by the changes of dynasty, and afterwards by the struggle against Baal, had conspired to raise the prophets into the position of popular leaders; and their influence naturally impaired that of the priests. But in Judah this was not the case. We have not a single trustworthy report of the appearance of a prophet in Judah during the first two centuries after the disruption, for the stories in Chronicles deserve no credence. The priests accordingly became more and more firmly established as the spiritual leaders of the people.

The worship of Baal was not so long established in Judah as in the northern kingdom; and consequently the reaction against it gave a less powerful stimulus to the religious life of the exclusive worshippers of Yahweh. Accordingly, no prophet led the people in their attack upon the Syrian god; but it was the chief priest, Jehoiada, who brought about the fall of Athaliah, with the help of the body-guard. It was only natural that this Jehoiada, who had placed the king upon the throne and was his chief adviser all his life, should have done much towards increasing the power of the priesthood. It is far from accidental that in his day the temple was restored, and the duties and privileges of the priests regulated.

Jehoiada appears to have been anything but friendly to the prophets, for one of the measures he took in the interests of public worship was to entrust the preservation of order within the precincts of the temple to a strong body of officers, who were instructed, amongst other things, to "put any mad fellow who prophesies into the stocks, with a chain round his neck."¹ Even in the northern kingdom we have seen² a band of military messmates, as they were laughing together over their wine, call one of the "inspired" servants of Yah-

¹ Jeremiah xxix. 26.

² See p. 134.

weh a madman ; but this by no means shows that the prophets were in any way slighted, or put under restraint. A title, however, which means little or nothing in the mouths of a jovial company of soldiers, becomes profoundly significant now that it has found its way into the official instructions issued to the guardians of the temple. In itself, however, such a regulation is by no means surprising ; for a priest, whose duties are of an essentially formal character, and who has constantly to conduct religious ceremonies in accordance with fixed regulations, is by his very nature opposed to the prophet, who will not hear of a written law, but speaks out in accordance with the impulse from within the thing that his god reveals. Prophets and priests accordingly must almost inevitably come into collision with each other. In the temple especially, where everything had to be done in the prescribed form, the prophets might easily introduce confusion ; and it was not unnatural that Jehoiada should take measures to restrain them within due limits, when he regulated the temple service.

The priests, in their turn, were reduced by Jehoiada's ordinances to dependence upon the king, and an end was put to their irresponsible appropriation of the rich temple revenues ; but, on the other hand, the officiating families were now secured in the receipt of a regular income, and had a more definite position in the State assigned them. Individually, the members of the priestly order might find the old state of affairs preferable, but some restriction of personal liberty was highly conducive to the general influence of the priesthood as a body.

In Solomon's time Zadok, of the tribe of Levi, stood, as we know, at the head of the priests of Jerusalem. Now in ancient times the tie that united the various members of one family was very close, and it was considered one of the first duties of the head of a clan to push his relatives forward. It was inevitable, therefore, that all the offices at the great sanctuary should gradually be filled by members of the "house of Zadok ;" that is to say, by the sons and other relatives of the chief priest, together with their dependants. And since Levites had begun to be selected as priests in preference to others long before the temple was built, we may assume that in Solomon's time most of the *bumahs* were under the care of Levites. These Levites would, in many instances, espouse the cause of their brothers at Jerusalem, who, in their turn, would use their influence at court to

secure to some member of the tribe any good place which might from time to time fall vacant at any of the sanctuaries. Thus all but Levites were gradually excluded from the priestly office, and "the sons of Levi" became the only priests in Judah.

The more completely the Levites developed into a priestly caste, the greater was the danger that threatened the spiritual life of Judah; for priests are always apt to concentrate their attention upon their temples, altars, religious practices and ceremonies — in a word, upon the externals of religion. If they gain a complete ascendancy over their fellow-believers, then the faithful become their absolute slaves, religion degenerates into formalism, and the life of the soul is choked by observance of the Law.

We shall presently see that Judah did not escape these dangers.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EARLIEST ISRAELITISH LAW BOOK.

Exodus XXI-XXIII. 19.

WHEN speaking of King Jehoshaphat, of Judah, we mentioned in passing that the book of Chronicles represents him as having done a great deal towards regulating the administration of justice. We will now examine the statement¹ more in detail. Jehoshaphat, we are told, appointed judges in all the cities, and exhorted them to fear Yahweh, and to remember that partiality, injustice, and venality were contrary to his will. Moreover, he established a supreme court at Jerusalem to watch over the religious and social interests of his kingdom. In this court both priests and Levites on the one hand, and laymen on the other, had seats; the former under the presidency of the high priest, the latter under that of "the prince of the house of Judah." To this court the other judges were to come for instructions when any question was too hard for them to decide themselves. This college of judges at Jerusalem, then, was not a tribunal to which those who felt aggrieved by the decision of a lower court might appeal. Any such procedure was excluded by

¹ 2 Chronicles xix. 5-11.

the belief that the sentence of every judge was a word of God, from which any appeal to a higher authority was inconceivable. It was only if the judge himself felt unable to pronounce a decision that the case was taken before the court in Jerusalem.

We are hardly entitled to accept it as a fact that Jehoshaphat made any such regulations as these, on the mere authority of the book of Chronicles, which so consistently exalts this prince. At any rate the distinction here drawn between priests, that is sons of Aaron and other Levites, certainly dates from a later period. But of course the administration of justice must have been gradually regulated as time went on. The legend of Moses' father-in-law, Jethro, advising him to appoint judges,¹ brings vividly before us the causes which induced the monarchs to take this matter in hand. The more thoroughly the Israelites became accustomed to the settled government of the kings, and understood that each of them must no longer do what seemed good in his own eyes, the more numerous did the cases become in which they needed the decision of their king as the supreme judge. Remember, for instance, the account of Absalom standing at the city gate of Jerusalem to win over all those who, from every part of the kingdom, came to appeal to David.² The administration of justice, therefore, gradually became a task too heavy for the shoulders of the king alone, and it seemed advisable that there should be judges in each of the principal cities. Where none were already established, the king would of course be the natural person to appoint them; and the establishment of a supreme court at Jerusalem would follow as a matter of course. No doubt some similar provision was made in Samaria.

It is uncertain when the administration of justice was first regulated on this general plan. We only know that the scheme was in full operation two and a half centuries after Jehoshaphat; for the book of Deuteronomy³ assumes the existence of numerous local courts of justice and of the supreme court at Jerusalem, and warns all the judges very emphatically that they must render implicit obedience to the precepts of the Levitical priests and "the judge in the place which Yahweh shall choose." Indeed, any one who defies these supreme authorities is declared guilty of death.

The special date at which these regulations were introduced is a matter of less importance than the character of the relig-

¹ Compare vol. I. p. 310. ² See pp. 43, 44. ³ Deuteronomy xvi. 18-xvii. 12.

ious, moral, and social principles in accordance with which justice was administered, or at any rate ought to have been administered in the opinion of the most enlightened Israelites. What these principles were we may to some extent gather from the book of Law contained in Exodus xxi.-xxiii. 19.

There is something to be said in support of the belief that this book was written in the first century after the disruption, but this is by no means certain. Nor can we be sure that it was composed in the kingdom of Judah. In the book of Exodus it appears in the middle of a story that we shall deal with later on, dating from the time of the fall of northern Israel, but it is certainly older than this story itself, and is at any rate the oldest Israelitish book of Law that we possess. Let us see what it contains.

The subject-matter of the code is extremely varied, and we cannot lay too much stress upon the fact that it gives neither the first nor the chief place to the regulation of forms of worship. It is very clear that its compilers believed that a virtuous life was the most acceptable service that could be offered to Yahweh. It is true the code enjoins the observance of the three feasts, which, according to the historians, were celebrated in Jerusalem as early as in the time of Solomon¹—namely, the feast of unleavened bread, the feast of first-fruits, and the feast of harvest; but all it says concerning them is that every male Israelite must appear before Yahweh on these occasions, of course not empty handed; that all the bread used at sacrifices must be unleavened; and that the fat of a sacrificed beast must not be kept till the following day.² When we compare these simple precepts with the elaborate trivialities of a later day, we are pleased to see how little importance was as yet attached to minute regulations of ceremonial worship by the guiding spirits of the ninth century B.C. But, of course, the code extols liberality in making presents to the sanctuary. The Israelite is to relinquish the first-fruits of his corn, olive, and grape harvest; to buy off his first-born son by a substitutionary sacrifice; to dedicate the firstlings of all his clean beasts to Yahweh on the eighth day; and to present all these first-fruits to him in his sanctuary.³

We must not suppose, however, from this moderation in prescribing so-called religious duties, that the worshippers of Yahweh observed no other usages than those which we have mentioned. On the contrary, their religious customs were

¹ 1 Kings ix. 25. ² Exodus xxiii. 14-18. ³ Exodus xxii. 29, 30, xxiii. 19 a

numerous and varied. This very code forbids the Israelites to eat the flesh of any animal that has been killed by a beast of prey.¹ It also forbids them to boil a kid in its mother's milk,² and commands them to observe the Sabbath and to let the land lie fallow every seventh year.³ Doubtless these are only a few of the usages established by custom amongst the worshippers of Yahweh, and enforced by many of his priests. Only to mention a single point, there can be no doubt that the distinction between clean and unclean foods existed when this code was drawn up; but remarkably enough both this and many other religious usages are passed over in absolute silence here, being considered of less importance apparently than the points upon which stress is laid.

The matters most insisted on have reference to social topics, and are treated in a spirit which commands our special admiration when we consider the period at which the precepts were issued. First of all come the laws of slavery.⁴ Of course, the law-giver has no idea of abolishing this institution, which was as natural in ancient times as it is monstrous and detestable in our own. So far from thinking of putting an end to it, our law-giver even declares that, although a man who kills his male or female slave upon the spot must pay for the offence with his own life, yet if he inflicts such injuries upon them that they live for a day or two and then die, he need not be punished at all, inasmuch as "this slave is his own property."⁵ Nevertheless he endeavors to soften the lot of the slaves as much as possible, though he makes a distinction in this respect, thoroughly characteristic of the age, between a Hebrew and a foreign slave. An Israelite must not be retained as a slave permanently, but must be restored to liberty without any ransom after six years' service. If he was married when he became a slave, as was often the case with debtors, then his wife must be released with him; but if he had married while a slave, his wife and children remained the property of his master. Should he prefer slavery to freedom, which might well be the case if he had married while a slave and had a family, his master must take him to a sanctuary of Yahweh, and there bore his ear with an awl to the door-post, which signified that he was his slave for life. The law-giver insisted, with especial earnestness, that if a man should take a female slave for an inferior wife, as Abraham and Jacob did in the legend, he should treat her well.

¹ Exodus xxii. 31.² Exodus xxiii. 19 b.³ Exodus xxiii. 10 12.⁴ Exodus xxi. 2-11.⁵ Exodus xxi. 20, 21.

That the law-giver's penal code is severe, and that he does not shrink from exacting the penalty of death is only what we should expect. A man who kills another,¹ even by accident, must be put to death, unless he can escape to a place of refuge such as an altar; but even this is no protection to a deliberate murderer. Again, whoever raises his hand against father or mother, or even curses them,² must be put to death; and so must kidnappers.³ Finally, the same penalty is enacted against everything regarded as pre-eminently Canaanitish; namely, witchcraft, unnatural lust, and idolatry.⁴

Compared with many another code, even of modern times, these Israelitish laws of the ninth century B.C. are decidedly merciful. The extreme penalty of death is only enacted in comparatively few cases; and with regard to personal injuries the fierceness of revenge is tempered by the law of retribution, "eye for eye, tooth for tooth;" whereas in the numerous cases in which a man is more or less directly responsible for injuries which have befallen another, very equitable rules of compensation are laid down, and the opportunity is often given to the offender of atoning for his deed by the payment of a fine.⁵

Theft is to be punished by the infliction of a fine of four or five times the value of the stolen property, and in default the culprit may be taken or sold as a slave. Under certain circumstances a person suspected of a theft which he denies may clear himself by an oath. A man who has deceived a woman must marry her instantly, unless her father should refuse to allow it, in which case the culprit must pay him the ordinary amount of a woman's dowry.⁶

The passages in the code which most excite our admiration are its exhortations to humanity:⁷ "Never oppress a stranger, for you yourselves were strangers once in Egypt, and know how weary is the stranger's lot. Injure no widow or orphan, for Yahweh listens to their cries, and will inflict a fearful punishment. Exact no usury from your poor brothers. If you have taken a poor man's coat in pledge return it to him before sun-set, for he will need it to cover him at night. Neither bear false witness nor pronounce false judgment to please the populace. Neither give the great⁸ any preference in pronouncing judgment, nor oppress the poor." And mark the noble spirit of the precept that follows! "If you see

¹ Compare vol. i. p. 82.

² Exodus xxi. 16; compare vol. i. p. 515.

³ Exodus xxi. 22-36.

⁷ Exodus xxii. 21-27 xxiii. 1-12.

² Exodus xxi. 12-15, 17.

⁴ Exodus xxii. 18-20.

⁶ Exodus xxii. 1-17.

⁸ After an amended version

your enemy's ox or ass going astray, or falling under its burden, you must take it back to him, and must leave your own work to help it up." The claims of humanity reigned so supreme in the mind of this law-giver that he insists upon the observance of the Sabbath expressly for sake of the male and female slaves, who must have rest, he urges, just as much as other people; and the reason he gives for wishing the fields, the vineyards, and the olive gardens to be left untilled, and hold a Sabbath every seventh year, is that the poor may then be allowed to come and take whatever grows of itself, and that the beasts may have what they leave. Now, however mistaken such a law may be in the interests of the poor themselves, whom it would throw out of work every seventh year, yet the fact that the law-giver rests the religious observance upon this ground rather than upon any other, is a striking proof of his kindly disposition.

It is obvious at once that this book of Law differs in many essential respects from a modern code. It may be said to exhort rather than to ordain. This is natural enough; for the code was not promulgated by any person or corporation who had power to enforce it, and it depended largely for its observance on the conscience and the personal convictions of the several judges, who were only partially controlled by public opinion. A code of laws in Israel was not so much a set of enactments to the letter of which the judge was bound, as a general guide to the spirit in which he was to act.

A book of law such as we have just examined does not teach us the pressing necessities of the age and the manner in which they were met, but reveals the spirit by which the best Israelites of the period were actuated; and the admiration which we feel for so much that is contained in the code greatly stimulates our interest in the history of Israel's religion.

The fact is that when we think of the opinions which the ancient worshippers of Yahweh entertained concerning their god, and the way in which they thought they could serve and propitiate him, we sometimes ask ourselves: What does it really signify that the worship of this Yahweh was preserved? What would it have mattered if the altars, *massebahs*, *asherahs*, and what not, that were used in the service of Yahweh had gradually been diverted to the worship of Baal or Astarte, of Chemosh or Milcom? In itself it would matter nothing. Whether the ancients sought to appease Yahweh with an offering or preferred to sacrifice to Baal comes to exactly the

same thing. Whether they held the pig and the hare in abomination as unclean beasts, or brought them in preference to all other creatures to the altar, is not of the smallest consequence. Whether they sanctified the seventh day of the week as a day of rest, or rather celebrated the feast of the new moon, made them neither better nor worse. The salvation of the world does not depend on outward things like these. But it is very closely connected with the triumph of morality. If, as was really the case with the masses, the service of Yahweh had only differed in names, in ceremonies, and in outward usages of religion from the service of the other gods, then it might have fallen, as the worship of hundreds of gods and goddesses has fallen, without any loss to the world. But when we see that the kernel of these worshippers of Yahweh maintained the claims of morality, and felt that Israel's god was best served by uprightness, by honor, chastity, humanity, and the spirit of good-will; then we begin to take a deep and genuine interest in the history of the worship of their god.

And this is why we rejoiced in Yahweh's triumph over Baal alike in Judah and in northern Israel.



CHAPTER XVII.

ISRAEL UNDER JEROBOAM II.

2 KINGS XIV.; PSALM XLV.; DEUTERONOMY XXXIII.

ABOUT the year 825 B.C. the two Israelitish kingdoms were alike prosperous. In the North, Joash had already been on the throne for fifteen years. He had defeated the Syrians repeatedly, and had reconquered from them a great part of the territory they had wrested from his predecessors. In Judah, Amaziah had waged war against the Edomites with such complete success that even their capital, Selah or Petra, had fallen into his hands. But at the end of his campaign in Edom, Amaziah sought a quarrel with Joash, who sent the following answer to his challenge: "Once on a time the thistle of Lebanon sent a message to the cedar of Lebanon, and said, 'Give my son your daughter for

his wife.' But, meanwhile, the wild beasts walked over the thistle and trampled it down. And now the thistle's fate will be yours. You have beaten the Edomites, and had better stop at home and boast your prowess there. Why should you rush upon your own ruin?" But Amaziah was not to be put off; and, indeed, the contemptuous tone of the warning given him by Joash was hardly calculated to divert him from his purpose. So he brought his army into the field, but was utterly routed at Beth-shemesh. Amaziah himself fell into the conqueror's hands, and Jerusalem surrendered. The victorious army marched in triumph through a breach in the wall, and Joash returned to Samaria, carrying with him the treasures of Yahweh's temple and the royal palace, and the noblest Judæans as hostages. Thus Judah became a province of Israel.

The Chronicler has a good deal to add. He tells us¹ that when Amaziah reckoned up the forces which he could bring into the field against the Edomites, he found his army too small, though it numbered three hundred thousand heavy-armed soldiers. So he hired a hundred thousand Israelite mercenaries for a hundred talents (thirty or forty thousand pounds) as auxiliaries. As he was on the point of setting out with this army, a certain prophet came to him and commanded him, in Yahweh's name, to dismiss these mercenaries, for Israel's god would have no dealings with the Ephraimites. Amaziah was only to muster his own troops, for his god could give the victory to whom he would. "But what of all the money I have paid them already?" cried Amaziah, for he could not bear to think of spending so much treasure for nothing. "Yahweh can give you more than that," said the man of God; and, thus encouraged, the king dismissed his auxiliaries. But the Israelites themselves were deeply offended by the insult, and in revenge they attacked the cities of Judah, slew three thousand men, and made enormous booty, while Amaziah's army was still in Edom. This monarch's subsequent defeat at the hands of Joash was only what he deserved; for, when he had conquered the Edomites, he worshipped their gods. A certain prophet warned him of his sin, but he answered haughtily, "Who made you the king's counsellor? Hold your peace, or you shall be whipped!" Then the man of God forbore to warn him further, and said with a sigh, "I see that God has determined to destroy you! For if not, you would have listened to my counsel." The

¹ 2 Chronicles xxv.

justice of his surmise appeared from Amaziah's arrogance towards Joash, and the ruin in which it involved him.

The enormous figures which appear in this account are, as we know, nothing unusual with the Chronicler; and the worship of Edom's gods by Amaziah is doubtless a pure supposition, made to account for the terrible humiliation suffered by a prince who was said to have "done what was right in the eyes of Yahweh."

Soon after conquering Jerusalem, King Joash died, and left a powerful kingdom to his son Jeroboam, whom we call Jeroboam II., to distinguish him from the first king of Israel. This monarch extended his rule far wider yet, for by his sword, as the Israelite historian boasts, Yahweh delivered Israel from the hand of the Syrians. All the territory that had been lost under his predecessors, Jeroboam recovered; and he so completely reunited the district beyond Jordan to his kingdom, that during his reign the clans that were settled there were accurately enrolled by name and number in the royal archives.¹ Thus the prophecy of Jonah, the son of Amittai, that Jeroboam should rule from Hamath to the Dead Sea, was literally fulfilled. This Jonah, whose prophecy unfortunately is lost, is the hero of the little book called after him, to which we shall return in the next volume.

These boundaries, from Hamath to the Dead Sea, do not include Judah; and it appears that the kingdom, though completely humbled, made tributary, and forced to submission by the pledges of its good behavior held by Joash, nevertheless retained a certain amount of independence. At any rate Amaziah remained at Jerusalem even after his defeat, and when he lost his life through a conspiracy, his son Uzziah, also called Azariah, succeeded him. All this appears exceedingly strange, for we cannot see why Joash should not have completely incorporated Judah with Israel when he had captured Jerusalem and carried away the hostages to Samaria. Were the Judæans so profoundly attached to the dynasty of David that Joash dreaded constant insurrections should it be displaced? It may be so. But there is a date given in the book of Kings² which makes us suspect that Joash really went much further than we are told. The statement referred to is this—that Uzziah did not become king of Judah till the twenty-seventh year of King Jeroboam of Israel. Now, since we are also told that Amaziah survived Joash only fifteen years,³ it follows that if Uzziah had succeeded him

¹ 1 Chronicles v. 17.

² 2 Kings xv. 1.

³ 2 Kings xiv. 17.

immediately his accession would have fallen in the fifteenth, not the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam. How are we to account for this gap of twelve years which appears to have elapsed between the death of Amaziah and the accession of his son? Does it not point to the conclusion that for some time the kings of northern Israel swayed the sceptre over Judah also? If so, the writer of the book of Kings, who held that the descendants of David were the only legal occupants of the throne of Judah,¹ fictitiously protracted the reign of Amaziah to the term of nine-and-twenty years² (that is to the end of his life), and then made his son succeed him without an interval. If this does not satisfy us we must suppose that there is a mistake in the year of Uzziah's accession.

But however we may explain the dates, and whether we suppose Uzziah to have been Jeroboam's acknowledged vassal till the seven-and-twentieth year of the latter's reign, or whether we believe Judah to have retained its position as a separate kingdom even after Amaziah's defeat, it is at any rate certain that to the day of his death Jeroboam held Judah more or less completely in his power; for he had a garrison in the important harbor of Elath, the key to the peninsula of Sinai, and it was not till after his death that Uzziah succeeded in recovering the place.³

Jeroboam's reign was one of the most prosperous and brilliant periods of Israel's history, and though unhappily we know but few particulars about it, the king himself is referred to in several poems which we still possess.

It is highly probable that the forty-fifth psalm was composed on the occasion of one of Jeroboam's marriages; and this poem is so remarkable on many grounds that it deserves to be given at length. It runs as follows:—

My heart overflows with goodly words,
For it thinks: "I work for a king!"
May my tongue be like the pen of a skilful writer!
Thou art fairer than all the children of men;
Grace is poured out on thy lips;
Therefore Yahweh blesses thee for ever.
Gird on thy sword, O hero!
Thy glory and thine adornment.
Ride forth in thy majesty,
To give proof of justice and righteous mercy!
Dread deeds shall thy right hand teach thee.
Sharp are thine arrows;
Peoples sink under thee;
To the heart of the king's enemies [they pierce].

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 543, 544. ² 2 Kings xiv. 2. ³ 2 Kings xiv. 22.

Yahweh has established thy throne to eternity;
 A righteous sceptre is the sceptre of thy kingdom.
 Thou lovest virtue and hatest iniquity;
 Therefore Yahweh, thy god, has anointed thee
 With the oil of gladness above thy fellows.
 In myrrh and aloes and cassia are thy garments steeped,
 From ivory palaces¹ the sound of the harp rejoices thee.
 The daughters of kings are amongst thy treasures;
 There stands the queen at thy right hand,
 Adorned with the treasures of Ophir!
 Listen, O daughter, see and incline thine ear!
 Forget thy people and forget thy father's house!
 The king longs for thy beauty;
 He is thy lord, do thou reverence him.
 Tyre seeks to gain thy favor,
 The richest Tyrians bring thee presents.
 All glorious is the princess in her chamber;
 Her garments are wrought with gold.
 In embroidered robes is she brought to the king;
 Maidens after her, her companions,
 They likewise are brought to thee.
 They are brought with joy and gladness;
 They enter the royal palace!
 May thy sons succeed thy fathers;
 May'st thou make them princes in all the land!
 I will praise thy name from generation to generation;
 That the tribes may glorify thee for ever.

Since two verses of this poem² are quoted in a very incorrect translation in the New Testament,³ we had better dwell upon them for a moment longer. The passage I have rendered, "So Yahweh, thy god, has anointed thee," is usually translated "Therefore, O God! thy God has anointed thee;" and it is a fact that the Hebrew text does not contain the name of Yahweh. Now, to understand what right we have to read "Yahweh, thy god," in place of "God, thy god," you must know that in the book of Psalms, as we now have it, there is one section (Psalms xlii.-lxxxiii.) in which the name of *Yahweh* is seldom used (only forty-four times) and that of *God* very often (two hundred and six times); whereas in the rest of the psalms it is just the other way (*God* appearing twenty-three times and *Yahweh* six hundred and forty). The only explanation of this curious fact is the supposition that these psalms once formed a separate book by themselves, and that their collector preferred for some reason to speak of *God* rather than *Yahweh*, and therefore almost always changed the latter into the former when he found it in the poems he took up into his collection. We are, therefore, simply restoring the original words in rendering the passage, "Yahweh, thy god." It is certain, at any rate, that the poet never addressed his hero as "god;" for however high the rank may

¹ Compare 1 Kings xxii. 39.

² Verses 6 and 7.

³ Hebrews i. 8.

be which this poem in common with other Hebrew utterances assigns to Yahweh's anointed, the Israelites never went the length of deifying their princes. In the seventh verse the Hebrew, as it stands, says, "Thy throne, God;" but most likely a word has fallen out, and the poet really wrote "Yahweh has established thy throne."

The writer to whom we owe the introduction and the conclusion of our present book of Deuteronomy has taken up into his work a poem which was probably written in the time of Jeroboam II. The author puts it into the mouth of Moses, as a blessing pronounced over the sons of Israel by him shortly before his death; but taken in its true historical setting, it may be regarded as one of the proofs of the power to which Israel rose under Jeroboam II., and the pride with which many of his subjects raised their heads as members of the "house of Jacob." This remarkable poem bears all the more striking witness to the enthusiasm felt by the people for Jeroboam, from the fact that it was written by a Judean. It is a counterpart of the so-called "blessing of Jacob,"¹ and includes a longer or shorter prayer for each of the tribes except Simeon, which had completely melted into Judah. There are many obscure passages in the song, and here and there the translation is uncertain.

A short epitome of Israel's history opens the poem:—

Yahweh came from Sinai
And went before them from Seir;
His light streamed forth from the mount of Paran
And he came from the desert of Kadesh.
From his right hand came help for them;
He truly loved the tribes.
All thy holy ones went with thee
And followed after thy feet.
And Moses preached thy words
And gave instruction to us.
The community of Jacob gained an inheritance
And there came a king to rule Jeshurun,
When the heads of the people gathered together
And Israel's tribes assembled.

"Jeshurun" appears again in this song as a name for Israel, and also in one other passage.² It is a play upon the sound of the name *Israel*, and signifies "the righteous" or "the virtuous," which accords perfectly with the designation of Israel's forefathers as "the holy ones."

After this introduction come sayings appropriate to the

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 102, 226, 401.

² Deuteronomy xxxii. 16.

several tribes. Reuben, who appears in the legends of the patriarchs as the eldest of the brothers, occupies the foremost place here also, though the poet has little to say of him, while he dwells with obvious sympathy upon the tribes comprised in the kingdom of Judah.

May Reuben live and not die!
May his numbers ne'er be few!

Hearken Yahweh! to Judah's voice,
And bring him back to his people!
May his territory spread afar,
May he be helped against his foes!
Break thou the loins of his enemies,
And let them that hate him rise no more!

Thy *thummim* and *urim* [O Yahweh!] are held by thy Faithful One,
Whom thou didst try at Massah,
With whom thou didst strive at Meribah;
Who says of his father and mother:
I care not for them!
Who denies his brothers
And regards not his very sons.
But they mark thy word,
They observe thy covenant,
They teach Jacob thy ordinances,
And Israel thy law;
They make incense rise before thee
And bring sacrifices to thine altar.
O Yahweh! bless their might
And accept the work of their hands in grace!
May Yahweh's Loved One dwell safely by Him
Who protects him ever,
And dwells between his shoulders.

It is obvious that "Yahweh's Loved One" is Benjamin, in whose district the great temple stood. The poet could therefore sing of Yahweh as sitting between the shoulders and on the neck of Benjamin. It is clear, also, that "Yahweh's Faithful One," is the priestly tribe of Levi; but we cannot explain the allusion to the trial at Massah and Meribah. These places are mentioned more than once in the accounts of Israel's wanderings in the desert,¹ but never in a connection that explains these words. They probably refer to a legend that has not come down to us.

The poet now goes on to the tribe of Joseph, or Ephraim and Manasseh, the glory of whose territory he first celebrates and then goes on:—

May the favor of Him who dwells² in the bush come upon Joseph's head,
On the crown of the prince of his brothers!

¹ Exodus xvii. 7; Numbers xx. 13; Deuteronomy ix. 22.

² Compare Exodus iii. 2 ff.

The first-born of his bullocks is noble;
 His horns are like horns of a buffalo.
 He hurls down the peoples with them,
 The extremest peoples of earth!'

The first-born of Joseph's bullocks means the king of Israel, in this case Jeroboam II.

The blessings on the remaining tribes contain nothing remarkable, except the honorable mention of a celebrated place of offering which was situated in the territory of Zebulon and Issachar, perhaps on Mount Carmel or Mount Tabor. This is a fresh proof that at this period no one dreamed of confining legal sacrifices to Jerusalem. The verses run as follows:—

Rejoice in thy going out, Zebulon,
 And Issachar in thy tents!
 They call the tribes to the mountain,
 And make true offerings there;
 For they draw to themselves what the seas produce
 And the treasures hid in the sand.

The song concludes with the following words:—

There is no god like Jeshurun's god,
 Who comes riding on the heaven to help thee,
 In his glory upon the clouds.
 That ancient god is a refuge,
 Israel rests on his arms eternal.
 He drove out thine enemies before thee,
 And cried, "Destroy!"
 So Israel dwelt in safety,
 The race of Jacob apart,
 In a land of corn and wine,
 Whose heavens drop down dew.
 Hail to thee, Israel! Who is like thee?
 Thou people victorious through Yahweh,
 Who is the shield of thy succor;
 Who is the sword of thy glory!
 Thine enemies come cringing before thee,
 While thou treadest upon their heights!

This remarkable song deserves all the more attention from the circumstance that its author was a Judæan. This is evident from his putting Judah next after Reuben, and from the glowing terms in which he mentions the Levitical priesthood and the temple at Jerusalem. This Judæan, then, expresses his wish that his country may be reunited with Israel, and dwells with great delight upon the king of Joseph's house. In all this he certainly did not stand alone, but expressed the conviction of many of his countrymen. It is therefore no very rash conjecture that the conspiracy which cost Amaziah his life aimed at the overthrow of the Davidic house and the complete incorporation of Judah with Israel. If this was so

the conspirators were thwarted by the attachment of the "people of the land," that is to say, of the masses, to the house of David; and Uzziah succeeded to his father's throne.

Such were the feelings of the common people, for whom the grand conception of Israel's unity had no charm. But loftier natures kept the ideal clearly before their minds, not only in the North, where of course Judah's holding aloof from Ephraim was looked upon with disapproval, but even in the South, where many a one would have sacrificed the dynasty of David, whether joyfully or with regret, for the sake of making Yahweh's people one again.

This longing to see the two kingdoms united, springing from the belief that they *ought* to be so, finds striking expression in certain other writings of this period, which we must now examine from this special point of view. The eighth century B.C. was the period of Israel's greatest literary glory, which was chiefly due to the activity of the prophets. We have already examined much of what was committed to writing at this period, for it was the era of the Yahwist and the elder Elohists¹ (to be carefully distinguished from the younger Elohists, or author of the "Book of Origins") whose narratives we still possess in the books of Genesis and Exodus, woven together, supplemented, and sometimes, alas! curtailed by the latest general editor of the Pentateuch. About this time the same or other writers composed a good many of the narratives about the judges, Samuel, Saul, David, and his successors, which we still possess. It is impossible for us to fix with certainty how much of all this literature arose in northern Israel, and how much in Judah; but, if we possessed their separate works in a complete form, we should, perhaps, have cause to believe that the elder Elohists was an Ephraimite, and the Yahwist a Judæan, though this is little better than a guess in the present state of our knowledge. The question, however, is of no great consequence, for the religious positions occupied respectively by the best representatives of the two kingdoms resembled each other very closely, and so do those of the two authors in question.

Our first observation, then, upon the literary work of these prophets of the age of Jeroboam, is that they regarded Israel as one people. This is evident from their treatment of the generations before Moses. We have already observed² that the names of the patriarchs and many of the legends attached

¹ See vol. i. pp. 236 ff.

² See vol. i. pp. 103-105, 164, 165.

to them, properly belonged to special districts of the country. Thus Isaac was the mythical ancestor of the Israelite and Edomite tribes who dwelt in the South round Beersheba. Abram originally belonged to Judah, and Jacob (or Israel) to central and northern Palestine. Now these three patriarchs were about this time, we may suppose, brought into connection with each other as grandfather, father, and son, so that every section of the Israelitish people came into equally close relations with them all. Moreover, the mutual relations of the tribes were regulated in the legends with great tact. All the twelve became sons of Jacob, that is of Israel itself; for though Ephraim and Manasseh, which really made up a single tribe, are represented in the story as sons of Joseph, yet Jacob expressly adopts them as his own.

The most difficult task was to assign to each tribe its due meed of honor. Reuben, who had conquered his territory before any of the rest, was consequently firmly established as the eldest son; nor was he now degraded from this honor, for he was too weak to excite the jealousy of the others. But Joseph and Judah were very sensitive as to precedence. The legend then began by making them Jacob's sons by different wives. Judah was born next after Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, and was far older than Joseph; but Joseph was the first-born and for a long time the only son of Jacob's best-loved wife. His birth had been the sign for his father to return to Canaan; he was the most beloved of Jacob's sons, adorned with magnificent robes, blessed by Yahweh, the prince and deliverer of his brothers.

We must not suppose that all these legends were deliberately invented with the purpose we have implied, and then strung together with conscious art; for nothing of the kind took place. Much of the substance of the stories was already in existence, and was simply adopted or modified by the writers of this epoch. For instance, it was certainly an old tradition, and not an invention of the eighth century, that Esau and Jacob were twin brothers; whereas the story of Jacob's stealing his brother's blessing, and Isaac's prophecy that Esau should serve Jacob but would constantly throw off his yoke, describes the relations of the inhabitants of Judah with those of Seir during all the period from David to Amaziah. And in the same way myths and legends about Joseph were doubtless current in the North, and were now worked up and transformed by the prophetic writers, and brought into connection with the other patriarchal stories

Accounts of Moses and the wanderings in the desert, of the conquest of Canaan, and of the judges, of Saul, David, and his successors, were easily linked on to the stories of the patriarchs; and the historians took especial pains to bring out their own predecessors, the prophets, into strong relief. They celebrated their great deeds and their wide influence, but did not spare their faults, which they desired to hold up as warnings to their own contemporaries. We have often seen already that the historical good faith of these writers leaves much to be desired. They took up their pens not so much to give an accurate account of what had taken place in days of old, as to admonish and encourage their readers; and this purpose exercised no small influence upon the conceptions they formed of the heroes of times past. We may call to mind the striking example of Jerubbaal-Gideon,¹ who became under the hands of these historians a wholly different personage from what he had really been. They diligently studied the history of former generations, but their object in doing so was to magnify the glory of Yahweh, who had rescued and helped his people, and to exalt the people in whose midst he deigned to dwell. The whole purpose and spirit of their work is contained in the lines, —

Hail to thee Israel! Who is like thee?
 A victorious people through Yahweh's might!
 The ancient god is a refuge,
 Who has brought us help from primeval times!

We must take this opportunity of fixing especial attention on the exalted conception of Yahweh's being which reigned in the hearts and minds of these writers. In discussing the ancient stories we have more than once remarked that the writers themselves evidently stood upon a higher level than that of the old legends they were working up.² To them Yahweh was no longer a god who could be seen by human eyes, with whom the denizens of earth could even wrestle, who ate and drank like a mortal, who only dwelt in Canaan, and only in certain spots even there, and could be carried about in an ark. On the contrary they looked upon him as a most exalted being, who revealed himself in thunder and lightning, whom no mortal could see and live. He was the judge of all the earth, and was always righteous; he punished the whole world for its sins by a flood of water; not only did he rule Israel, but even a distant monarch such as Nimrod might be called a mighty hunter before his face; and it was

¹ See vol. i. pp. 390-392.

² See vol. i. pp. 137, 259, 260, 302, 303.

he who put an end to the building of Babel's tower. In Ur of the Chaldees, too, Yahweh had revealed himself, and whithersoever the patriarchs wandered, in the land of the Philistines or in Egypt, for instance, he could still protect them. He determined, ages beforehand, what the fate of his chosen ones should be; and even the territories of the Ishmaelites, Edomites, and Moabites were given them by Yahweh and not by their own deities. Was not he the mighty god before whose wrath all Egypt had trembled? Had he not there proved himself the strongest of all gods? Had he not shown his people their way through the wilderness, and protected them from hunger, thirst, and the might of their foes? Nay, had he not done yet more, in making a path for his beloved people through the Red Sea and the Jordan, and delivering up all Canaan into their hands? Had he not rescued them from their mightiest foes—from Moabites and Ammonites, Jabin and Sisera, Midianites and Philistines, and even the Mesopotamians themselves? Had he not fired with his spirit the deliverers of the people—Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Barak, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, and Samuel? And if, in spite of all, those days were full of trouble because there was no king in Israel, Yahweh had selected Saul, and when he had forfeited the crown by his rebellious disobedience to the prophet, had summoned David, protected him from the hatred of Saul, and raised him to the throne. What was too wonderful for Yahweh? He was the Lord of hosts; that is to say, the ruler of the armies of heaven, the ruler of the stars who surrounded him as angels, to do his bidding. He was the god of heaven and of earth, whose name betokened "he who is;" he was the Mighty One, the Most High!

The difference between this conception of Yahweh and that entertained by even the most spiritual of David's contemporaries, for instance, is so enormous that we are compelled to inquire what the cause of so great a progress can have been.

We cannot give a complete answer to this question. It is equally impossible adequately to explain the birth of a religious conviction in a people's heart, and fully to comprehend the divine call in that of a single man. We cannot trace the workings of God's spirit. The circumstances of nations or of individuals do not wholly determine their lot; for the most important factor of all is the capacity or life that dwells within; and circumstances do but serve as the occasion for its manifestation. A mighty power dwelt in the heart of Is

rael, and that is why the seed that Moses sowed struck root, and at last brought forth its increase. Yahweh must be worshipped, and worshipped by a moral life above all else!—such was the great principle implanted in Israel in the fourteenth century; and it gradually led to the conviction: Yahweh, the Most High, who has specially chosen Israel to enjoy his favor, rules over all peoples and commands the powers of Nature. Him alone must we serve.

But, though we cannot presume to offer any complete explanation of the manner in which this exalted conception of Yahweh's being was reached, we must try to throw what light we can upon the principal circumstances which contributed to the result. What these circumstances were it is not difficult to say.

In the first place, there was Yahweh's victory over Baal. It was inevitable that the faithful servants of Israel's god, who were straining all their powers in defending his worship and attacking that of Baal, should gradually rise to ever loftier conceptions of their god. The more they had to suffer for his sake the dearer he became to them, and the more clearly conscious they grew of the difference between him and Baal, with whom they involuntarily classed all other gods. The legend of the contest between Elijah and the priests of Baal on Mount Carmel admirably represents the inspiring conviction of the prophets of Yahweh, which their triumph deepened into absolute certainty: Baal is no god at all! He can send no fire down from heaven! And, though his servants cry to him with all their strength, he cannot hear, for he does not exist! But Yahweh does exist, and he is God—the True, the only One!

This feeling was strengthened by the victories of Joash and Jeroboam II. over the Syrians. Under Jehu and Jehoahaz, Elisha could but appeal to Yahweh's might, and say that he would surely help his people; but, meanwhile, Israel was in sore distress. Doubtless, the servants of Baal ascribed this misery to the wrath of their god, and many a worshipper of Yahweh began to doubt; but those who persevered surrendered themselves up all the more unreservedly to their god, and now at last their fidelity was crowned with victory. Israel had become a mighty people; Israel had triumphed in the strength of Yahweh! Now it was certain that "Yahweh was the shield of Israel's help, the sword of his glory," and his triumphant people might well exclaim, "What god is like the god of Jeshurun?"

All the prophets vied with one another in glorifying Yahweh, with whose honor that of his people was so closely connected; but, of course, there were differences amongst them. One would follow out the truth more consistently than another, and declare more distinctly that the other gods did not exist; and, what is more important, some of them recognized the moral character of Israel's god more clearly than their fellows did. While most of them simply looked upon Yahweh as mightier than other gods; the noblest revered him as the god of moral holiness, whose appointed service was a pure heart and clean hands.

We shall meet with repeated examples of this great distinction in the following chapters.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LEGEND OF BALAAM.

NUMBERS XXII. 2-XXIV.

THE legend of Balaam furnishes us with a very striking illustration of the lofty and glowing estimate of their people and its god which the Israelitish prophets and their spiritual allies had formed in the century of Jeroboam II. It is an entirely fictitious story, and nothing but a few of the names, at most, are borrowed from ancient Israelitish or foreign traditions. It professes to place us in the period just before the conquest of Canaan, but gives us a completely false conception of the circumstances of the Israelites at that time. Its contents are as follows:—

When the Israelites had conquered Sihon, king of the Amorites, Balak, the son of Zippor, king of the Moabites, conceived a mortal dread of the mighty people that was now pressing so close upon his territory. "Israel," he cried in terror to his allies, the chiefs of Midian, "Israel will lick us all up as an ox licks up the grass!" To avert this danger, therefore, he sent an embassy to Pethor, on the river Euphrates, with rich presents for the famous seer Balaam, son of Beor, bearing this message: "Behold, there is a people come out of Egypt that covers all the land, and is encamped right over against my kingdom. Come, then, and curse them



for me, for they are too strong for me. Perchance I may then defeat them and drive them out; for whom you bless is blessed indeed, and whom you curse is cursed." When Balak's emissaries had given Balaam their message, he invited them to spend the night in his own house, and promised to tell them in the morning what Yahweh had said to him. They consented; and in the night the deity appeared to Balaam, as he had expected, and asked him who his guests might be. The seer then informed him of the purpose of their visit, upon which Yahweh forbade him to return with them to curse Israel, inasmuch as this people was blessed. Obedient to God's command Balaam dismissed the Moabites, and would not consent to accompany them.

But Balak determined to try once more. He would see whether Balaam's resolution might not be overcome; and accordingly he sent a more numerous and distinguished embassy than ever, with magnificent promises of promotion and reward, if only the seer would come and curse this people! But the mighty soothsayer replied, "Though Balak should give me his house full of silver and gold, yet could I not turn in anything, great or small, from the commands of Yahweh." Nevertheless, he invited the messengers once more to remain with him that night, for it was possible that Yahweh might again reveal his will. It fell out as he had hoped, and this time the divine permission was secured: "If those men have come again with the same request, then go with them; but only say what I command you." So Balaam saddled his ass the next morning, and set out with Balak's nobles.

But Yahweh was angry with him for what he did, and sent an angel to chastise him. Now, Balaam was riding on his beast, followed by two slaves, when the angel met him, and stood across his path with a naked sword in his hand. The wizard saw nothing, and had he ridden on he would inevitably have fallen by the angel's hand; but he was rescued by his ass, who saw the angel and turned off the path into the open field, upon which Balaam beat her severely, and turned her into the path again. Then the angel went further on and stood before the traveller in a narrow path that ran between two vineyard walls, and the ass, who still saw better than her rider, started aside in terror and crushed his leg against one of the walls. Enraged by these freaks, as he thought them, on the part of his beast, the seer beat her again, and the angel once more vanished and let him go on his way. But the third time he stood before him in a path so narrow that

it was impossible to pass on either side. Still Balaam saw nothing of his foe, but the ass saw him and lay down in the pathway. The seer now lost all patience, and beat his ass unmercifully with his stick, upon which Yahweh gave her the power of speech, and she asked, "What have I done to deserve these three beatings?" "You are so obstinate," cried Balaam, in a fury, "that if I had a sword in my hand, I would kill you!" Then the beast, as if to make him think that there must be some good reason for her conduct, said again: "Am I not your ass, upon which you always ride? and have I ever done this before?" Balaam confessed she had not, and upon this Yahweh opened the magician's eyes, and he saw the angel with drawn sword standing across his path! He bowed down in reverent humility, as the angel cried reproachfully, "Why have you beaten your ass three times? I came out to meet you as your foe; for who acts against my will acts at his peril!"¹ And unless your ass had seen me and had gone aside, I should have slain you and let her go unhurt." The seer was now thoroughly abashed, and could only stammer, "I knew not that you stood before me in the way. But if it seems good to you that I should now go back, I will go." The angel said there was no need of that. He might go on with Balak's messengers, but must beware of saying anything but what Yahweh commanded.

It would be no easy task to obey this injunction strictly, for Balak came to meet the seer at the very borders of the land, and asked him why he had not come at first. Did he suppose that Moab's king could not reward him worthily? But Balaam hastened to put his mission on its true footing. "Now that I am here," he said, "I cannot tell that it is for your good! I cannot utter a single word that my god lays not on my lips."

When they reached the "Street-town" a magnificent feast was held in honor of the seer, and the next morning Balak took him to "the heights of Pisgah," whence he could see the long boundary-line of Israel's war-tents. Here Balaam told the king to have seven altars built, and an ox and a ram prepared for sacrifice on each. When the seer had offered up the victims he left the king standing by the altar, and he himself went a little way apart, in the hope that Yahweh might meet him and give him an oracle.

No sooner had the wizard reached an open place from which he could observe the signs of heaven than his god

¹ The translation is here conjectural.

came to him. Balaam told him how he had built him seven altars and made sacrifices on them, upon which Yahweh laid an oracle upon his lips. Then he returned to Balak, whom he found by the altar surrounded by the nobles of Moab, but instead of cursing Israel he burst into this song of praise :

From Syria has Balak brought me,
Moab's king from the eastern heights:
"Come, curse me Jacob,
Come, defy me Israel!"
How shall I curse whom God curses not,
And defy whom Yahweh defies not?
From the top of the rocks I see him,
From the hills I look down upon him:
See! It is a people that dwells apart
And is not reckoned among the nations.¹
Who can measure the dust of Jacob
Or count the fourth part of Israel?
May I die the death of the Upright,²
May my seed be like him!

Dismayed and disappointed, Balak cried: "What is this that you have done? I sent for you to curse my enemies, and now you have blessed them beyond measure!" But the seer retorted at once: "Must I not say what Yahweh bids me? neither more nor less?"

Upon this the king begged Baalam to follow him to another spot, from which he could only see a portion of Israel's camp, and try whether he could not utter a curse when standing there. What a strange confusion of ideas! Though the prophet's word was the word of God, yet it was evidently supposed that any external circumstance which influenced his own frame of mind would very likely affect the oracle he was about to utter.³ This is really an admission that the prophecy came from the seer's own heart, and was not revealed to him from without. Balak, then, conducted the great magician to the "Watchman's Acre," on the top of Mount Pisgah. There the same steps were taken as before to compel the deity to vouchsafe a revelation — in accordance with the king's wishes if possible — and again Yahweh came to Balaam and told him what he must say. When the seer returned Balak stood waiting for him by the altar with his nobles, as before; and while he was still at some little distance the king cried eagerly, "And what says Yahweh now?" Whereupon Balaam answered:

Stand up, O Balak! and hear.
Hearken to me, O son of Zippor!
God is not a man that he should lie,
Or a son of man that he should repent.

¹ See p. 91.² See p. 191.³ Compare pp. 131, 132.

Would he say a thing and then not do it?
 Would he promise and not perform?
 Behold! I was bidden to bless,
 And this blessing I may not recall.
 No misery is seen in Jacob,
 Nor sorrow perceived in Israel;
 Yahweh, his god, is with him.
 A right royal shout in his midst.
 God has led him out of Egypt;
 His might is like to a buffalo's.
 No charm has force against Jacob,
 Nor magic, power on Israel;
 When it is said of Jacob
 And of Israel: "God does wonders!"
 See! it is a people that stands like a lioness
 And rises up like a lion,
 Who lies not down till he has eaten the prey
 And drunk the blood of the slaughtered.

Then Balak cried in bitterness of soul, "If you cannot curse them, at least you need not bless them!" But Balaam answered: "Did I not tell you from the first that I should say what Yahweh bade me?" "Well, then!" returned the king, "let us try again in another place! Perhaps it may please the deity to let you curse them there!" Balaam complied, but Balak's desperate persistency was only to cover him afresh with utter dismay; for when they had taken their stand on the top of Mount Peor, overlooking the plain, and had built seven altars there and sacrificed upon them, Balaam did not so much as step aside, for he had no need of his magic arts to learn the will of Yahweh! No sooner had he turned his face to the desert where Israel lay encamped, tribe by tribe, than he was seized by the spirit of his god, and cried:

The oracle of Balaam, son of Beor:
 The word of the man of unclosed eyes,
 Who hears the word of God,
 And knows the knowledge of the Most High,
 Who sees the sight of the Almighty:
 Who bows down, and his eyes are unveiled:

How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob!
 Thy dwellings, Israel!
 Like spreading streams;
 Like gardens by the river;
 Like aloes planted by Yahweh;
 Like cedars by the streams.
 Water flows out from his buckets,
 And his new-sown fields are richly watered.
 His king is taller than Agag;¹
 His kingdom is exalted.
 His god brought him forth from Egypt;
 And he has a buffalo's strength.

¹ Compare 1 Samuel xv. 8.

He devours the peoples that oppose him;
 He grinds their bones;
 He breaks their loins.
 He crouches like a lion for the spring;
 Like a lioness; — who shall provoke him?
 A blessing shall rest upon him who blesses you;
 A curse upon him who curses!

Boiling with indignation, Balak struck his hands together in token of contempt and anger, and exclaimed with bitter emphasis: "I bid you come to curse my enemies to their destruction, but you have blessed them these three times! And now make all the speed you may on your homeward journey, for Yahweh has bereft you of all the wealth and honor I had promised you!" But Baalam retorted once again: "Did I not tell your messengers at first, that though you gave me your house full of silver and gold, I could say neither good nor evil of myself, but could only say what Yahweh told me? But now that I am here, let me tell you, before I go back to my own land, what this people shall do to your people, in the far-off days to come!" Without waiting for Balak's permission the seer began once more: —

The oracle of Balaam, son of Beor:
 The word of the man of unclosed eyes,
 Who hears the word of God,
 And knows the knowledge of the Most High;
 Who sees the sight of the Almighty;
 Who bows down, and his eyes are unveiled:

I see him, but not as he now is;
 I behold him, but not from near:
 There is a star rising out of Jacob,
 A sceptre comes up out of Israel,
 Smiting the temples of Moab,
 The skull of all sons of the war-cry!
 Edom shall be a conquered province;
 Seir, his enemy, a possession;
 And Israel shall wax mighty.
 A ruler shall come out of Jacob
 And destroy those that flee from the city.

After a moment's pause the seer turned to the land of the Amalekites and cried: —

Though Amalek be the first of peoples,
 Yet shall his children fall in ruin!

There was another pause; and then Balaam turned towards the southern district of Canaan, where the Kenites dwelt, and prophesied: —

Though thy dwelling be so firm
 And thy nest (*ken*) built on the rock;
 Yet shall ken be slowly destroyed
 Till Ashur take him captive away.

It is as if, in uttering this last name of dread, the seer had for a moment sunk in terror! But hope soon gleamed in his eye once more, and he cried aloud:—

Alas! but who shall live
Longer than God allows!
Ships that come from Cyprus . . .
They shall oppress Ashur,
Shall oppress that people beyond Euphrates,
And it too shall be destroyed!

Then Balaam went back to his own country, and Balak to his home.

This is a fine story in many respects, but its author has succeeded very ill in his attempt to transport his readers to the time of Moses. The fact is that he himself had a thoroughly false conception of the circumstances of his people in those days. His mentioning Midian at the beginning and Amalek at the close of his narrative is the only circumstance that gives it the least air of antiquity. Everything else is quite out of keeping with the state of things in the thirteenth century B.C. Even suppose the tribes of Israel had ever been united in a single camp, the Moabites, who are here represented as their foes, were in reality their allies; the Edomites were at any rate not hostile to them, and the Kenites, the fellow-tribesmen of Caleb and Othniel, were their most faithful friends. On the other hand they cordially hated the Egyptians, and the Canaanites were the nation from whom they had most to fear; but neither of these peoples is so much as mentioned in the legend. Again, the contemporaries of Moses had probably never heard of the Assyrians (Ashur), or at any rate had nothing to do with them; and the prediction that ships from the West would come and subdue this people would have entirely failed to move them, instead of forming, as it now does, a striking conclusion to Balaam's utterances, and setting the crown upon all his predictions.

Moreover, the writer treats with obvious neglect two considerations to which a poet need not be too strictly held, but which are quite inexorable in actual life—the considerations of time and space. When we are told of the embassy that spent the night with Balaam and then returned without accomplishing anything, and of the second which immediately followed the first, and with which Balaam set out the very day after its arrival, we should certainly never

Imagine that the journey in question was surrounded with difficulties, led through the desert and occupied at least fourteen days each way! Are we to suppose that the Israelites waited in the plains of Moab, with their hands folded, to see what would come of Balak's machinations?

Nor is this all. Nothing could be more striking than the growing intensity of Balaam's inspiration. Both style and contents of his oracles grow more and more glowing and exalted to the end. But Balak took him to three positions successively, each of which commanded a different view of the great Israelitish camp. They must, therefore, have been situated a good way apart; and since Balaam had seven altars built for sacrifice upon each of them, and twice consulted the signs of heaven as well, the whole thing must have occupied several days rather than a few hours. But if the seer's inspiration had so long to cool after each successive utterance, his steady increase of enthusiasm becomes absolutely inexplicable.

Rightly to understand the legend of Balaam, and to do justice to the writer's meaning, we must think how Israel was situated under Jeroboam II. This monarch ruled from Syria to the borders of Egypt; for if Judah was not absolutely incorporated into his kingdom, it was nevertheless completely dependent upon him. Israel was more numerous, powerful, and prosperous than it had been for ages. For this it had to thank its god, Yahweh, who dwelt in its midst, and to whose power and grace it was a living witness. The brightest hopes for the future were therefore justified. Even the Assyrians, of whose dread might the Israelites had only heard the terrible report as yet, — even the Assyrians would have no power to injure Yahweh's people, but on the contrary would bring it blessings, as we shall shortly see. We must note that our writer was certainly a Judæan, for he never troubles himself about the affairs of the North, while he enters in detail upon those of Judah. This Judæan, then, perceived a few weak points in his own neighborhood: There were the Moabites, who had retained their independence ever since the death of Ahab, and now hung threateningly upon the Transjordanic territory of Israel; there were the Edomites, who had not been subdued even by the defeat which Amaziah had inflicted on them, and who were ceaselessly watching their chance of a fierce revenge; and there were the Kenites, who dwelt in southern Judah, and were always ready to take sides with the people's foes, especially with Edom. In short, the

outlying districts to the South, though overawed by Jeroboam's might, and by his possession of the strong position of Elath, were by no means well disposed to Israel. Our writer even despaired of an Israelitish monarch ever having power to conquer all these enemies. Moab he might subdue, but Edom never; and, as for driving the Kenites from their inaccessible mountain holds, that task must be reserved for Ashur! For Ashur? But would there be no danger in that case of Israel's also falling under his dread yoke? Yes! but what danger was too great for Yahweh to avert? There were mighty peoples in the West as well as in the East. (The table of nations in Genesis proves that the Israelites were acquainted with certain Grecian races, for instance.¹) From "the islands," then, or from Cyprus, "Japhet's sons" would come to help the people of Yahweh; and Ashur, too, after having served the god of Israel, as an instrument in chastising his foes, would in his turn be rendered harmless.

To glorify Israel, and its god Yahweh, this legend dwells upon the utter impossibility of even the bitterest foes of the people calling down a curse upon it and destroying it. No real prophet, to whom God in truth reveals himself, can pronounce anything but a blessing upon Israel.

And such a prophet Balaam was. Since he appears in our story as a wizard, and since all kinds of witchcraft were forbidden with ever increasing severity by the laws of Israel, it is not surprising that the Jews after the captivity had no great liking for him. Again, when the monuments of Israel's history were collected, our legend was immediately followed by an account of the people's apostasy in joining in the worship of Baal-Peor, and it seemed very obvious to bring the two stories into connection with each other. The germ of this idea may be traced in a couple of passages in the Old Testament itself, where it is said that the sin of the Israelites was the consequence of Balaam's oracle, and that he himself was killed amongst the Midianites, with whom he was staying.² Josephus makes the tale complete and says that, before Balaam returned from Moab, he advised Balak to undo the Israelites by tempting them to take part in the licentious worship of Baal-Peor; as if the prince of the Moabites himself would have recognized the baneful character of his own

¹ Genesis x. 2-5.

² John xiii. 22, and Numbers xxi. 16, where we must read in accordance with the oracle of Balaam instead of through the counsel of Balaam.

religion! The conception of Balaam as a deceiver, a false prophet bribed by Balak, a typical enemy of the kingdom of God, became more and more firmly established amongst the Jews, and was current likewise amongst the Christians of the first centuries.¹

Nothing could be further from the intention of the legend itself, however, which is admirably reflected by the prophet Micah.² "Consider, my people, the plots of Balak against you, and Balaam's answer to him." Balaam, who repeats the words of Yahweh, is a true prophet of that deity. The story does not indeed give him the name of prophet, but he describes himself in terms which minutely correspond to the character.³ It is true that he practises magic, which is forbidden on pain of death by ancient and more recent laws of Israel as heathenish;⁴ but it is undeniable, again, that prophets of Yahweh often acted as soothsayers and wizards before the captivity, and are even described by these names;⁵ so that it was really impossible to draw the line between a prophet and a soothsayer.

Balaam, the great magician, whose word was a word of God, was entreated by Israel's foe to curse the people of Yahweh. Balak sought to buy his help with sordid gold. The seer was not indisposed to serve him, for the great reward was tempting. But though he wished to utter a curse on Israel, he dare do nothing against his god's command; and his god gave heed to neither Balak's nor the prophet's wish.⁶ First he forbade the seer to go to Moab at all, and then, when he let him go, sternly admonished him to speak no word but what he laid upon his lips. Once more this lesson was impressed upon the man of God when the angel, with drawn sword, cried threateningly, "Who acts against my will, acts at his peril!" Balaam, accordingly, never wavered in his choice, and faithfully repeated Yahweh's revelations. He was willing to comply with Balak's wish, and try again and yet again if Yahweh's will were changed; but on each occasion he felt more deeply that no such change could be, poured out his words of blessing with greater warmth, and was at last so completely penetrated with the spirit of his god, and saw so clearly that Yahweh had blessings only in store for Israel, that he rejected as superfluous all his magic arts, and even

¹ Revelation ii. 14; ² Peter ii. 15, 16.

² Micah vi. 5.

³ Numbers xxiv. 3, 4, 15, 16.

⁴ Exodus xxii. 18; Deuteronomy xviii. 10, 11; Leviticus xix. 26, 31, xx. 6, 27

⁵ Micah iii. 5, 7, 11; Isaiah iii. 2; Jeremiah xxix. 8.

⁶ Deuteronomy xxiii. 4, 5; Joshua xxiv. 2, 10.

volunteered, unasked, to reveal the people's future, and fill the measure of Balak's consternation!

So unconditionally was Israel the beloved of Yahweh, so unconditionally defended and blessed by this Most High, this Mighty One! And such, again, is the power of God in hearts that feel his presence!

This is the real religious thought that lies at the kernel of the story. It is a consecrating and consoling truth that raises up our lives! Our wishes are often opposed to the will of God. It is often against our interest to listen to the voice of truth. But it is too strong for us, and compels us to forget our own advantage and honor, and to say and do what God bids us.

Happy are we if our lives exemplify this power of God!

CHAPTER XIX.

AMOS AND THE PROPHETS BY PROFESSION.

AMOS VII.; NUMBERS XI.

IN the mountain land of Judah, a few leagues south of Bethlehem, lay the city of Tekoa. To the east stretched the barren plains known as "the desert," which furnished scanty pastures, but were unfit for cultivation. Tekoa itself, however, was a busy place, for it was the scene of an active trade between the Egyptian merchants and the Israelites, and was especially famed for its great horse fairs.¹ For these reasons Rehoboam had fortified the place.²

Now in the neighborhood of Tekoa, towards the end of the reign of Jeroboam II., there lived a herdsman of the name of Amos. He was so poor that he was often glad to make a meal on the fruit of the wild fig-trees, but he was a man of no little culture and information. The book that bears his name contains a short epitome of his prophecies and an account of his experiences at Bethel; and since he is himself its author, it shows that he could not only speak when the inspiration was on him, but also write; or at any rate, even if he dictated the book to some one else, could calmly recall his utterances and reproduce them in a regular form. It appears, moreover,

¹ Compare p. 70.

² 2 Chronicles xi. 6.

from the contents of the book itself, that he was well acquainted not only with what was going on in his own time in Palestine and in the surrounding countries, but also with the previous history of his people.¹ But he is chiefly distinguished by the depth of his religious feeling and his extreme reverence for Yahweh, upon whose will he held that everything depended. "Behold!" he cried,² "he who forms the mountains and creates the wind, who declares his thoughts to man; he who turns twilight into darkness and steps on the heights of the earth — Yahweh, god of hosts, is his name!" and elsewhere:³ "He who makes the seven stars and Orion, who changes thick darkness to morning dawn and darkens the day into night, who calls for the waters of the sea and pours them out over the earth — Yahweh is his name!" Both blessings and disasters come from him,⁴ and vain is the attempt to flee from him! The prophet cherished the conviction afterwards expressed by a poet in the words*: —

O Yahweh, thou dost search me and know me,
 Thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising;
 Thou perceivest my thoughts afar off.
 Thou judgest my walking and my lying down,
 And art acquainted with all my ways.
 For before there is even a word on my tongue
 Lo! thou knowest all, O Yahweh!
 Thou encompassst me behind and before,
 And dost stretch out thine hand over me.
 Such knowledge is too wonderful for me,
 So high that I comprehend it not!
 Whither shall I go where thy breath is not felt?
 Whither shall I flee from thy presence?
 If I ascend into heaven, thou art there;
 If I make my bed in the land of shadows, behold! thou art there.
 Though I sat on the wings of the dawn,
 Though I dwelt where the sea meets the sky,
 Even there thy hand would lead me
 And thy right hand would hold me.
 Should I say: Surely the darkness will cover me,
 Even the night would be light about me,
 Not even the darkness hides from thee,
 But the night shines as the day;
 The darkness as the light.
 Thou hast made my inmost parts,
 Hast formed me in my mother's womb.
 I will praise thee, for I am so wondrously made!
 Marvellous are thy works!
 My soul knows it right well.

To the deepest reverence for this omniscient and mighty god, Amos joined a profound sense of his holiness and retrib-

¹ See Amos i., ii., v. 25, 26, vi. 2, ix. 7.

² Amos iv. 13.

³ Amos v. 8, ix. 6.

⁴ Amos ix. 13 14, iv. 6-11, vi. 14, viii. 8, 9.

* Psalm cxxxix. 1-14; Amos ix. 2-4

utive justice. "He who has chosen Israel out of all the nations of the earth, will requite Israel's sins with double rigor. As surely as two men cannot walk together unless they meet; as surely as a lion never roars unless he has found his prey, and a bird never falls into a snare unless a snare has been set for him; as surely as the people tremble when the trumpet's blast is heard, — so surely will disaster never fall upon a city except by Yahweh's will."¹

But, for this very reason, Amos foresaw all manner of misery for his people; for much had come to his ears that stirred his intensest indignation. In his own neighborhood the worship of Beersheba flourished;² and in the northern kingdom there were the shrines at Gilgal, Bethel, and Dan;³ all of them sheer godlessness! "From Zion Yahweh roars, and lifts up his voice from Jerusalem."⁴ But no sacrifice or festival, no song of praise or sound of temple music could appease him. He hated the holy days of a sinful people. Rather "let Israel's justice rush down like a torrent; his righteousness like a dashing river."⁵ Cruelty and impiety were the special sins that Amos abhorred, and it was therefore more especially northern Israel that stirred his wrath. Doubtless, all the surrounding countries had merited the chastisement of Yahweh by their savage cruelty, but his wrath would burn most hotly against Israel. Judah is only once or twice reprov'd by Amos, and then in the most general terms.⁶ But as for Israel, what horrors were not perpetrated there! There the devout were sold as slaves because they could not pay their debts, though may be it was but the poor price of a pair of shoes they owed! There the usurer cast hungry eyes upon the very dust which the poor wretch he had stripped of everything had cast in his agony upon his head! — might not even that be worth something? There father and son practised lasciviousness together! There rich tyrants stretched themselves by the altars upon the clothes they had received in pledge,⁷ and held drinking bouts in their temples with the money they had extorted as fines by unjust sentences!⁸ By the great blessing of Yahweh some of their sons might grow to be prophets and others Nazarites. Yet they strove to force the Nazarites to break their vow of abstinence from wine, and would not suffer the prophets to

¹ Amos iii. 1-6.

² Amos v. 5, viii. 14; compare vol. I. pp. 164-166.

³ Amos iii. 14, iv. 4, v. 5, viii. 14.

⁴ Amos i. 2.

⁵ Amos v. 21-24.

⁶ Amos ii. 4, 5, vi. 1.

⁷ Compare Exodus xxii. 25-27.

⁸ Amos ii. 6-8, v. 11, 12.

preach the word of Yahweh!¹ Samaria's palaces were full of treasure, so were her winter and summer residences and her ivory villas; but knavery and usury had drawn the wealth together.² These men conceived themselves to be religious, yet when the feast of New Moon or Sabbath came they longed for the time of rest to pass that they might once more push their trade with their false weights and measures, and suck the marrow of the poor to their hearts' content.³

When Amos pondered on the sins of Israel his soul was in a turmoil of indignant grief, and at last he could bear it no longer, and determined to preach the word of Yahweh to the wanton drunkards "who walked securely upon Zion, and carelessly on the hills of Samaria."⁴ He felt that his god called him, and as he himself exclaims, "When the lion roars who does not tremble? When the Lord Yahweh speaks who can but prophesy?" Yahweh revealed to his servants the prophets the things that were to come.⁵

So Amos set out for Bethel, in the kingdom of Jeroboam, where the royal chapel stood. There he lifted his prophetic voice, and cried woe upon the proud and careless people who ascribed its power to the might of its own hands!⁶ "Seek Yahweh," he cried, "that you may rescue your lives; for not till you do good and cease from evil will Yahweh, the god of war-hosts, upon whose help you trust, be with you indeed. Then he will be gracious at least to a remnant of Joseph. For woe shall come upon you, and wailing for the dead shall be heard in every street; the dirge, 'Alas my brother!' shall rise on every side. The husbandman shall be called home suddenly to wail the dead; and the mourners shall be sent for everywhere. Do you call for the day of Yahweh? Ah! fools. What will it bring you? Darkness and not light. It will be as if a man fled from a lion and fell into the jaws of a bear, or fled into a house and leaned against the wall and was bitten by a serpent. So shall the day of Yahweh be pitch dark as night, unbroken by a ray of light!"⁷ "Behold, a strange people falls upon you [the prophet means the Assyrians] and oppresses you from Hamath to the borders of Egypt."⁸

Such was the constant burden of the prophet's utterances at Bethel. On one occasion⁹ he thus described the fearful

¹ Amos ii. 11, 12.

⁴ Amos vi. 1, 4-6; compare p. 62.

⁷ Amos v. 14-20.

² Amos iii. 10, 15.

⁵ Amos iii. 7, 8.

⁸ Amos vi. 14.

³ Amos viii. 4-6.

⁶ Amos vi. 13.

⁹ Amos vii. 1 ff.

gloom of Israel's future : " The Lord Yahweh sent me a vision ; and behold, there came up swarms of locusts about the time of after-grass. They had devoured almost everything when I cried imploringly, ' Lord Yahweh, spare ! What is there left of Jacob ? Alas ! he is so small.' So Yahweh spared the rest. But then he called the fire to fight against Israel, and behold ! the heat had consumed the great deep and a part of the land also when I cried imploringly, ' Lord Yahweh, cease ! What is there left of Jacob ? Alas ! he is so small ! ' Once more Yahweh was appeased and spared the rest. But soon I saw him again. This time he stood upon a wall, built true, with a plumb-line in his hand. ' What see you, Amos ? ' he cried to me. — ' A plumb-line,' I replied. — ' See ! ' he went on, ' I will measure a piece for destruction out of the midst of Israel with this line ; and this time I will not spare it. Isaac's *bāmahs* shall be levelled with the ground, Israel's sanctuaries destroyed, and I will rise up with the sword against Jeroboam's house ! ' "

These dread oracles came to the ear of Amaziah, Yahweh's chief priest at Bethel, and he saw that some check must be imposed upon the prophet's hardy sayings. So he told the king how Amos had foretold his death by violence, and the captivity and transportation of the people. Such seditious language, he added, could not but work mischief. Not daring to lay hands on Yahweh's messenger, he goaded him with scornful language, and strove to rob him of the people's respect and so compel him to take his departure. " Seer ! " he sneered, " take yourself off to your own country, and eat your bread in peace, and prophesy there to your heart's content ! But here in Bethel we will have no more of you, for it is the royal shrine and a temple of the kingdom." But Amos answered haughtily, " I am no prophet by profession, nor am I of the sons of the prophets. I was but a herdsman, living upon wild figs. But Yahweh has taken me from following my flocks, and bidden me go prophesy against his people Israel. And now hear Yahweh's word : Inasmuch as you forbid me to declare God's word to the house of Isaac, your wife shall be a prey to the enemy, your children shall fall by the sword, your land shall be divided, and you yourself shall die in an unclean land, for Israel shall surely be carried away out of his own land into captivity."

Amos foresaw disaster, foresaw the captivity of Israel ; but he was none the less deeply convinced of the glorious destiny of Yahweh's imperishable people. So when he com-

mitted the substance of his prophecies to writing, he concluded all his denunciations with these words:¹ "I will destroy this godless kingdom, yet I will not utterly root out the house of Jacob. Rather will I sift it, as with a winnowing fan, when it is scattered amongst all peoples, and not the least grain shall be lost. But all the sinners amongst my people shall perish by the sword—all they that arrogantly cry, 'The evil will not come near us!' In that day I will raise up the fallen tent of David, hedge round its gaps, heal its breaches, and restore it to its ancient glory. Then shall they take possession of the remnant of Edom, and of all the peoples who once were Yahweh's subjects. Thus says Yahweh, and thus will he bring to pass: Behold the days come when the reaper shall put in his sickle while the ploughman is still at work, and ere seed-time be over the grapes shall be ripe for treading; when the mountains shall drop new wine and all the hills flow down. Then will I bring back the children of my people who have been taken away captive, to rebuild the wasted cities, to replant the vineyards and drink the wine they yield, to lay out gardens and eat the fruit that grows there. I will plant them in their land, and never more pluck them up! Thus says Yahweh, your god."

Not the least interesting point in the history of Amos is the contempt with which the chief priest at Bethel addresses him as "seer!" and the emphasis with which he himself rejects the title of prophet, or son of a prophet, that is, member of a prophetic school. These things would seem to indicate that Yahweh's messengers were held in no great honor. The circumstance demands our attention all the more urgently because it stands by no means alone. There are other men of God, whose writings we possess, who denounce in the strongest language not this or that seer only, but the prophets in general. We must not lay too much stress upon Amaziah's language, however, for it is common enough for a man who looks with the utmost reverence and awe upon his special "clergy"—whether he call them priests, magicians, parsons, or ministers—nay, who is ready to become their absolute slave, if need be, yet to burst into the most violent invectives against the whole order when one of their number happens to offend him! Amaziah was angry with Amos, and his calling him a "seer" in a tone of contempt by no means proves that the prophets were not gen-

¹ Amos ix. 8-15.

erally respected in Israel. But it may be urged that Amos himself objected to being called a prophet. Was it looked upon as a term of disgrace? That does not follow. It is natural for a man to reject a name that is given him in contempt, even if there is nothing dishonorable in the name itself. But since, as we have said, this passage does not stand alone, since we frequently meet with the most violent denunciations of the prophets, we are compelled to look more closely into the condition of the prophetic communities, and are prepared to find that there was much room for improvement in them.

In discussing Samuel's work we said a few words on the prophetic schools.¹ What was then brought forward, together with the incidental information we have gleaned from time to time,² constitutes the whole of our knowledge of these institutions. We have only to recall the names of Ahijah, Elijah, and Elisha to realize the power which the prophets and their disciples often wielded over the sentiments of the people, and the way in which they deposed one king and set another upon the throne! It was they who kept the people in comparative independence under their monarchs, and prevented Israel from becoming a nation of slaves. It was they who rooted out the worship of Baal, and maintained and developed the principles of Moses. In the eighth century they were also prominent as authors and national historians; and it was to them that Israel owed its deep sense of dignity and its lofty conception of Yahweh's nature. As far as we can tell the spiritual life of the people was drawn to a focus in the schools of the prophets, under the guidance of their "fathers."

Now, we have not the smallest reason to suppose that the members of these prophetic schools grew degenerate in later times, and yet the very nature of the institutions exposed them to many evils. A prophet was supposed by himself and others to interpret the will of the deity, and no one really does so unless his own reflection and the intensity of his own moral life have raised him to a higher religious level than that of others, and have thus enabled him to become the teacher of those around him and the herald of a better day. Now such men must always be few, must generally stand alone, and a whole community of such messengers of God is simply inconceivable. But the Israelites imagined that there might be hundreds and thousands of these interpreters of Yahweh, and this delusion caused an isolated burst of re

¹ See vol. i. p. 455.

² See vol. i. pp. 508, 509; vol. ii. pp. 100 ff, 114, 115, &c.

ligious enthusiasm to form a sufficient passport for any man into the ranks of the "inspired," and must from the very first have exercised a baneful influence upon the moral tone of the prophets.

Consider what their vocation involved! In the first place, they were regarded by the superstitious multitude as soothsayers, men who could foresee the future, and might therefore be consulted as to the issue of a sickness, or at the outset of any important enterprise, such as a great mercantile voyage, a campaign, or the conclusion of a peace. They themselves, too, accepted the character of soothsayers, for they were firmly convinced that they really had power to foretell the future. Closely connected with this office was the more especial task of the prophets in exhorting, consoling, and encouraging their people, for in prosperity and adversity they traced the hand of God rewarding virtue and chastising wickedness. Thus they became the preachers of righteousness and the leaders of public opinion, for Yahweh never did anything without first revealing it to his servants the prophets.¹

To what temptations must a man have been exposed who regarded himself, and was regarded by others, as God's interpreter? Nothing short of the constant inspiration of sacred zeal and the intensest moral earnestness could preserve a man once placed on such a pedestal from pride and insincerity. To chastise or comfort others in the name of God is a glorious task which bears the richest fruit for him who undertakes it, and for others too, but only on condition that he is really called to it; for he who preaches the word of God simply because it is his official duty to do so cannot be true either to himself or others, and is sure to degenerate into a spiritual quacksalver. This is the standing danger of every one whose social calling requires him to do work which can only be done well when he himself is in the right mood for doing it. Nor did the prophets escape the danger. They were Yahweh's interpreters, "men of the spirit"—by profession! When we reflect how rare great men must be in any body, we shall understand that while some of the sons of the prophets were the true light of their age, the true "chariots and horsemen of Israel," while others were unprincipled hypocrites who had oracles ready for the taste of any one who would pay for them, the majority were simply commonplace and shallow, and as far as possible from possessing that jewel—rare at all times—an independent conviction of their own! A fit of en-

¹ Amos iii. 7.

thusiasm might have first led them to join the ranks of the prophets, but it soon yielded to the dull routine of custom. If even an Elisha was sometimes forced to call in the aid of music before the spirit of Yahweh would seize him, how often must inferior men have stirred themselves to the prophetic rapture by this stimulus, or the less innocent one of wine, for instance! The prophetic style was gradually acquired until "Thus says Yahweh" might preface the thoughtless repetition of another's words, or the chance dictates of the impulse of the moment.

Public opinion has tremendous force, and is often identified with truth itself: witness the proverb *vox populi vox dei*, "the voice of the people is the voice of God;" nor were the interpreters of Yahweh exempt from its influence any more than others. In fact, they often followed it passively when they should have independently controlled it. When the people were in a downcast mood, most of the prophets were gloomy also, and had no revelations; but if a victory was gained, or if any other circumstance gave the people courage, then the prophets raised a song of triumph. Like the mass of men, they were dazzled by the glittering shows of royalty, for instance, or the pomp of war, and depressed by famine or defeat. Under Jehu and Jehoahaz, when Israel was oppressed by the Syrians, few men of God would utter words of cheer, and Elisha would be almost alone in his task of comforter; but under Jeroboam II. the whole chorus of prophets would swell the cry: "Hail to the people of Israel, whom Yahweh makes victorious!"

Most men, of course, failed to perceive these shortcomings of the prophets, or bowed before the interpreters of Yahweh in spite of them. But there were a few who really knew by their own experience what it meant to be called by God, and whether they were sons of the prophets themselves or had never been received into their communities, in any case they stood far enough above their surroundings to perceive with shame and sorrow the superficial thoughtlessness of the mass of prophets. And since these men of loftier spirit could not understand the sincerity of the other prophets in proclaiming that as truth the precise opposite of which they themselves recognized as the word of Yahweh, they took the rough and ready method of denouncing them as liars, as false prophets who uttered their own fancies in the name of God or upon whom a lying spirit had descended. We have already met with one example in Micaiah the son of

Imlah and Ahab's four hundred prophets,¹ and shall come upon many other instances in the sequel of the history.

The mass of prophets, whose oracles followed rather than led public opinion, naturally looked down with contempt and aversion upon the few who stood alone, and professed to see farther than any of them, especially if they were not recognized members of the order; just in the same way as regular clergy are often apt to speak slightly of "preachers." But those whose sight was keener perceived that a man might be called by Yahweh though he had never been received into the official circle of prophets.

This thought is forcibly expressed in a remarkable story in the Pentateuch,² which professes to place us in the period of Israel's wanderings in the desert, but really gives us the conceptions of a later age.

Once, when the Israelites were full of discontent, and uttered the bitterest complaints in Yahweh's hearing, he made a fire burst out at the edge of the camp, and the people were so terrified that they implored Moses to intercede for them; and at his prayer the fire was quenched. So they called this place Taberah, that is *conflagration*. Some time afterwards the rabble of foreign camp-followers began to long for flesh to eat, and the sons of Israel themselves were led away by them. They thought repiningly of the fruit and fish of Egypt, and complained that the manna was insipid. When Moses heard the people murmuring in this fashion all through the camp he was very angry, and dreaded the most fatal consequences. Seeking refuge with Yahweh he prayed, "O Yahweh, why hast thou afflicted me thus? Thou hast laid the burden of all this people upon me. Am I their father or their mother that I should have to bring them to the land which thou didst promise to their fathers, as a nurse would carry a sucking child? How can I find flesh to appease their longing? I cannot bear the charge of all this multitude. It is too hard for me. If thou requirest it of me then should I hold it a mercy to be slain by thee, and so to see my misery no more!"

Upon this Yahweh commanded him to call together seventy elders, whom he knew, at the tent of meeting, and to keep them near him. He was also to command the people to sanctify themselves as a preparation for meeting Yahweh; for, from the morrow onwards, they would have flesh to eat,

¹ See p. 120 ff.

² Numbers xi.

not for a single day or a few days only, but for a whole month, till at last they would grow sick of it. Moses was not a little amazed at this, for there were six hundred thousand men in the camp, and he could not imagine where meat was to come from to satisfy them all; but Yahweh asked him whether he supposed his power was not equal to the task, and Moses did as he was commanded.

Now, when he had chosen seventy of Israel's elders and ranged them round the tent, Yahweh came down in the cloud, spoke to them, and gave them some of his spirit, which he took from Moses. Then they prophesied, as long as the spirit rested on them, but no longer. Meanwhile two of the men whom Moses had chosen, namely Eldad and Medad, had not come to the tent with the rest, but had stayed behind in the camp. But the spirit rested upon them too, and they prophesied in the camp. When this was told to Moses, his servant Joshua exclaimed: "Lord Moses, forbid them!" But Moses answered: "Are you jealous for my honor? Oh! that Yahweh would make all his people prophets, and give his spirit to them all!"

Accompanied by the elders, Moses now returned to the camp, and lo! a west wind bore flocks of quails over the camp until they lay heaped up two cubits high upon the ground all round the camp, a day's journey in every direction! The people picked them up in unheard of numbers; but, while they were still eating, Yahweh's wrath burst out, and he made a great slaughter amongst them. So they called the place Kibroth-Hattaavah, that is, *graves of desire*.

Several elements of this story reappear in other legends, and are already familiar to us; but our special attention is now claimed by the description of the elders who are to support Moses, and of Eldad and Medad. These seventy elders obviously represent the prophets, who were very justly regarded as the fellow-laborers of Moses and the continuers of his work. The legend therefore insists upon the special characteristics of the prophets — namely, that as long as the spirit of Yahweh rested on them they were inspired, but no longer. Moses might see Yahweh, face to face, with unveiled clearness, at all times,¹ but in this privilege he stood alone; others saw Yahweh only for a time, in visions and in dreams. If the seventy elders are taken as representing the prophets, then Eldad and Medad can hardly stand for anything else than such messengers of God as Amos, who had never passed

¹ Numbers xii. 6-8. Compare vol i. pp. 296 ff.

through the prophetic schools. It is instructive to observe the light in which our author regards them. He holds them to be genuine prophets, for they are amongst the seventy whom Moses chose, and have a share of Yahweh's spirit. It was narrow-minded to endeavor to close their mouths. Such efforts sprang from a misdirected zeal for Moses, as if no one had a right to speak except under his eye and according to his rules. But the true course was to leave them undisturbed. Their reasons for not joining the rest were unexplained and their conduct was contrary to rule, but still they must be allowed to speak out freely. It would be well if there were more such men, inspired by Yahweh's spirit; for to rule such a fretful and capricious people, so easily led astray, was a task that would strain the powers of many, many prophets.

The author of this legend had a truly liberal and generous heart, uncramped by party spirit and free from paltry self-exaltation. He would encourage not only recognized prophets, but all who had the spirit of Yahweh, to speak out.

And the same freedom appears to have been demanded by the public opinion of the Israelites. Is it not remarkable that the chief priest Amaziah, however much exasperated against Amos, offers him no violence? He does not appear to have done so even when he discovered that the bold intruder was not so much as a disciple of one of the prophetic schools. Though almost all the messengers of Yahweh had passed through one of these institutions and were members of the prophetic societies, yet a word spoken in Yahweh's name was enough in itself to secure respect entirely apart from any such connection. Every prophet of Yahweh, whatever his antecedents, was free to utter what his god revealed to him.

We may well go still further than the writer of our legend, and recognize in the free preachers of the word, like Amos, who were no prophets by profession but had been seized by Yahweh's spirit, a power, a freshness, a courage, a love of truth and an earnestness of purpose which the sons of the prophets but too often lacked.

In the following chapter we shall discuss the chief point in which the preaching of such men as these differed from that of the ordinary prophets.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PROPHET HOSEA.

HOSEA XI., I.-III.

WHAT distinguished Amos from most of the prophets of his day was not his conception of Yahweh's nature, or his relation to Israel. All the prophets alike were convinced that Yahweh was the god of gods, if not the only God, and that Israel was his people and could therefore never perish. "Hail to thee, Israel, thou people whom Yahweh crowns with victory!" was a cry which found an echo in all their hearts. What distinguished Amos from the others was the zeal with which he maintained the moral requirements of Yahweh. The comparative absence of any sense of guilt in the great mass of the prophets is very remarkable. For Israel, the mighty people of Yahweh, they had hardly anything but congratulations, blessings, and auspicious prophecies. Other nations worshipped idols, but Israel served the true god; and surely he, the Almighty, would protect his servants. To doubt it was impossible! Read all the stories of the ancient times which were written in this eighth century, and you will hardly ever find the recognition of any sin in Israel. Even such a picture as that of the people murmuring in the desert is not intended, in the first instance, to warn the writer's contemporaries against ingratitude and discontent, but to throw a more brilliant light on the power of Yahweh in helping his beloved ones.¹ Elijah did indeed announce the judgment of Yahweh, but Micahiah stood alone in opposing his four hundred colleagues; and when the worship of Baal was rooted out the prophets seem to have found nothing more to condemn, and Elisha could content himself with comforting his people and teaching them to trust in Yahweh's might. Amos, on the other hand, saw deeper. To his mind Israel was far too sinful to be unconditionally blessed. It was impossible that Yahweh should have in store for such a people blessings only, for he would sternly maintain his moral ordinances. A land on which there were so many stains, in which so much injustice went unchecked, in which the godless and licentious nobles oppressed the poor and perverted justice merely to find

¹ Compare vol. i. p. 292.

means of carousing, in which there was so much in chastity and so much knavery—such a land had nothing to expect in the immediate future but misery. Woe to Israel and Israel's king!

Men of deep moral nature, grieving to see how far their people fall short of the ideal standard, till at last their zeal breaks forth and compels them to take up arms against the sins of their age, are at all times rare; but Amos had a spiritual brother in Hosea, concerning whom we will now give some particulars.

Of his outward life we only know that his father's name was Beeri, while his writings seem to indicate that he was a native of northern Israel. The superscription of his book says that he prophesied under Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, as well as under Jeroboam II.; but this is incorrect. At any rate, none of the oracles which we still possess bring us further down than a few years after Jeroboam's death.

The greater portion of Hosea's book (chapters iv.—xiv.) resembles that of Amos, in being an abstract of the prophet's discourses, composed by himself. Many passages are exceedingly difficult to understand, owing to the allusions they contain to circumstances of which we have no knowledge, the broken sentences of which they are often composed, and the absence of any regular line of development. All this is what we should expect from a man who gives us a short review of what he has said on different occasions in times past, under circumstances many of which have widely altered.

But though the exact meaning of many a passage is lost, we can still see clearly enough the spirit of the whole. Hosea is so full of tender love for his people that its fate overwhelms him with sadness. Immorality stirs his intensest indignation,¹ and his faith in Yahweh's love for Israel never wavers. He is therefore deeply convinced that though the land will be chastised for its sins, it will at last be restored to honor. He was a passionate opponent of the bull-worship to which he constantly refers,² whereas Amos never mentions it in express terms; and he attributes the disasters of his people in great measure to the priests, whom he never spares. He was all the less tolerant of their shortcomings because he held in such slight esteem the sacrifices upon the performance of which they insisted and by which they lived. "Yahweh desires piety more than sacrifices, and the knowledge of God

¹ See Hosea, iv. 1-3, for instance. ² Hosea viii. 4, 5, 6, x. 5, 15, xiii. 2.

rather than burnt-offerings," he cried.¹ He calls Moses a prophet,² and describes the men of God as the executors of Yahweh's judgments, for he had "chastised Israel by the prophets, slain them by his words;"³ but elsewhere he appears to have but a poor opinion of them.⁴ The inconsistency, however, is only apparent. Hosea's thorough familiarity with the legends that were committed to writing in the prophetic schools⁵ seems to indicate that he had himself been an inmate of one of them, and in that case he may well have had the greatest reverence for the calling of a true interpreter of God's will, while by no means conscious of any respectful sympathy with the majority of his colleagues.

Here is a specimen of his preaching:—

"When Israel was yet a child I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt.⁶ But when they were called they turned away; they sacrificed to Baals and burned incense to images. Yet it was I who taught them to walk, and held them under their arms; but they knew not that it was I who healed them. I drew them on with cords, with gentle bands, not as a beast is treated, but as a man. As a kind-hearted husbandman takes the yoke from his ox's neck and then gives it food, so did I deal with Israel. Truly⁷ he shall go back to Egypt and Ashur shall be his king, because they refuse to repent. The sword shall abide in his cities, shall consume and devour his gates, because of their evil designs. For my people are bent on rebelling against me. They are called on high, but not one of them directs his eyes thither."

"Yet how can I give up thee, O Ephraim, into the enemy's hands? How can I surrender thee, O Israel? How can I suffer thee to meet the fate of Admah, and make thee like Zeboim?⁸ My heart trembles at the thought; my pity grows hot within me. I cannot pour out all my wrath upon thee; I will not turn to destroy Ephraim; for I am a god and not a man; as the holy one am I in your midst, and shall enter into none of your cities.⁹ But they will follow Yahweh when he comes to judgment roaring like a lion; for he will roar, and then his sons will come in terror from the West, come like a timid bird from Egypt, like a dove from Assyria, and I will make them dwell in their homes. So says Yahweh!"

What tenderness breathes through all this passage! Israel

¹ Hosea vi. 6.

² Hosea xiii. 14.

³ Hosea vi. 5.

⁴ Hosea ix. 7, 8.

⁵ Hosea vi. 7, ix. 10, xi. 8, xii. 4, 5, 13, xiii. 10.

⁶ Compare Exodus iv. 22.

⁷ After an amended version. Compare Hosea viii. 13, ix. 3, xi. 11.

⁸ Compare Genesis xiv. 2, xix. 24. ⁹ Compare Exodus xxxiii. 3, 5.

is an apostate people and Yahweh has good cause for wrath, but yet he loves them so !

The first three chapters of Hosea's book present the same thought in a very extraordinary form. It almost appears as if the prophet were here giving the general conclusion of his oracles. Slightly abbreviated and with a few verses transposed to suit the context, the passage runs as follows :—

When Yahweh first revealed himself to Hosea, he said : "Marry an adulterous woman, of whose children you will not be the father. For in truth Israel is faithless to her husband, Yahweh." So I obeyed the command of my god and took Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, to wife ; and the first son she bore I called Jezreel, at Yahweh's command ; for he would soon exact from Jehu's house requital for the blood poured out in Jezreel. Nay, he would put an end to Israel's monarchy, and break his bow in the valley of Jezreel. Then Gomer bore a daughter, and Yahweh said to me : "Call the child Unfavored, for I will show favor to Israel no more in forgiving his sins. Yet Judah will I pity and deliver, though not by force of arms, but by Yahweh his god." And when Unfavored was weaned, Gomer bore another son, and Yahweh commanded me and said : "Call him Not-my-people, for you are not my people, and I am not your god."

And yet, one day the number of the sons of Israel shall be countless and untold as the sand on the sea shore, and in place of Not-my-people you shall be called sons of the living God. For in that day the Judæans, with the Israelites their brothers, shall leave their land, under one ruler, because it has grown too small for them ; for blessed in its results shall the day of Jezreel be in which Israel's might is quenched and an end is put to the severance. So call your brothers My-people and call your sisters Favored.

7 Contend with your mother for she is not my wife, and I am not her husband. Oh, that she would quit her adulteries ! But, if she will not, I will strip her of everything, till she is naked as on the day of her birth, till I make her die of thirst in the desert. Nor will I take pity on her sons, for they are but bastards ! Has not their mother been shameless in adulteries, and run after her paramours, from whom she vainly thought she had received all that she had, which I had given her—bread, water, wool, flax, oil, and drink ? She acknowledged not that it was I who had given her all, even the very silver and gold that she used to make the Baal.

Therefore will I plunge her into deepest woe, and make her atone for the days in which she burnt incense to the Baals. I will lead her on a path where thorns shall encompass her on every side, and a wall shall be in front of her, — a path where she shall lose her way. Then, when she pursues her lovers, but overtakes them not, seeks them, but does not find, then she will say, "Let me seek my first husband again, for it was better with me then than now." And when such thoughts arise within her, then will I gently allure her to the wilderness, and speak tenderly to her there. And from thence I will give her her vineyards and the valley of Achor as a door of hope; then shall she sing as in the days of her youth, when she came up out of Egypt. On that day, says Yahweh, she shall call me "my husband," and no more call me "my lord (Baal);" for I will take the names of the Baals far from her lips, and they shall be remembered no more. Then will I make a covenant with the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, and all that creeps upon the ground, that they shall not hurt my people; bow and sword and weapon of war will I break and cast away, that Israel may dwell in safety. Then will I betroth myself to thee in faith and love, that thou mayest know Yahweh. In that day, says Yahweh, I will listen in mercy to the heavens, and they shall listen to the earth, and the earth to the corn and oil, and all of them to Jezreel (Israel). So will I shew favor to Unfavored; and will call Not-my-people "My-people," and they shall say "My God!"

Yet, again, Yahweh said to me: "Go forth and bargain for the hand of a woman loved by her husband, but yet unfaithful to him, — just as Yahweh loves the Israelites, whereas they turn to other gods." I did so; and, when I had bought her at a heavy price, I said: "Long time shalt thou sit desolate without either lover or husband, nor will I care for thee!" — for long time shall the sons of Israel remain bereft of king and prince, of sacrifice and *massebah*, of *ephod* and *teraphim*. Then after that they shall seek again for Yahweh, their god, and David, their king; and shall come at last in fear to Yahweh and his goodness.

Just a word on the form and contents of this prophecy!

The form is certainly strange enough, yet not half so strange as the opinion of some commentators, who take it all as a description of veritable facts, and actually suppose that Hosea literally married a woman, at Yahweh's command, of whom he knew beforehand that she would constantly break

her marriage vow. All this is obviously nothing but the form in which the prophet expresses the thought, "Israel is Yahweh's wife, tenderly loved by him, but faithless to him from the very beginning of their union." We cannot be sure whether the name of the woman, Gomer the daughter of Diblaim, has a symbolical meaning, as the names of the children have. It is possible that it is the name of some very notorious courtesan of Hosea's time, whom he mercilessly exposes to infamy while rebuking the whole people.

This discourse furnishes us with a striking example of the great freedom with which the prophets used the forms of speech, "Yahweh said to me," and "Yahweh commanded me." Israel's infidelity, Yahweh's love, the certainty of a future restoration — such were the thoughts which the prophet might indeed regard as revelations from Yahweh; but when he threw them into this story of a command from his god, a marriage with a certain Gomer and the birth of three children whose names indicated the sins of the people and the consequences they involved, then he was quietly thinking out and deliberately preparing his discourse, just as a preacher does when he writes his sermon.

This example stands by no means alone. And again, we find "visions" recorded by the prophets which are invented from beginning to end. When hope and fear or any other conflicting emotions contend for victory in the heart of a man, until the strain of his over-wrought system bursts into a kind of ecstasy or frenzy, and he imagines himself to hear the words of God or to see messengers from heaven who instruct him how to act or what the future will bring forth, then such a man is said to have had a "vision." As an example of what we mean we may refer to the description already given of what we suppose to have taken place in Deborah's heart before she summoned her countrymen to the battle.¹ A vision, in short, is a kind of waking dream. Now, of course, such visions must be of comparatively rare occurrence, and for the most part extremely simple. But all the prophets are called "seers," and to have visions was a recognized part of their profession. In other words, the men of God clothed what they had to say in the form of visions, and "Yahweh showed me" was a simple figure of rhetoric. Just as poets sometimes clothe their thoughts in the form of a dream, or profess to tell us what they thought or saw as they stood upon such and such a spot, though their readers never

¹ vol. i. p. 370.

seriously suppose that they really had these dreams or saw these wondrous sights. And in the same way, when Amos, for instance, says: "Yahweh showed me swarms of locusts eating everything bare, and then a fire consuming water and land; and when these two disasters had been averted by my prayer, I saw Yahweh himself standing with a plumb-line in his hand"¹—we are not to suppose that the prophet really had any such vision, for it is simply a form of speech. This is shown by the highly artificial character of many of these visions, which in some cases owe their origin entirely to a play upon words. Take the following, for instance:² "The Lord Yahweh showed me a basket of fruit (*kuits*), and asked: Amos, what see you? I answered: A basket of *kuits*. Whereupon he said: The end (*keets*) of Israel is come, and I will no more spare him." This is clearly a fictitious vision. The prophet avails himself of the similarity of sound between the words signifying "end" and "fruit" thus to announce the fall of Israel.

These rhetorical expressions, "Yahweh said," "Yahweh showed me," "Yahweh made me hear," "Yahweh commanded me," are in themselves as innocent as those of the poets; but they were rendered dangerous and pernicious by the fact that the prophets demanded reverence and obedience for the oracles which they prefaced with "Thus says Yahweh," as though they were the genuine utterances of their god. If even the greatest prophets, whose integrity is above all suspicion—such as Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah—employed these expressions without any hesitation, how recklessly they must have been used and abused by seers of inferior mould! There is a departure from strict veracity in these forms which could not fail to cause incalculable detriment to prophecy.

As regards the substance of Hosea's preaching, we may note a curious point of opposition to the legend of Balaam and the "blessing of Moses;" for whereas these poems, though written by Judæans, anticipate the happiest results from Jeroboam's rule, Hosea, on the other hand, though probably a native of the northern kingdom, desires the reunion of all the tribes under a prince of David's house. In this he agrees with Amos.

In another and more important point he is one with the Judæan shepherd. They are both of them dissatisfied with Israel. Neither of them is dazzled by the splendor of Jero-

¹ Amos vii. 1 ff. See p. 213.

² Amos viii. 1, 2.

boam's rule; and both look forward to days of misery, not because the power of Assyria is extending and Israel is far too weak to hold his own against her, but because Yahweh will chastise Israel for his sins. Israel did not fulfil his calling. He was wicked and apostate, and Yahweh would one day punish his former worship of Baal. Both Amos and Hosea were preachers of repentance.

Hosea made a very deep impression by the image he selected to represent the relation between Israel and Yahweh. Israel was Yahweh's wife. Yahweh had married her at the time of the exodus from Egypt. He had always been good to his wife, and had given her many blessings in the land of Canaan; but Israel was faithless to him, and had served other gods. This Hosea called committing adultery with the idols; and, when the people is plunged into disaster because of its idolatry, it is like a wanton wife neglected by her husband because of her infidelity, but pursuing her paramours in vain. If the people gives up its idolatry, it is as though the deserted wife returned in sorrow to the husband of her youth, and was received by him again, — for Yahweh's mercy is infinite! This image, by which the tie between Yahweh and Israel was likened to marriage, was not only taken up and elaborated in several ways by later prophets,¹ but even established itself in the very language of the Israelites, in which idolatry is constantly called "lusting after the idols;" and it is sometimes difficult to make out whether it is incontinuity or idolatry that is spoken of.



CHAPTER XXI.

THE BRIGHT SIDE OF THE PICTURE.

PROVERBS X.-XXII. 16, XXV.-XXIX.; SONG OF SOLOMON.

WERE Hosea and Amos justified in their unfavorable judgment on Israel? Were the people really as bad as they paint them? We have seen already that these two prophets stood almost alone, and that most of their colleagues sang the praises of Israel. This does not prove that Hosea and Amos were wrong, for truth does not always lie on the side of the majority. Far from it! But it does at least

¹ See Isaiah liv., for instance.

prevent our accepting their unfavorable judgment off hand. Nay more, it makes us suspect that the preachers of repentance judged their people unfairly, and looked almost exclusively at the dark side of their life. For, however shallow the prophets and poets may have been who were ever singing the song, "Hail to thee, Israel, people of Yahweh!" yet they were far from having no moral perceptions! Men who were employed in serious literary labors, and who taught their contemporaries to look at the past from a religious point of view, could not possibly have been so proud of their people had it not possessed many excellences.

And so indeed it did. All that Hosea and Amos said was doubtless true; but there was another side to the picture, and on this they did not look. They fell into exaggerations, as all preachers of repentance are in danger of doing.

The manners of the Israelites of the eighth century B.C. were certainly rude in comparison with ours. Their notions of honor, temperance, chastity, love, and — above all — integrity, were still defective. Moreover, the moral code which they did recognize as divine and binding, was very often, and in some cases very grossly, transgressed. But all this is true of every nation and in every age; and he who observes it in a special people at a special time, amidst his own surroundings, for example, has no right, on the strength of it, utterly to condemn the society in which he lives, still less to accuse it of falling away and going backwards. Such an accusation is most dangerous when not absolutely demanded by the facts, for it is so discouraging.¹ Moreover, in the case of Israel it was quite unjust. When we know the history of this people we may still speak of passing deviations, such as that of worshipping Baal to the detriment of the nobler service of Yahweh; but we shall remember that just as each man "errs as long as he strives," so peoples too are sure sometimes to go astray; but if they afterwards return to the true path, it shows that they have learned their lesson and have gathered moral strength from their attempts to make good their errors. Now, throughout the course of Israel's history we trace a steady progress. In the seven centuries that had elapsed between the Exodus and the reign of Jeroboam II., the seed which Moses sowed had borne rich fruit. The rude hordes amongst which he planted the moral worship of Yahweh had grown into a people in whose midst a true national life had developed in more than one direction.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 353-355

What a difference of social condition between those wandering tribes contending with each other for the booty and this nation governed by a king, and with the elements of an organized administration of justice! What a difference between the hordes who had no literature, and but few of whom could even read or write, and the Israel of the eighth century B.C., with its psalmists, proverb-makers, and historians! What a difference between the motley polytheism of the days of Moses, with its stone and tree worship, and the conception of Yahweh as the Most High, the creator of heaven and earth, by whose side no other may be worshipped!

But had Israel sunk as low as Amos and Hosea seem to think, from a moral point of view? We have no right to believe it. On the other hand, we can trace decided progress in many respects here also. For whereas the Israelites, in Joshua's days, had laid Jericho, Ai, and Sephath, as well as other cities, under the ban, their descendants gradually gave up even the far less savage practice of executing the malefactor's children together with himself. It is true that the writers of this later age still commend Joshua for having put the Canaanites to the sword, and regard it as a weakness in their ancestors to have omitted in some cases to root out the old inhabitants. But, in treating of an age so far gone by, people do not realize the horror of a massacre; and even tender-hearted men may sometimes speak of it with indifference. But that human life had become more precious in the eyes of the Israelites is shown, amongst other things, by Hosea's threatening the house of Jehu with punishment for "the massacre of Jezreel," which can only mean the slaughter effected by Jehu in his "zeal for Yahweh." It seems to have produced a painful impression upon many people even at the time. Samuel hews the captive prince of the Amalekites in pieces; and, even as late as in Ahab's time, a prophet rebukes the king for sparing Benhadad's life, when Yahweh's curse was upon him; but when the king of Israel asks Elisha whether he is to slay the Syrians, whom Yahweh has struck blind, and who have been brought to Samaria, the prophet answers, "Not at all! You would not slay your captives!" Consider, again, the gentle and equitable spirit that breathes through the Israelitish laws.¹

The people amongst whom the sketch of Abram was made, as the father of the faithful, full of generosity, interceding for Sodom and ready to obey his god in everything; the people

¹ See pp. 184-186.

in whose midst an influential party zealously opposed all luxury and pride, nay, even art and study, for fear of the moral dangers that accompanied them, — such a people cannot have stood at a very low level of morality. And was there not a strong moral element in the contempt with which the people of Yahweh looked down upon the old inhabitants of the land? Did they not maintain the struggle against the “abominations of the Canaanites” with successful pertinacity? Surely Israel made progress in morality as well as in other things, but its progress was too slow to satisfy earnest men, too slow for them to see!

This moral progress is evinced by other writings than those of the prophets; by the sayings of the “wise men” of this period, for instance. Our book of Proverbs consists of several collections which are not all of the same age. Only one of these is provided with a superscription that fixes its date.¹ It states that it was made at the command of king Hezekiah; and since Samaria fell in the sixth year of this king's reign, the proverbs collected in his day belong to the last period of Israel's existence. We have also another collection² which appears to be a little older. We have no means of deciding whether these proverbs were uttered in Judah or in Israel; but it is of little consequence, for the moral condition of the northern kingdom did not differ materially from that of the southern. Now when we read these sayings of the “wise men,” we are struck at once by the deep moral feeling which they often evince.

Not that they all impress us favorably! Some of them are very commonplace. For instance, “The poor man is mostly despised, but the rich man respected.”³ “The buyer says ‘dear! very dear!’ and then goes and boasts of his bargain.”⁴ “The people curse the factor who holds back his corn to make prices rise, but bless the one who sells it;”⁵ and the remark that these speculations on the rise or fall of the market sometimes fail!⁶ Occasionally the advice given by the sages is even of doubtful morality, and they are too fond of declaring that every man has his price. “For a piece of bread any one will sing;” “a bribe always gains its end.”⁷

Many other sayings, however, show fine powers of observa-

¹ Proverbs xxv.-xxix.

³ Proverbs xiv. 20, xviii. 23, xix. 6, 7.

⁵ Proverbs xi. 26.

⁷ Proverbs xvii. 8, xviii. 16, xxi. 14, and xxviii. 21, after an amended

² Proverbs x.-xxii. 16.

⁴ Proverbs xx. 14.

⁶ Proverbs xi. 24.

tion, deep religious feeling, and, in some cases, penetrating moral insight. Warnings against dishonesty abound, and integrity in life and business is commended;¹ the humble and pious are exalted, and are promised wealth, honor, and long life, as rewards;² backbiting is severely rebuked,³ for "love conceals every trespass."⁴ The sages utter warnings against hasty speech,⁵ and urgently commend silence as better than speech on many occasions.⁶ There is much sound sense in the advice, "Give not your friend too much of your company, lest he grow tired of you and come to hate you;"⁷ and in the counsel not to praise oneself, but to wait for some one else to do it.⁸

The sharp exhortations against sloth⁹ are thus worked out in a later collection¹⁰:—

Once I passed by the field of a sluggard,
And the vineyard of a senseless man;
And lo! it was full of nettles, covered with thistles,
And the stone wall was broken down.
When I saw this I pondered it over;
When I perceived it I learned the lesson:—
"A little sleep, a little slumber,
A little folding of the hands to rest,
And your poverty comes like a robber;
Your want like an armed man!"

A companion to this picture of the sluggard is furnished by the same collection, in the following sketch of a drunkard:¹¹—

With whom is "Out and alas!" and strife?
Who have trouble, wounds without cause, heavy eyes?
They who sit late at night over wine,
Who go into drink-shops to taste.
Look not at the wine, at its ruddy glow,
Sparkling in the cup, and gliding down!
The end of it is that it bites like a serpent,
And stings like an adder.
Then your eyes wander after lewd women,
And you think evil thoughts.
You are like one that sleeps out at sea,
Sleeps on the top of a mast.
"They have struck me, but not made me sick;
They have beaten me, but I never marked it.
As soon as I wake, I will have some more wine!"

Not even these warnings against sloth, intemperance, and gluttony,¹² however, give us so high an opinion of the moral

¹ Proverbs x. 4, after an amended version, and xx. 10.

² Proverbs xxii. 4.

³ Proverbs x. 12, xvii. 9.

⁴ Proverbs xvii. 27, 28.

⁵ Proverbs xxvii. 2.

⁶ Proverbs xxiv. 30 ff.

⁷ Proverbs xxiii. 1-3.

⁸ Proverbs xi. 13, xviii. 8, xxvi. 22

⁹ Proverbs xviii. 13.

¹⁰ Proverbs xxv. 17.

¹¹ Proverbs xix. 24, xx. 4, 13, xxii. 13.

¹² Proverbs xxiii. 29-35; compare xx. 1.

perception of the proverb-writers as their fine observations of human nature and their exhortations to mercy. Some of the proverbs show deep feeling; for instance, "The heart knows its own bitterness; let not a stranger meddle with its joy!" and, "Sometimes a man's heart is heavy even when he laughs, and the end of his mirth is trouble."¹ Pity, especially to the poor, to widows, and to orphans, is much insisted on. "Remove not the boundary mark nor encroach on the orphan's inheritance; for their redeemer is mighty, he will take up their cause."² "He who has pity on the poor lends to Yahweh; he will reward him for his bounty."³ The sages even noticed the different ways in which men treated their animals: "A good man knows the wants of his beast, but the mercy of the godless is cruelty."⁴

Many of the proverbs are marked by a very religious spirit. Their authors share the convictions of the contemporary prophets,⁵ and had evidently a good understanding with them. "If there is no prophecy, the people are unrestrained; but happy is he who receives instruction."⁶ "Integrity and virtue are more acceptable than sacrifice to Yahweh."⁷ "The sacrifice of the godless is an abomination to Yahweh, but the good man's prayer is his delight."⁸

Now of course these collections of proverbs do not prove that the convictions and principles which they express found an echo in every heart; but surely they do show that the people in whose midst such sayings passed from mouth to mouth was far from a degenerate, godless race, insensible to the demands of morality. For these proverbs, be it remembered, were made by no prophets or priests, professional moralists as we might call them, but by simple citizens, who produced them for each other's benefit as they sat together in the gate; and if they who uttered such sayings—characterized on the whole by so much moral earnestness—were revered as sages by their fellow-citizens, surely the people must have been very far from immoral.

The morality of any period may be pretty fairly gauged by the regard in which it holds the state of marriage, and by the social place which it allows to woman. Now the state of things in Israel, as in all ancient nations, left much to be

¹ Proverbs xiv. 10, 13.

² Proverbs xix. 17.

³ See p. 79.

⁷ Proverbs xxi. 3.

² Proverbs xxiii. 10, 11.

⁴ Proverbs xii. 10.

⁶ Proverbs xxix. 18.

⁸ Proverbs xv. 8, xxi. 27, xxviii. 9.

desired in these respects. Not only was the bride bought by the bridegroom, but polygamy prevailed both amongst the nobles and amongst the citizens. The stories of the patriarchs show that no one saw any harm in this practice, fraught as it really is with peril to love, to home-life, and to chastity, and fatal as it is to the moral life of woman. Yet respect for women was by no means wanting. Even the Ten Commandments mention respectful conduct towards father *and mother* in a single breath. The legend places a woman, Miriam, by the side of Moses and Aaron as one of Israel's deliverers from Egypt. Women as well as men might be inspired by Yahweh; and a Deborah might be glorified as a prophetess. The touching story told to David by Nathan proves beyond all doubt that the Israelites well knew how deep the love of a man for his one wife may be. That single ewe lamb that the poor man had bought and loved so tenderly, that grew up with him and his children, ate of his bread, drank from his cup, and slept on his breast at night, represents Uriah's one and only wife, so truly loved by her husband. So too, in the Proverbs, the praises of a good wife are sung again and again: "A capable wife is the crown of her lord;"¹ "A prudent wife is a gift of Yahweh."² Evidently, then, domestic virtues and domestic bliss were held in high esteem.

Since we only possess those portions of the literature of the Israelites which the Jews of a later age regarded as Sacred Writings, we have but scant remains of their heroic poems and love-songs, which would have taught us so much as to their civilization and culture; but, luckily, we do possess one love poem, which the collectors of the Sacred Writings probably took up because they fancied there was some hidden spiritual meaning in it. It is the so-called Song of Solomon, or Song of Songs; that is, "most excellent song."

The superscription of the song assigns the authorship to Solomon; but this is certainly incorrect, for Solomon's vanity would never have permitted him to immortalize himself under the character of an unsuccessful suitor! Perhaps the poem was originally entitled "Solomon." We cannot tell for certain when it was written, but there is a good deal to be said for the opinion that it dates from the time of Jeroboam II., and that is why we mention it here.

If only it were easier to understand! But, alas! it is very obscure in many places. It evidently comprises dialogues.

¹ Proverbs xi. 16, xii. 4, xiv. 1.

² Proverbs xix. 14.

or at any rate words spoken under several characters, and shows indications of change of scene; but we are never told who is speaking, or where we are supposed to be. Various expounders are gradually reaching agreement as to certain points, but still every fresh translation and interpretation departs in many respects from its predecessors.

The subject is love, regarded from its physical side and with all the passion that marks the Oriental character. The heroine of the poem, the Shulammitte, that is, the maid of Shulem or Shunem, sings: "I conjure you, ye women of Jerusalem, should you find my beloved, to tell him that I am sick with love!" Should the poem need a motto, it might well be found in the following lines:—

Love is strong as death;
 Passion is mighty as the realms of the dead.
 Its flames are flames of fire,
 A lightning flash of Yahweh.
 No floods of water can put out love;
 Nor rivers wash it away.
 Though one should offer all the wealth of his house for it,
 He would be rejected with scorn.

The poem, then, moves in a sphere in which many a man's moral life has been wrecked; but we may judge of the purity of the poet's conceptions from the contents of his song.

The Shulammitte girl was the young and beautiful daughter of a widow who belonged to the class of well-to-do yeomanry. She was betrothed to a shepherd. Her brothers set her to watch the vineyard, under their own superintendence, and she was therefore rather sunburnt; but in spite of that she was so beautiful that the purveyors for Solomon's harem carried her off to the palace. The king, however, sought in vain to win her love. Her whole heart was still full of her shepherd lover. The wanton life of the harem and the dazzling splendor of the court are drawn with seductive warmth. Read, for instance, the following description of a wedding procession of the lavish monarch:—

Look at the couch, at Solomon's couch!
 With sixty heroes ranged around it,
 Chosen from Israel's mighty ones.
 All of them handle the sword,
 And are exercised in war;
 Their swords are girt to their hips,
 To prevent the nightly surprise!
 Solomon made him a palanquin
 From timber of Lebanon;
 He made its columns of silver,
 He made the floor of gold,

The seat he made of purple,
 Graced in the midst by a loved one,
 One of Jerusalem's daughters!
 Come, then, O daughters of Zion, and see!
 Look on King Solomon with the crown
 Wherewith his mother has crowned him,
 On the day of his bridal,
 The day of the joy of his heart!

From the rapturous tone of this description we learn how high an honor it was reckoned for a girl to be taken into the harem of a king, and above all such a king as Solomon. What parents would not desire such a distinction for their child!

Moreover, Solomon strains all his powers to make the Shulammite forget her home. But it is all in vain!

I am my beloved's
 And he is mine!

Such is the constant burden of her reply, and her resolve to go back to her lover is never shaken. All Solomon's flattering speeches and all his promises fail to win her, and at last he is compelled to let her go. She may well boast, —

I was inaccessible as a wall,
 My bosom impregnable as a castle;
 I was as one in his eyes who must be left to go in peace!

A people who loved such songs celebrating an invincible love, passionate, indeed, to the last degree, but perfectly innocent, — such a people cannot have been a prey to moral corruption. The preachers of repentance, then, whose standard of morality was higher than that of their neighbors, may often have been justified in rebuking, admonishing, and threatening their contemporaries, and exhorting them to lead purer lives; but when they describe Israel in the age of Jeroboam II. as an adulteress and an apostate, a people ripe for destruction, they are taking a one-sided view of the facts, involuntarily exalting the past and painting the present in colors far too dark. However much there was to blame in the people, it was sound at heart, nor could any trace be found of fatal inward corruption.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FALL OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOM.

2 KINGS XV.-XVI. 9, XVII. 1-8.¹

"YAHWEH lifts up an ensign to the heathens dwelling afar, and calls them together from the ends of the earth! See! they are coming, swift of foot and light; not one of them stumbles, not one is weary! He sleeps not, nor slumbers. The girdle is not loosed from his loins, nor the sandals from his feet. His arrows are all of them sharpened, and his bows are bent. His horses' hoofs are as hard as flint, and his chariot-wheels like a whirlwind. He roars like a lioness, roars like a raging lion holding grimly to his prey! None can snatch from him what he carries away! On that day is a sound as of rushing waves, and if they look landward, there is fearful darkness; the light is obscured by clouds." Such are the words in which Isaiah² describes the Assyrians, whose approach had already inspired the Israelites and Judæans with terror, even in the time of Jeroboam II.

Of the earliest history of this warlike people we know very little;³ but in the eighth century B.C. we find their king, Pul, advancing eastwards, and subduing one after another the territories of Babylonia, Elam, Media, and Armenia, till he reigns over all the lands from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. Then he turns westward, and conquers Mesopotamia and Syria.⁴ Even before Jeroboam's death Pul had occupied Hamath, and the dreaded conquerors stood close on the northern frontier of Israel, which would come into closer contact with them but too soon.

Jeroboam's reign was a long one. It lasted certainly one-and-forty years, as is directly stated,⁵ probably three-and-fifty, as may be inferred from other data, for he ascended the throne fifteen years before Uzziah became king of Judah,⁶ and it was not till the thirty-eighth year of that monarch that his son succeeded him.⁷ An interregnum is quite out of the question, and we must therefore suppose that some mistake has crept into one of the conflicting numbers. However this

¹ 2 Chronicles xxvi., xxvii.² Isaiah v. 26-30.³ Compare vol. i. pp. 84 ff.⁴ See Map I.⁵ 2 Kings xiv. 23.⁶ 2 Kings xiv. 17.⁷ 2 Kings xv. 8.

may be, Jeroboam's son, Zachariah, was publicly murdered by a certain Shallum in the year 770 B.C. after a reign of six months. The historian does not fail to remind us of the oracle vouchsafed to Jehu that his house should hold the throne of Israel to the fourth generation. Shallum only kept the crown a single month, after which a certain Menahem marched upon him from Tirzah, defeated and slew him, and reigned in his stead. There was probably a third pretender, who lost his life in his attempt to secure the crown.

This last particular may be inferred from a discourse preserved in Zechariah ix.-xi. These three chapters are not from the same hand as those that precede them, but date from the last century of the northern kingdom. We cannot be sure of the writer's name, but he was probably called Zechariah, son of Berechiah, whereas the writer of the first eight chapters, who lived more than two hundred years later, was called Zechariah the son of Iddo. It is far from certain that even these three chapters are all from the same hand. They contain many obscurities; nor is the concluding passage,¹ to which we must now turn our attention, by any means free from difficulties, but the general purport of the discourse and the main thought it is intended to bring out are clear enough. The prophet's words are instinct with pity for the miserable condition of his people, which offered such a sad contrast to the prosperity they had enjoyed under Jeroboam. The passage may be rendered something as follows:—

Yahweh, my god, said to me: "Pasture these cattle for slaughter! When they are sold the purchaser holds himself free from guilt though they are destroyed, and the seller cries 'Blessed be Yahweh, it has made me rich!' and their shepherds do not pity them. The dwellers in this land are like them, for I will take pity on them no more; but I will give them over into the hands of their neighbors and of their king, and they shall break the land in pieces, and no one shall deliver it out of their hand." Thereupon I began to pasture those cattle for slaughter; but in truth they were sorry beasts. I took two staves and called the one Prosperity and the other Union, and with them I pastured the cattle. But when I had dismissed three shepherds in one month I waxed bitter against my cattle and they loathed me. Then I said, "I will pasture you no more. Let die who will, and let who may be thrust aside, and let the rest devour one another." So I took my staff Prosperity and broke it to pieces as a sign that I had

¹ Zechariah xi. 4-17.

broken my covenant with all the tribes. So the staff was broken to pieces, and the wretched cattle that looked on soon perceived that it was a word of Yahweh. Then like a shepherd leaving his service, I asked them: "Will it please you to give me any wages? If not, then let it rest!" But they gave me my wages—a poor thirty shekels. Then Yahweh said to me, "Throw it into the box of offerings!¹ It is a noble price at which they have valued me!" And accordingly I went and threw the money into the chest of offerings in Yahweh's house. Thereupon I broke my other staff, the staff of Union, because the brotherhood of Judah and Israel must be broken. Then Yahweh said to me again: "Now take the implements of a foolish shepherd, for behold! I will raise up a shepherd in this land who shall not seek for those that have been cast out, nor tend those that have gone astray, nor heal the sick, nor support those that still can stand, but shall eat the flesh of the fat ones and break their hoofs in pieces." Woe to my worthless shepherd who cares not for the sheep! The sword shall fall upon his arm and strike out his right eye. Yea, his arm shall be maimed and his right eye darkened!

The mention of three shepherds, all dismissed within one month, leads us to suppose that besides Zachariah and Shal-lum some third adventurer occupied the throne for a little time. The foolish shepherd mentioned by the prophet is a striking likeness of Menahem. He was a tyrannical ruler, and evidently owed his crown to no respect or love on the part of the Israelites, but simply to the adroitness with which he availed himself of the state of indecision and confusion into which the country was plunged by the murder of Jeroboam's son. Tiph-sah, a city between Tirzah and Samaria which had refused to side with him, now paid a fearful penalty, for he massacred its inhabitants with circumstances of extreme barbarity. Moreover, it tells heavily against him that he could only keep the crown he had seized so violently by the aid of foreign soldiers, which he did not hesitate to secure. In vain did the prophet Hosea lift a warning voice against thus "mixing with the heathen,"² and call his people an innocent and foolish dove because it appealed to Assyria and called on Egypt for help, like a bird running into a snare.³ Menahem could not do without the Assyrians. Of course their king, Pul, did not wait to be pressed when the ruler of Israel begged him to support his throne, but he exacted a

¹ After an amended version.

² Hosea vii. 8.

³ Hosea vii. 11, 12.

heavy price for his services. Menahem had to pay no less than a thousand talents of silver (at least a hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds of our money), to raise which he laid a tax upon his subjects of fifty shekels (over three pounds sterling) for every man capable of bearing arms. The staff Prosperity was indeed broken!

The staff Union, the brotherhood of Judah and Israel, was also broken. For soon after Jeroboam's death Uzziah, king of Judah, had made himself master of the important haven of Elath, and had greatly extended his power. He waged successful wars against the Philistines and several Arab tribes, made the Ammonites tributary, and so greatly strengthened Jerusalem with towers, walls, and catapults, as to make it almost impregnable. Moreover, agriculture and cattle-breeding flourished; and, in a word, Judah enjoyed a period of rare prosperity. When Uzziah died at last, after a reign of two-and-twenty years, he was succeeded by his son Jotham, who had already held the reins of government during the last years of his father's life, because the latter had become a leper. Jotham, who remained for sixteen years upon the throne, was as vigorous a ruler as his father, and Judah, therefore, grew in power and prosperity. It is not unnatural that the Israelites should have looked on these events with jealous eyes, for the last chance of Judah's ever bowing beneath the sceptre of their king was rapidly disappearing. As far as we know, however, actual war did not break out between the two kingdoms, either under Menahem or his son Pekahiah. But when Pekahiah had reigned two years, he was bereft of life and throne by Pekah, the son of Remaliah, an officer of the royal body-guard; and this Pekah braced all his powers to the task of overthrowing the house of David, and reducing Judah to dependence.

The plan, however, did not originate with himself, but with Rezin, the ruler of Damascus. A certain son of Tabeal, probably a Syrian, was to be appointed king of Judah.¹

Just as half a century before many Judæans had desired to be reunited with Israel, and had cried, "O Yahweh, listen to Judah's prayer, and bring him back to his people!"² so now, too, many of them favored the project of Rezin and Pekah. Isaiah, comparing the beneficent rule of the Davidic dynasty to the waters of the spring Siloah, hard by Jerusalem, exclaimed,³ "Because this people despises the softly-flowing

¹ Isaiah vii. 6.

² See pp. 191, 193, 194.

³ Isaiah viii. 6, 7.

waters of Siloah, and takes delight in Rezin and the son of Remaliah, therefore, says Yahweh, I will make a mighty river rise and flood the whole of Judah."

Jotham, however, offered a successful resistance as long as he lived, but his son Ahaz was driven into fearful straits by the allies. Luckily for him Jerusalem was so well fortified that Pekah's attempts against it failed; but the Syrian troops took Elath and placed this key to the peninsula of Sinai in the hands of the Edomites, who kept permanent possession of it thenceforth.¹ The Philistines, too, recovered their former possessions. It appears that Ahaz was driven in his terror to the same desperate measure which the Moabite king Mesha had formerly adopted. He sacrificed his first-born son to his god in the hopes of compelling him to help him. According to the Chronicles he also worshipped the gods of the Syrians, in order to win them over to his side. But all was in vain. Destruction stared him in the face. There was only one means of escape within his reach — to call in the help of the Assyrians. And that was a cure which might well seem worse than the disease. To this last resource, however, he was actually driven. He sent an embassy to the Assyrian king, Tiglath-Pilezer, with the promise of rich presents and submission as a vassal if he would rescue him from Rezin and Pekah. Tiglath-Pilezer was soon persuaded, and made an inroad upon Syria. The two monarchs were no match for him. Damascus fell into his hands, and Rezin himself was slain. Pekah's turn came next, but he was not so completely subdued as his late ally. He escaped with his life and even kept his crown; but the northern portion of his kingdom, together with the whole of Gilead, was conquered and bereft of the cream of its inhabitants.

This latter circumstance was due not so much to the slaughter which accompanied the capture of the cities, as to the Assyrians' practice of carrying away great numbers of the peoples they conquered into captivity, and transplanting them to some distant part of their enormous empire. The reasons for this policy are evident. It was intended to compel the conquered districts to keep quiet and bear the yoke submissively. So they stripped the country of all its most distinguished and cultivated inhabitants. The men of wealth and learning, the priests, the artists, and the skilled workmen were carried off in great numbers. Those who remained were bereft of their leaders, and were too fully occupied in

¹ 2 Kings xvi. 6, where *Edomites* should stand instead of *Syrians*

endeavoring to provide for their own immediate wants to be able to think of rebellion; and the exiles themselves, transported as they were to a foreign land, and set down in the middle of a population whose language they could not understand, were compelled to smother their love of freedom and their hatred of their oppressors, and devote all their energies to agriculture, cattle breeding, commerce, and industry. Thus flourishing colonies of Gileadites, for instance, arose in the heart of Assyria.

Pekah's star did not set just yet, in spite of his reverses. Indeed he still seems to have cherished hopes of restoring his fortunes; for soon after his defeat the Judæan prophet Isaiah uttered this threat:¹ "The Lord sends his word against Jacob, and it falls upon Israel. Let all the people know and all the inhabitants hear it; for they say in their pride and vain-glory of heart: 'There were only tiles that fell, but we will build up again with granite; wild fig-trees were hewn down, but we will replace them with cedars.' Of a truth the Syrians shall attack them in front, and the Philistines behind, and shall devour Israel with open mouth; and even yet Yah-weh's wrath shall not cease!"

But though this prophecy was not fulfilled, and Israel had a few years' rest, yet Pekah met the fate of so many of his predecessors, and fell by the hand of conspirators. His murderer, Hosea, became king in his place. Under his reign Israel fell. The Assyrian king Shalmaneser continued Tiglath-Pilezer's work of conquest, and made Israel tributary. A few years afterwards, Hosea, fired apparently by the encouraging example of Tyre, which had now defied the power of Assyria for five years, refused his tribute. He relied upon the support of So (or Sabakos), the king of Egypt, who was alarmed by the great extension of Shalmaneser's power. But the Assyrian penetrated right into the land of Israel, up to the walls of Samaria, which offered a brave resistance three whole years. No army came from Egypt to the rescue, and at last the men of Samaria, weakened and thinned as is usual in such circumstances, by plague and famine, were compelled to yield. King Hosea was treated with special favor, for his life was spared, and he was simply confined in some Assyrian fortress. A great number of the Israelites — an Assyrian inscription says twenty-seven thousand two hundred and eighty — were carried away to a district in the Assyrian province of Media. This took place in the year 719 or 720 B.C.

¹ Isaiah ix. 8-12.

So northern Israel had fallen, fallen for ever! It never became an independent people again. The captive Israelites gradually melted away into the peoples amongst whom they had been placed; while those who remained in Canaan mingled, as we shall see hereafter, with heathens, and, though they had a history of their own, never did anything more for the progress of the world. The work of Moses and his great successors, the prophets, was but half accomplished in Israel, and was then broken off. It was only in Judah that it was carried on.

Here is food enough for reflection!

When such a great event takes place, how can any one who thinks help asking, "Why?" The answer to the question depends upon the point of view from which it is asked. No doubt the Baal worshippers of the eighth century B.C. said that Israel had fallen as a punishment for no longer serving Baal; but at this time they were in a small minority. The great majority of the prophets, who had sung without reserve of the glory and greatness of Israel, now held their peace in confusion of face, could see no more visions, and knew not what to say when reminded of the words once uttered by the prophet of repentance: "The *teraphim* utter vain oracles; the soothsayers see false visions; the dreams are deceitful; and they all console you with idle consolation. They shall, therefore, wander about like sheep, like wretched cattle without a herdsman."¹

The preachers of repentance, on the other hand, were now crowned with honor, for their words had turned out true; and their explanation of Israel's disasters won its way to more general acceptance: Yahweh was punishing the sins of his worshippers, for Israel was a godless people! Such was the view which the Judæan editor of the book of Kings took of the fate of Israel; and, accordingly, after recounting the fall of Samaria, he explains, in rather a long digression, that the Israelites had drawn their disasters upon their own heads by their idolatries, their worship of images, their obstinate refusal to hear the prophets, and, last not least, their rebellion against the house of David.²

The essential element in this view of the history, namely, the theory that Israel was sent into exile as a punishment for its sins, reappears in the writings of the greatest prophets of the time, and became the current explanation amongst the later Jews of the mournful history of their people. Yet it is

¹ Zechariah x. 2.

² 2 Kings xvii. 7-23; compare xviii. 11, 12.

utterly untrue. Immorality does indeed undermine national prosperity, and a healthy piety adds to a nation's strength; yet it is no more true of a people than it is of an individual that its fate depends entirely, or even chiefly, upon its devoutness. Its fate depends upon all manner of circumstances; and whatever their connection with the will of God may be, at any rate they are not so ordained as to secure unfailing prosperity to the pious and bring constant disasters upon the godless. The natural causes of Israel's fall are obvious enough. It could not hold out against the superior forces of Assyria, and was therefore conquered in common with so many other peoples. But when we come to the question: Why must this be? we must be content without an answer, just as in the case of a man whose fate fills us with sorrow.¹

Instead of complacently saying, "It was their own fault!" when we see the Israelites fall, we regard the spectacle with the same uncontrollable sadness which fills us when a young life, full of promise, is cut off before its prime. There was so much life, so much promise in Israel! Judged by the ideal standard of Christianity, it may seem to have stood but low; yet at least there was progress, and its defects were gradually yielding to the better spirit. We can therefore sympathize with the expectation of the prophets, shared even by those who had the keenest eye for their people's sins, and who anticipated a fearful judgment on them, — the expectation, namely, that Israel would be restored at last, purified by the fire of affliction, and would become Yahweh's people indeed. That this expectation was never realized and that northern Israel vanished without a trace, is a thought to fill us with sorrow.

In the preceding chapters we have laid intentional emphasis upon the progress which Israel had made in many directions. There was still much to condemn, especially in the moral condition of the people; and the gilt images at Dan and Bethel evinced a very gross conception of God's nature and the service which is pleasing in his sight. But in this respect also there was every reason to hope for improvement. The prophets of former times had left the bull-worship unchallenged, but Hosea attacks it with all his might. Indeed, the more highly cultured Israelites, especially the prophets, had altogether outgrown it. The images still stood, but they were already tottering. It deserves remark that

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 335, 336.

while we are told of all the other kings of Israel in succession, that they committed "the sins of Jeroboam," the historian does not bring this accusation against the last of them, Hosea, but tells us that he did less evil than his predecessors. Is it possible that he took some steps towards abolishing the golden bulls? However this may be, they would certainly have fallen sooner or later.

But the newer conception of Yahweh's nature, which was wholly inconsistent with any representation of him by images, was as yet but half established, and even in the minds of many representative poets and prophets it was still alloyed by many of the thoughts and customs of an earlier day. This is well exemplified in a song, which dates from the closing years of Israel's existence, and has been taken up into the book of Deuteronomy,¹ as the parting song of Moses. We give the greater part of it,² which runs as follows:—

Remember the days of old,
 Consider the years of past generations;
 Ask your father, and he will tell it;
 Your elders, and they will declare it:
 When the Most High gave the nations their heritage
 And divided the children of men,
 He fixed the boundaries of the peoples
 After the number of the sons of God.
 For Yahweh's portion is his people,
 Jacob his special possession.
 He found him in the desert
 On the howling steppes of the wilderness.
 He guided and taught him,
 Kept him as the apple of his eye.
 Like as an eagle stirs up her nest
 And hovers over her brood,
 Spreads out her wings and takes them up,
 Bears them upon her pinions,
 So Yahweh alone guided Israel:
 No strange god stood by his side.
 He made him ride over the heights of the earth
 And eat of the produce of the fields,
 Suck honey out of the rock
 And oil out of the flint-stones.
 He gave him butter from kine and milk from the smaller cattle,
 Gave him the fat of lambs,
 Of rams of Bashan and goats.
 He gave you wheaten flour,
 And you drank pure wine, the blood of grapes.
 But Jeshurun grew fat, and kicked out.
 You grew fat and gross, and were smothered with fatness.
 Then he deserted the god that made him,
 And lightly esteemed the rock that delivered him.
 They moved him to jealousy with strange gods,
 Provoked him to wrath with abominations.
 Made sacrifice to goblins that are no god,
 To gods whom they did not know,

¹ Deuteronomy xxxii.

² Verses 7-21, 29, 30, 36-43.

To upstart gods, that were but now heard of,
 And whom your fathers never had feared.
 But you rejected the rock that bore you,
 Forgot the god that begat you.
 This Yahweh saw and he contemned [you],
 In wrath with his sons and daughters.
 He resolved to avert his countenance from them,
 And see what would then become of them!
 For they are a perverse generation,
 Children in whom is no faith.
 "Since they have made me jealous with a no-god
 And provoked me with vanities,
 I will make them jealous with a people not a people,
 And goad them with a senseless nation."
 Oh that they were wise, that they had understanding!
 Then they would see what it leads to.
 How could one of them chase a thousand
 And two put ten thousand to flight,
 Except their rock himself had sold them,
 And Yahweh delivered them up?
 Yahweh shall judge his people
 And take pity on his servants,
 When he sees that Israel's power is gone
 And there are no men left.
 Then will he say: "Where now are their gods?
 Where is the rock upon which they trusted,
 The gods, whose sacrifices they ate,
 The wine of whose offerings they drank?
 Let them rise up and help you,
 That they may be your refuge!
 See then that I, that I, am he,
 And there is no god beside me!
 I kill and I make alive,
 I wound and I heal;
 None can deliver from my hand.
 If then I lift up my hand to heaven
 And say: 'As sure as I live for ever!'
 If I whet the lightning of my sword,
 And stretch out my hand to judgment, —
 Then will I take vengeance upon my foes
 And fully repay my enemies.
 I will make my arrows drunk with blood,
 My sword shall devour flesh,
 Devour the blood of the slain and the captives,
 The shaggy skull of the foe."
 Sing his people's glory, ye nations!
 For he avenges his servant's blood,
 He repays it all on his enemies;
 He is reconciled to his land and people!

This poem deserves our closest attention on many accounts, foremost amongst which is the poet's strange conception of his god. Who is this Yahweh? On the one hand, he is a most exalted being, who kills and makes alive; nay, who rules over all things, and beside whom no other god exists. But, at the same time, the poet not only loves to celebrate him as the "Rock" which reflects the beliefs of a more

ancient day,¹ but actually describes him as whetting his sword for battle, making his arrows drink the blood of the enemy slain in the field, and even of the captives slaughtered after the victory, and giving his sword the foeman's head to eat! Of course, all these expressions are only figures of speech, but they are figures borrowed from a very rude conception of Yahweh's nature. Here we see the old and the new ideals side by side. The old conception of Yahweh as the fierce, blood-thirsty, warlike tribal god of Israel is passing away; the new conception of Yahweh, as the creator of all the world, is springing up, and is, indeed, already recognized as true, but has not yet sunk deep enough into the heart and mind to have entirely expelled the representations borrowed from the old beliefs. But did the poet really believe Yahweh to be the only god? If so, what can those words mean which occur near the beginning of the first passage we have translated, "Yahweh fixed the boundaries of the nations, according to the number of the sons of God?" The Authorized Version, following the Hebrew text, reads "according to the number of the children of Israel," which makes no sense. Our translation rests upon the reading of the old Greek version, and is perfectly intelligible. Yahweh determined everything, not only where all the peoples should live,² but even what gods each of them should serve; he ordained that various other nations should worship the sun, the moon, and the stars,³ while he chose Israel for his own special possession. The poet, then, represents Yahweh as the only god with whom Israel had anything to do, and as the god of gods, but not, strictly speaking, the only god. We find the same wavering conception even in such a man as Isaiah, who never flatly denies the existence of the other gods.

Now in Judah, the heir of Israel's literature and its prophetic schools, we find these vacillations gradually giving way, and the germ of the higher conception unfolding. But, as far as we can tell, the religion of Israel suffered irreparably from the fact of its being finally developed in Judah only, and not in northern Israel as well; for in the latter district the religion of Yahweh had had the opportunity of growing up without being overshadowed by the influence of the priestly caste which wrought such mischief to it in Judah.

Two stems shot up from the common root, and the one that

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 177, 178.

² Compare Amos ix. 7.

³ Deuteronomy iv. 19, 20.

gave the richest promise was cut down ere its fruit had grown half ripe! But it is useless to bewail the fall of Israel. Henceforth all our hopes for the worship of Yahweh must rest on the weaker stem that yet remains — must rest, that is, on Judah.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CALL OF ISAIAH.

ISAIAH VI.

THE last century of Israel's existence was rendered illustrious, as we have seen, by the activity of the prophets, who were no longer turbulent popular leaders, as in former times, but orators and writers. The same holds good of Judah. The prophets in this kingdom never exercised a direct influence upon the affairs of state, but here, too, as in Israel, they became conspicuous for their labors as historians and public speakers.

Amongst the prophets of Judah a prominent place belongs to Isaiah, who prophesied from the last year of Uzziah's life right on into the second half of Hezekiah's reign. A book containing sixty-six chapters has come down to us under his name, but we cannot by any means accept all the oracles it contains as his. The men who collected the prophetic writings often performed their task in a grossly arbitrary fashion. Thus they appended to the oracles of Zechariah, who lived after the captivity, the prophecies of at least two men who lived at sundry periods before that epoch; and in the same way they inserted amongst Isaiah's oracles, or appended at the close, a number of discourses which were really written many years after the fall of Jerusalem. In some instances it is extremely difficult to say whether a given prophecy is really the work of the prophet to whom it is assigned or not; but in the case of Isaiah it is quite certain that several chapters in the first half of the book called after him; and all the last seven-and-twenty, are from other hands than his, and date from no earlier a period than that of the captivity.

All that we know of his personal circumstances is that his father's name was Amoz, and that he himself had a wife and

children.¹ He seems to have been a man of letters, for according to the Chronicles he wrote a life of King Uzziah,² and all his works display great literary talent. His style is more ornate and nervous, more exalted and poetical, than that of any other prophet whose discourses have come down to us. His tone of high cultivation, his familiarity with all that goes on in the upper circles, and the mode of his intercourse with the king, show that he was far from a stranger at the court. Perhaps he held some high position there.

He himself has painted in living colors the following picture of what he felt when first called to be a messenger of Yahweh!³

In the year of Uzziah's death, I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and exalted, and the train of his servants filled the temple. Above him stood seraphs with six wings; covering their faces with one pair and their feet with another, and flying with the third. And one cried to another, "Holy, holy, holy is Yahweh of war-hosts; all the earth is full of his glory!" And lo! the portals trembled at the sound, and all the place was filled with smoke. Then I cried, "Woe is me! I am struck dumb, for I am a man of unclean lips, and dwell amidst a people of unclean lips; and now I have seen the king, Yahweh, of war-hosts!" Hereupon one of the seraphs flew to me with a burning coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from the altar. Then he touched my mouth with it and said, "Lo! this has touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is gone and thy sin is taken away." And straightway I heard the voice of the Lord, "Whom shall I send? Who will go for me?" And I said, "Here am I! Send me." "Go," he replied, "and tell this people to hear on, but not to mark; to see on, but perceive nothing. Make this people rebellious of heart and dull of understanding, lest they should even yet repent and I should have to heal them!" When I heard this dread command, I said again, "How long must this endure, O Lord?" and he replied, "Till the cities are all desolate, and the houses empty, and the land untilled. Then shall Yahweh carry the people away, and great desolation shall be throughout the land. Nay, though a tenth part still remain, even that is marked for destruction. Yet, as a terebinth or oak tree that is felled still leaves a stump in the ground, so has the sacred seed of Israel still hope for days to come."

If Isaiah had really seen and heard all this in a state of

¹ Isaiah vii. 3, viii. 3, 18.

² 2 Chronicles xxvi. 22.

³ Isaiah vi.

exaltation, it is impossible to understand his ever coming forward as a prophet. What man could undertake a task like his, if he foresaw not only frequent disappointment, but complete and absolute failure? We must bear in mind that Isaiah probably wrote this account of his call at a time when he had already found his people incorrigible, when all his work appeared to have been in vain, as though Yahweh had resolved not to deliver Judah, and had only sent the prophet in order to increase the people's guilt. One only hope remained. There was a germ of better things amongst the people still; and, when all was ruined, this germ would open out and spread and bear rich fruit.

We shall see presently that Isaiah, though he always anticipated suffering, did not always take so gloomy a view of the future as when he wrote the words we have just read.

But through all his changes of mood Isaiah was consistent in at least one thing, and that was his extreme reverence for Yahweh, the consuming fire,¹ the terror-waking god, whose unapproachable holiness had struck him dumb. It was this which made him shrink from the prophetic task until purified by the touch of heavenly fire. Yahweh was always a name of terror to Isaiah. "The Lord, Yahweh of war-hosts," he exclaims,² "shall kindle a flame beneath the enemy's glory. Israel's Light shall become a fire, his Holy One a flame, burning up all the thorns and thistles in a single day." And again,³ "Lo! Yahweh's name comes from afar, with burning wrath and towering smoke; his lips are full of fury, his tongue consumes like fire; his breath is like an overflowing torrent that reaches up to the neck, to winnow the heathens with the fan of destruction and set the bit that leads astray between the jaws of the nations. . . . Yahweh makes the glory of his voice to be heard, the descent of his arm to be seen, in fervid wrath and consuming flame, in clouds that burst with rain and hail-stones." And elsewhere,⁴ "In Zion the sinners quake for fear; and trembling has seized the hypocrites. Which of us can live with a burning fire, or dwell with an eternal furnace?"

Now this dread of Yahweh was, in its origin, nothing else than the terror felt before the Nature-god who revealed himself in thunder and lightning, and whose dread power was displayed in blight and sickness; nor had Isaiah, or any of

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 120 ff.

² Isaiah xxx. 97, 28, 30.

³ Isaiah x. 16, 17.

⁴ Isaiah xxxiii. 14.

the highly cultured Israelites of his day, entirely outgrown this primitive conception, in spite of the exalted traits which already entered into their conception of Yahweh. But in Isaiah's case, at least, there was also a strong moral element in this dread of Yahweh. Not because he was weak, but because he was sinful did he tremble before Yahweh; and if he would have Israel "fear and shudder" before his god, it is in the hope of his becoming more docile and obedient to him.¹ Like a true follower of Moses, he preached that Yahweh's wrath is chiefly stirred by human sin.

Generally speaking, Isaiah was profoundly dissatisfied with his people, who repaid Yahweh's care so ill. "Let me sing of my friend," he once exclaimed,² "a song about my friend and his vineyard. My friend had once a vineyard, lying on a fertile hill. He had dug it up and picked out all the stones, and planted it with choicest vines; he built a lodge in the middle of it, and hewed a wine-press out of the rock; but, when he looked for grapes, wild berries only grew there! And now, you inhabitants of Jerusalem and men of Judah, be judges between me and my vineyard. What could I have done for it more than I have done? Why must I hope in vain for grapes, and only find wild berries? But I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard! I will break down its hedge and it shall be wasted; I will break down its fence and it shall be trampled! I will utterly destroy it and will prune it and dig it no more, and thorns and thistles shall grow there rankly; and I will forbid the very clouds to rain upon it. — Yea! the vineyard of Yahweh of war-hosts is Israel, and Judah his cherished plantation. He looked for reason, but found only treason; he looked for right, but found affright! Woe . . . !" and here the prophet bursts into denunciations of the rich, who add house to house and field to field; the dissolute, who drink and carouse from morning to night; the proud, the self-satisfied, the perverters of justice, all of whom Yahweh will bring low. "The under-world opens its jaws beyond measure, and down sinks all Israel's glory!" Finally, the dread Assyrians are indicated as the instruments of Yahweh's judgment.

The high price which Isaiah attached to morality, and the depth of his conviction that Yahweh asked nothing but an upright life from his worshippers, are evinced by the following rebuke,³ amongst others: "Hear this word of Yahweh, you princes of Sodom! Give ear to the law of our god, you

¹ Isaiah xxix. 23, 24.² Isaiah v.³ Isaiah i. 10-20.

people of Gomorrah! What do all your sacrifices avail me says Yahweh of war-hosts! I am full of burnt-offerings of rams and fat of fed beasts. I have no pleasure in the blood of bullocks, of sheep, or of goats. And for coming to see my face, — who has required it of you? It is but trampling my courts! Bring me no more lying offerings! Your incense is an abomination to me. Feast of New Moon and Sabbath and religious assembly? — I cannot support unrighteousness that joins in festivals. Your new moons and holy days I hate. They are a burden to me, and I am weary of bearing them. When you stretch out your hands in prayer I avert my eyes; though you multiply entreaties I listen not, for your hands are full of blood. Wash you, make you clean, put away your evil doings from before my sight, cease to do evil; but learn to do well, seek what is right, help the oppressed, succor the orphan, plead for the widow. Let us dispute together! says Yahweh: Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be white as snow; though crimson red they shall be like wool. If you leave your self-will and hearken, then you shall enjoy the good things of the land; but, if you refuse and rebel, then the sword shall consume you; for Yahweh has said it."

We have already noticed more than once that the prophets, especially Isaiah, were often one-sided in their conception of morality, and included in a sweeping denunciation of "all that is exalted," not only luxury, but the arts and sciences, together with every sign of commercial and industrial progress.¹ Just now we heard Isaiah condemning the grandees of Jerusalem, not only for their dissolute lives, but also for increasing their estates. So stern a censor of morals, living as he did in the capital, and even frequenting the court, must have seen much to excite his indignation. The voluptuousness of the distinguished women of Jerusalem gave him especial offence, and he was not the man to spare it! "Because the daughters of Zion," he cried,² "walk proudly with their necks stretched out, and with wanton eyes, mincing their gait to make their anklets tinkle, Yahweh will make bald their heads and expose them in nakedness. Then will he wrench off all these anklets, little suns and moons, ear-rings, armlets, veils and gauze, foot-bracelets, girdles and scent-boxes, amulets and finger-rings, nose-rings, festal robes, kerchiefs and mantles, pouches and shifts, turbans and tunics! Then shall be rottenness instead of

¹ See pp. 94, 95.

² Isaiah lii, 16-iv. 1.

balsam, a rope for a girdle, baldness for plaits, sackcloth for a mantle, and bruises for beauty. Moreover, your men shall fall by the sword, and your young men in battle; the gates of Jerusalem shall weep and wail, Jerusalem sit down in bereavement. Then seven women shall seize on one man, and say: We will eat our own bread and wear our own clothes; only let us be called your wives, and take the reproach of being unmarried from us!"

But though it is chiefly the immorality of those around him that moves Isaiah, he leaves neither witchcraft nor image-worship unassailed. Take this discourse for example:¹ "O house of Jacob, come let us walk in Yahweh's light! For thou, O Yahweh, hast rejected thy people, rejected the house of Jacob, because they are full of sorcery and witchcraft like the Philistines, and follow the ways of strangers.² So their land has grown full of silver and gold, and there is no end to their treasures, full of horses and countless chariots, full of idols; they bow down to the work of their hands, to what their own fingers have made!" Then follows the announcement that everything lofty shall be brought low,³ and that Yahweh alone shall be proudly exalted; and in close connection with this the prophecy: "As for the idols, they utterly vanish! And the people hide in clefts of the rock and in holes of the earth, in terror of Yahweh and the splendor of his glory, when he arises to affright the earth. Then will a man throw away to the moles and bats the gods of silver and of gold which he made to worship, and will rejoice in Yahweh."

Isaiah believed in common with the other prophets of his day that Yahweh was the almighty ruler of the world, who had chosen Israel as his special possession, who could defend it against all earthly powers, and who would surely do so if the people did but observe his commands and so secure his favor. In times of distress, accordingly, Isaiah urged his people to trust in Yahweh's all-sufficient support, and to repent of their sins that he might be gracious to them. We have already noticed more than once that Isaiah, in common with most of his devout contemporaries, held very one-sided views in this respect, and distinctly condemned the taking of suitable measures to secure the people's prosperity and independence.⁴ We shall presently observe the spirit of his exhortations to Ahaz during the war with Rezin and Pekah;

¹ Isaiah ii. 5-21.

² Compare 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49; 2 Chronicles xx. 35-37.

³ See p. 95

⁴ See vol. i. pp. 25, 26, 292, 293.

but we must first say a few words as to his outlook into the future.

In speaking of Isaiah's expectations for the future, we must distinguish between two things. In the first place he expects the restoration of Israel, or at any rate of Judah. In this he resembles all the prophets; for they all of them cherished the belief that Yahweh's people was imperishable, and the more exalted their conception of Yahweh's being, the deeper their conviction that he, the god of gods, the only God, would rescue his people and crown it with honor. Those whose moral perceptions were purest expected chastisements in which the shallower men of god did not believe; but no preacher of repentance, however stern, ever foretold the final ruin of Israel. The announcement, then, of Israel's future might was exceedingly common in the mouths of the prophets; but when Isaiah foretold that a king of the house of David should bring these blessings to the people, he could still rely upon the assent of many, but no longer of all, his colleagues.

We have already remarked that in the time of Jeroboam II. there were men even amongst the Judæans who anticipated the most salutary results from his rule, but when his dynasty had fallen of course this was no longer possible; and since the Judæan historians of the eighth century B.C. had exalted David's era into a golden age, and David himself into the king after Yahweh's heart, it became impossible to many of the Judæans to imagine the glorious future of Israel without a king of David's house. It was then that a certain historian put into David's mouth the prayer:¹ "Thou art great, O god Yahweh! there is none like thee! nay, there is no other god beside thee. And what people is there like thy people Israel, whom thou hast redeemed from Egypt? Do, then, according to thy word, that men may glorify thy name for ever, and may say 'Yahweh of war-hosts is god over Israel, and the house of thy servant David shall ever walk before thy face!'" Even before Jeroboam's death, Amos, the Judæan, declared that the fallen tent of David should be raised again and its breaches healed; and Hosea himself, though a citizen of northern Israel, fixed all his hopes on Judah and her prince, and pointed forward to a time when the sons of Israel should repent and should seek Yahweh, their god, and David, their king.

¹ 2 Samuel vii. 22-26.

In this connection we may also quote the sweet prediction of Zechariah: ¹ "Rejoice, O daughter of Zion! Be glad, O daughter of Jerusalem! Behold thy king comes to thee, righteous and victorious, a kindly man, riding on an ass, a she-ass's colt. Then shall the war-chariots be cast out of Ephraim, and the cavalry from Jerusalem; the weapons of war shall be broken, and he shall proclaim peace to the heathen. He shall rule from sea to sea, from the Euphrates to the end of the earth. And because I have made a covenant with you, your exiles shall return." It is true that the seer does not expressly state the family from which he expects this prince of peace and blessedness to spring; but, since he is addressing "the daughter of Zion," or, as we might say, "the virgin city of Jerusalem," he evidently does not look forward to the return of Judah to Ephraim, but rather to the accession of the northern tribes to Judah; and he must therefore have expected the prince of peace to be a scion of the house of David — which is only natural in Zechariah the son of Berechiah, the friend and disciple of Isaiah.

Since Israel's king was called the anointed (*mashiach*, corrupted by the Greeks into *messias* ²) of Yahweh, ³ these anticipations are called the *Messianic expectations* of the prophets; and the term is used to include all their prophecies of a golden age, even if, as is sometimes the case, no king appears in them at all.

We shall have frequent occasion to dwell upon the extreme importance of these expectations, for they supported Israel under the heaviest oppression and inspired it with the bravest heroism, till it furnished the world with a unique example of what a people can do in the might of its faith. When we come to the New Testament we shall see how great a part the Messianic expectations played in the rise of Christianity. And since none of the prophets equals Isaiah in describing the future prince, ⁴ his words upon this subject give him yet another claim to a place of honor amongst Israel's prophets.

¹ Zechariah ix. 9-11; compare pp. 238, 239.

² John i. 41, iv. 25.

³ See vol. i. p. 448.

⁴ See chapter xxvii.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ISAIAH IN THE REIGN OF AHAZ.

2 KINGS XVI. 10-20; ¹ ISAIAH VII.-IX. 16.

WERE we to accept the judgment of the Chronicler we should have to regard Ahaz as one of the most godless kings that Judah ever had. According to this writer he had only himself to blame for the fearful blows which Rezin and Pekah inflicted upon him; for he had made images of Baal, had sacrificed his sons, and had burned incense on the *bamahs*. Accordingly, when the Ephraimites had taken two hundred thousand women and children captive to Samaria, the prophet Obed reminded them of the sins of Ahab, informed them that they were only Yahweh's instruments, and that the cruelty with which they had executed his punishments upon their brothers cried to heaven for vengeance. How could they, who had sinned so deeply against Yahweh themselves, dare to oppress the Judæans! The Ephraimites gave heed to his words, clothed those of their captives who were naked, fed those who were hungry, set the weak ones upon beasts and sent them all back to Jericho. This disastrous war with Rezin and Pekah, as well as the defeats inflicted by the Edomites and Philistines, were all brought upon the Judæans by the sins into which Ahaz had allured them. When reduced to extremities, he made matters even worse by sacrificing to the gods of the Syrians, plundering the temple, setting up altars in every corner of Jerusalem, and making *bamahs* for other gods in every city of Judah. On account of all this his body was not laid amongst the royal graves. This flood of vituperation represents Ahaz as having deliberately set to work to commit every possible kind of idolatry and other wickedness! He is even made responsible for the altars that stood in every corner of his capital and the *bamahs* in all the cities of Judah, as though they had not been in existence long before he was born!

Even the writer of Kings, though more moderate and discriminating in his condemnation, regards Ahaz with anything but favor. He accuses him in very general terms of doing as the kings of Israel did; but the only fact which he alleges is

¹ 2 Chronicles xxviii.

that he sacrificed his son. As to the place and method of this deed, we shall speak presently.¹ The deed itself appears to us frightful beyond measure; but we already know enough of the ancient Israelitish forms of worship to understand that it does not really argue such depravity as at first sight appears, especially if we suppose that it was done when Ahaz was hard pressed by Syria and Israel. In that case it evinces his conviction that the deity was strong enough to rescue him, but must be compelled to exert himself on his behalf by some very precious offering.

The writer of Kings informs us further, at some length, that when Damascus was taken, and Ahaz went there to pay his homage to his deliverer, the king of Assyria, he saw a certain altar in the city which pleased him so much that he sent a model of it to Uriah, the chief priest of Yahweh, with orders to build one like it for the temple of Jerusalem. When this new brazen altar was built, the king himself sacrificed upon it, and assigned another place to the former altar of burnt-offerings. Surely this was no such dreadful sin! Doubtless, old-fashioned people were offended by the novelty; but the artistic prince certainly never intended it as an insult to Yahweh! Had he done so, the chief priest himself would hardly have fallen in so readily with the scheme, for, of course, he was always anxious to increase the glory of his temple. For Ahaz to desire a separate altar, on which to offer sacrifices himself, was no doubt an abomination in the eyes of the later Jews, but was a proof of religious zeal rather than the contrary at the time.

As for the king's plundering the temple treasure, and even robbing the sanctuary of many of its ornaments, it doubtless cost him a bitter pang to do so; but he had no other means of satisfying the king of Assyria. Hezekiah himself had recourse to the same expedient afterwards.²

We have no sufficient reason, then, to pass any very severe sentence upon Ahaz; but neither have we any ground for esteeming him highly. He seems to have been a man of little force of character; good enough for an Isaiah always to keep upon good terms with him, but not in the least capable of following out the precepts of this prophet, and trusting without reserve in Yahweh.

Once when Judah was completely overrun by the Syrians and Israelites, and the king with all his people trembled "as the trees of the forest tremble before the wind," Isaiah went,

¹ See chapter xxviii.

² 2 Kings xviii. 15, 16

at Yahweh's command, to meet Ahaz by the Fullers' Field at Jerusalem. The prophet was accompanied by one of his sons whom he had called Shear-Jashub, that is, *the-remnant-repents*, to signify the future repentance for which he looked as the glorious fruit of the national suffering and the pledge of Judah's blessedness. Accompanied, then, by his son, the prophet met Ahaz and addressed him thus: "Take heed and be quiet! Fear not before these two stumps of smoking torches! For what is the burning wrath of Rezin and the son of Remaliah more? They have planned dread deeds, but Yahweh declares that they shall come to nought, and all things shall remain as they are now: Rezin, the king of Syria in Damascus, and Remaliah's son in Samaria, the capital of Ephraim. But if you confide not, then you abide not! Would you have some sign on which your faith may lean? Ask, then, for what you will, in proof that Yahweh will help you. Be it from the shadow-land or be it from the heavens, choose what you will." But Ahaz was too much depressed to be inspirited by the prophet's words; so he refused to ask a sign, and said, "I will not put Yahweh to the test." Upon this Isaiah cried, "Then listen, house of David! Is it too little for you to weary the prophets? Must you also weary my god? Then the Lord himself will give you a sign. See, there is a woman! She is with child and will bear a son. Call him Immanuel (that is *God-with-us*); for though he must live upon herdsman's fare, upon milk and honey, till he know the difference between good and evil, yet before that time has come the land before whose two kings you tremble shall already be a desert. But then shall days begin to break upon you and upon your people and upon your father's house, such as have not been known for misery since the time when Ephraim parted from Judah. Yahweh will call for flies from the streams of Egypt and for wasps from Assyria, and they will creep in everywhere. The land will be shorn bare with a razor from beyond Euphrates. Then a shepherd will be left here and there, with nothing but a cow and a couple of sheep, and will have cream enough to eat, but will have nothing else save honey; for the richest vineyards will be covered with thorns and thistles, and none but the hunter will pass through the land, and all will be desolate!"

This discourse of Isaiah's¹ has always attracted the special attention of commentators, because of the use which was made by the early Christians of an expression that occurs in

¹ Isaiah vii.

it.¹ They regarded the books of the Old Testament as sources of information concerning the circumstances of the life of Jesus;² and in this passage which was mistranslated, "Behold! a *virgin* conceives and brings forth a son," they discovered the announcement that the Messiah would have no earthly father.³ Any one who reads the discourse right through will see that it refers to nothing of the kind. In the first place, there is not a word about a virgin or a miraculous conception; and, in the next place, what Isaiah does say has no reference to a distant future. It is perfectly clear what he predicts, namely, that in a few years — before a child, as yet unborn, could tell the difference between good and evil — the land of Rezin and Pekah should be deserted, and Judah should be rid of them for good; but this would not be the end of Judah's woe. On the contrary, Yahweh would then begin to break the people almost utterly by other powers of destruction, "flies from Egypt and wasps from Assyria," and "a great razor from beyond Euphrates." Here the prophet breaks off on this occasion; but his conviction that Judah would rise again from the jaws of death, and his belief as to the means by which this result would be brought about, were sufficiently well known to all his hearers, and were announced to them by the symbolic names *God-with-us* and *The-remnant-repents*.

The ancient men of God could no more predict the future than we can. Sometimes they made a fortunate surmise, because they had formed a truer estimate of the circumstances of their people than others had; but they could not foresee particular events. This very prediction of Isaiah's illustrates the fact. He did not utter it as the result of mature deliberation and political forecasting, but was simply convinced that Yahweh would smite Rezin and Pekah because they intended to supersede his beloved house of David by another; and that he would shave Judah bare, because it was godless. He clothed this expectation under the form that we have just seen: Rezin and Pekah, whom he contemptuously describes as smoking stumps of torches that have ceased to burn, would soon retire from Judah, and their countries would be utterly devastated by Assyria. Then Judah itself would become the scene of a deadly conflict between Egypt and Assyria, from both of which it would suffer fearfully. Agriculture would be brought to a standstill, and only flocks and herds would be pastured on the untilled land. Only a portion of these ex

¹ v. 14. ² Compare vol. iii. pp. 46-49. ³ Compare vol. iii. pp. 50-52.

peccations were realized. Within the time assigned by Isaiah, Rezin and Pekah had indeed retired and Damascus had fallen into the hands of Assyria, but Samaria remained independent for about twenty years, and neither the Assyrian nor the Egyptian army entered Judah. Nor had Isaiah at all foreseen that Ahab would voluntarily place himself under Assyria's protection; or if any such step had occurred to him as possible, it was one of the very things he desired to avert by inspiring the king with courage. But Isaiah was not in the least abashed by the non-fulfilment of his predictions, for they retained their full force, and he foretold the chastisement of Judah still, though now under slightly different forms.

But the later Jews misconceived the value of these oracles. In reality they bear witness to the faith of the prophets, and express their intense belief in Yahweh's avenging justice and his love for Israel, together with their indignation at the people's sins and their confidence in its finally repenting and being blessed by Yahweh; but instead of accepting and esteeming them for what they really were, the later Jews employed them as proofs of Yahweh's foreknowledge; and it was in this character that they collected and preserved them. We need not wonder, then, that from time to time these notions exercised a certain influence upon the text itself, and induced the collectors to make alterations, sometimes of more and sometimes of less importance, and, above all, to introduce explanations of the words of the prophet here and there, which were sometimes correct and sometimes mistaken.¹ A few illustrations of this process may be found in the discourse we are now considering; for when Isaiah declares that the plans of Rezin and Pekah will come to nothing, the collector of his prophecies inserts the prediction² that Ephraim will be entirely broken within five-and-sixty years—a prediction which is altogether out of place, and comes in very oddly just before the announcement that the countries of the two monarchs will be depopulated within a few years. Moreover, twice in this passage and once in a prophecy which we shall consider presently,³ the king of Assyria is expressly indicated as the future devastator of Judah. This and other such announcements might easily be put into Isaiah's mouth by the later editor, but the prophet himself had no knowledge of the details of the future.

"Trust in Yahweh!" This was Isaiah's one and only answer to the question, "What is to be done?" which Ahab,

¹ Compare pp. 107, 119, 120.

² v. 8.

³ Isaiah viii. 7, 8.

his advisers, and every thoughtful Judæan were asking with ever-growing apprehension. It was clear that Judah could not hold her own against Syria and Israel. All the conquests of Uzziah and Jotham were already wrenched from the hand of Ahaz. Elath was in Rezin's power. The Philistines had recovered their independence. All idea of keeping possession of the eastern provinces of Ammon and Moab was abandoned. The Edomites had doubtless not only put a garrison in Elath, but established their power in southern Judah, where the Kenites, who had always been their friends,¹ were settled. The rest of Judah was being conquered piece by piece, and siege was laid to Jerusalem itself. "Hope in the help of Yahweh! Repent! If ye confide not, then ye abide not!" was still Isaiah's cry; but it was both natural and right for Ahaz and his advisers to look round for some human means of deliverance.

They were not all agreed. While many a Judæan witnessed the success of Rezin's and Pekah's arms with secret satisfaction, the partisans of Ahaz looked abroad for help. Many turned their eyes to Egypt; but public opinion and the king's own inclinations began to incline more and more decidedly to the plan of calling in the Assyrians. Against this project Isaiah raised his voice, for he expected nothing but misery to come of it.²

One day the people noticed a great board before his house with the words "Keen for booty, swift to spoil" upon it. Their curiosity was stirred, and they asked what the strange inscription meant; upon which Isaiah called two citizens whom every one respected, and whose witness every one would accept, namely, the priest Uriah and Zachariah the son of Berechiah, and explained to them the meaning of the enigmatical inscription, that they might afterwards bear witness to the truth of his anticipations. Some time afterwards his wife bore him a son, and at Yahweh's command he called him Keen-for-booty-swift-to-spoil; "for," as he now declared, in explanation of his meaning, "before this child can say 'father,' or 'mother,' the treasures of Damascus and the booty of Samaria shall be brought to Assyria's king."

And these are the words he addressed to the citizens of Jerusalem:—

"Because this people despises the soft-flowing waters of Siloah, and delights in Rezin and Pekah, therefore the Lord shall bring over them the great and mighty waves of Euphra

¹ See p. 207.

² Isaiah viii. 1-ix. 8.

tes. The river shall mount over all its channels, overflow its banks upon every side; strike into Judah, overflowing and rolling, reaching to the neck; spread over all the breadth of land;—but God is with us!”

“Rejoice, ye nations, and tremble! Listen, all ye ends of the earth! Equip yourselves and tremble! Yea, equip yourselves and tremble! Form a plan, and it will come to nothing. Make a project, and it will fail. For God is with us. When Yahweh laid his hand upon me and instructed me, he warned me not to accord with this people. Take not to heart, he said to me, what this people takes to heart; be not afraid of what they fear. Yahweh of war-hosts, him shall you hallow; let him be your fear and your terror! For he is a sanctuary that none may violate; a stone of offence and a rock of stumbling for either house of Israel; a snare and a net for Jerusalem’s people. Full many of them shall stumble and fall and be crushed to pieces; shall run into the snare and be taken.”

“Close the testimony as to the meaning of the inscription, seal it with the help of the faithful Uriah and Zachariah. I wait for Yahweh, though now he hides his face from the house of Jacob. I hope in him; and I and my children, The-remnant-repents and Keen-for-booty-swift-to-spoil, are signs in Israel, given by Yahweh, who dwells in Zion. And when they say to you, ‘Consult the shades and the soothsayers, who mutter and whisper their magic charms’—what! must not a people consult its god? Must it not seek refuge with the living rather than with the dead? ‘Go to the teaching and the witness which the prophets give!’ Unless they who now sit in utter darkness come to speak words like these, then they shall wander about in the land sorely oppressed and hungering, and when they are hungry they shall wax wrath and curse their king and their god; and whithersoever they turn, above or below, there shall be distress and darkness; they shall be cast down into troublous gloom and blackness.”

“But they who are now afflicted shall not remain in darkness. The people that now walks in gloom shall see a glorious light; the dwellers in the land of night shall see the gleaming dawn. Thou, Yahweh, spreadest them out again; thou givest them joy to taste, as in the time of harvest, or the day when the spoil is divided. For thou wilt break his yoke and the staff with which he is driven, as when Midian was smitten.¹ And the clanking armor, and warrior’s mantle

¹ See vol. i. p. 389.

stained with blood, all shall be burned and shall be a prey to the flames. For a child is born to us, a son is given us; dominion shall be laid upon his shoulders, and men shall call him Wonder-of-wisdom, Might-of-god, Booty-seizer,¹ Prince of Peace. Without bounds shall his dominion extend, and endless weal shall it confer on David's throne and all the kingdom. This throne shall he raise up and strengthen, by justice and by right, henceforth for ever. The zeal of Yahweh of war-hosts will perform all this."

In one point the editor who adopted this oracle as part of his collection failed to understand it. The afflicted people to whom Isaiah promised deliverance were the Judæans whom Rezin and Pekah were now harassing, and whom Ashur was soon to overflow like a mighty river. But the editor supposed the prophet only had in view the districts conquered by Tiglath-Pilezer; so he added to the promise, "the people now afflicted shall not always remain in darkness," the following words by way of explanation:² "As Yahweh rejected the land of Zebulun and Naphtali at first, so shall he bring it back at last to honor, the sea coast and the district east of Jordan and the heathen march." This makes the whole passage obscure; for since the seer here foretells, as something future, the conquest of Damascus, as well as that of Samaria,³ the discourse cannot have been uttered when Damascus was already in the hands of the Assyrians and Rezin had fallen. It may indeed have been Isaiah himself, and not his editor, who afterwards, in writing down the record of his preaching, inserted this reference to the districts that the Assyrians had harassed and subdued; but this is practically the same thing, for the essential point is that these words were not part of the original oracle.

It deserves remark that, just when things appeared to be at the worst, when the king, reduced to desperation, was on the point of throwing himself into the arms of Assyria, Isaiah prophesied that after many miseries a glorious day should break for Judah, a day when the driver's staff should be broken, and a scion of David's house, who was now newborn, should rule over Israel. It is easy to see how such anticipations, caught up and adopted by weak and shallow minds, might nourish gross fanaticism. The sequel of the history will show it but too clearly. But in so deep a moral nature as Isaiah's, the only fruits they could produce were increased intensity of effort, cheerfulness in suffering, and scrupulous obedience to the commands of Yahweh.

¹ After an amended version.

² Isaiah ix. 1.

³ Isaiah viii. 4.

CHAPTER XXV.

IMAGE-WORSHIP CONDEMNED.

Exodus XXIV. 3-8, 12-18, XXXI. 18-XXXIII. 6, XXXIII. 12-XXXIV. 35.

WHEN any special form of religion, in which there is real life and capacity for progress, has been established for some considerable time, many of those who profess it must inevitably begin to outgrow the forms, the usages, and the doctrines which have been handed down to them by their fathers; and since the great mass of the worshippers do not keep pace with them, but obstinately cling to the primeval usages of their religion, complications are sure to arise which will demand a more or less violent solution. So it was in Israel. The worship of Yahweh included the use of a number of objects, such as anointed stones, pillars, images of the sun, *teraphim*, altars, the ark, together with institutions common to all manner of religions, such as sacrifices, purifications, and the observance of holy days. This had been so from the first. Moses and his contemporaries would certainly have been unable to imagine any worship of the deity without these forms; and the Mosaic school, in the succeeding centuries, insisted on the observance of Yahweh's moral commandments without declaring war upon these elements of his worship or proclaiming their worthlessness. But gradually a change took place. The noblest sons of Israel and Judah became more and more clearly conscious of the chasm which separated their religion from that of their neighbors, or, to use their own expression, which separated Yahweh from the other gods; and the more they dwelt upon the moral requirements of their god, the more clearly did they see how useless and even pernicious the usual religious practices were; for the outward resemblance between the worship of Yahweh and that of all kinds of Baals often prevented the worshippers of Israel's god from keeping his moral precepts in view.

These reformers were naturally most offended by the images of Yahweh, for they fostered a narrow conception of his nature, which was utterly inconsistent with the lofty thoughts which they themselves cherished concerning the

god of gods. Even in the northern kingdom, where the images were a part of the State religion, powerful voices had been raised against them; and had the kingdom remained a little longer in existence, it is probable that the gilt bulls of Dan and Bethel would soon have fallen under the sturdy strokes which the prophets dealt them, just as Baal had already done.¹ How much more intense must the horror of all image-worship have been in the southern kingdom, the principal sanctuary of which, at any rate, had always remained free from the stain! It is only natural, again, that the miserable condition of Israel after Jeroboam's death, its humiliation in the time of Menahem, and its final collapse under Hosea, should have made a deep impression upon the Mosaic school in Judah. Why has the people of Yahweh fallen? they asked. And the only answer they could give was that Yahweh had renounced it because of its sins, and especially its image-worship, its bowing down before the abominations of Dan and Bethel!

This conviction found expression in the story of Israel's sin in the desert, which we will now consider. The exact date of its composition we cannot determine; but it is probable that, while building upon a comparatively ancient legend, the writer of this particular story did not live earlier than in the troubled times of Menahem, or later than the first years after the fall of Samaria. The story is affixed to that portion of the legend of Yahweh's appearance to the Israelites at Mount Sinai which represents the people as fleeing in terror from the consuming fire and trembling for fear.²

When the people whom Yahweh had borne out of Egypt, as on the wings of an eagle, and chosen for his special possession, had entreated Moses to protect them henceforth from immediate revelations from the deity, and to convey his commands to them himself, Moses went up into the darkness where Yahweh dwelt.

He soon returned to the Israelites and told them all the words of Yahweh.³ In the first place they must never make themselves any gold or silver images of gods, and must offer all their sacrifices upon simple altars of earth; it did not matter where, for Yahweh would come to them and bless them wherever they worshipped him. If they were determined to make a stone altar, they must build it of rough and unhewn stones, for as soon as it was touched by a chisel it was desecrated; and in no case must it be so high that it had

¹ See p. 244. ² See vol. i. p. 299. ³ Exodus xx. 22-26, xxiii. 20-32.

to be ascended by steps. Yahweh, on his side, would send his angel before them to the promised land. To this angel they must give good heed, for since the name of Yahweh was in him, and he was the representative of this stern god, he would not overlook their sins. But if they were obedient to him he would bring them into the land of the Canaanites; and when they got there they must beware of falling into the idolatry of the inhabitants, but must rather break their *massebahs* to pieces and serve Yahweh only. Then he would bless them with health and prosperity; and if he did not drive out all the Canaanites at once it was for fear the beasts of prey should multiply too fast, but he would gradually drive them out till Israel's territory extended from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, from the desert to the Euphrates. But above all things they must beware of idolatry.

Upon this the Israelites unanimously promised to keep the commandments of Yahweh, and Moses made the necessary preparations for concluding a solemn covenant between the people and their god. With this purpose he wrote down in a book all that Yahweh had said to him and all that the people had agreed to, and then built an altar at the foot of the mountain, surrounded by twelve *massebahs* in accordance with the number of the tribes. Then he ordered some of the younger Israelites to sacrifice oxen to Yahweh, caught the blood in basins and poured half of it out at the foot of the altar, to signify that Yahweh, on his part, pledged himself to protect and bless the Israelites as his chosen people. Then Moses read the book, in which Yahweh's commands were written, aloud to the people, and they promised with one voice to obey it faithfully; whereupon he sprinkled them with the rest of the blood, exclaiming as he did so, "This is the blood of the covenant which Yahweh makes with you on the conditions to which you have sworn!"

When Israel had thus become the people of Yahweh, Moses once more ascended Mount Sinai at the divine command to receive the stone tablets of the Law, together with other precepts which Yahweh himself had written down for his people. Moses was accompanied by Joshua, while Aaron and Hur took his place as heads of the people. Yahweh's cloud enveloped the mountain when Moses had ascended it, and it was seven days before the deity summoned him into his presence. Then the sons of Israel beheld the glory of Yahweh on the summit, like to a burning fire, and Moses remained forty days and forty nights upon the mountain.

At last the Israelites lost patience and were so tired of waiting that they went one day to Aaron and said, "Come! make us a god that we can see going out before us, for we cannot tell what has become of this Moses who brought us out of Egypt." Aaron had not the courage flatly to refuse their request, but as he was very unwilling to comply with it, he tried to turn them aside from their purpose by declaring that he should require all the golden ornaments of their wives and daughters. But it appeared that they were more in earnest than he had supposed, for they cheerfully brought him the necessary amount of gold, and he had now hardly any choice but to comply with their wish by making them a gilt image of a bull. Then the people shouted, "There is your god, O Israel! which brought you out of Egypt!" And Aaron built an altar before the image, and appointed the next day for a festival to Yahweh. So when morning broke the feast was celebrated. All manner of sacrifices were performed, jovial banquets were held, and finally the festive dance began.

But at this very moment Moses came down again from the mountain with the two tablets of stone, written in two columns and upon both sides by Yahweh's own finger. Joshua, who still accompanied him, was the first to hear the noise that rose from the camp below. "I hear the sound of battle!" he exclaimed; but Moses answered: "It is not the shout of the victor; it is not the groan of the vanquished, but the sound of a festive song that I hear!" When they drew nearer they perceived only too clearly that Moses was right. There stood the image of the bull, with the Israelites dancing and singing round it! At this sight Moses could no longer command his emotion, and, in a burst of indignant grief and anger, he dashed the stone tablets to the ground and broke them to pieces. Then he burst into the camp amid the cowed and terror-stricken Israelites, seized their image, burned it to cinders, ground it to dust, and scattered it upon the water they drank. Now, let them swallow their mighty god! Then Aaron had to answer for his conduct. "Why!" he stammered, "you know how headstrong these people are. Well, they came to me and said: 'Give us a god that we can see; for, as for this Moses, we cannot tell where he has gone to!' So then I told them they must give me all their golden ornaments, and when they brought them I threw them into the fire; and then . . . well, this bull came out!"

The answer which Moses gave to this lame and shuffling excuse has not been preserved, for some later writer has inserted a passage, which we shall consider presently, in its place; but no doubt it contained a severe and merited rebuke.¹ Before long, however, his faithful love for his people triumphed in the heart of Moses over every other feeling, and the very next day he said to them: "You have sinned most grievously; but I will go up to the mountain again and pray to Yahweh — perhaps I can still find means of atoning for your trespass."

So Moses went back to Yahweh and prayed: "Alas! this people has sinned grievously in making gods of gold. But now forgive this trespass; and, if thou canst not forgive it except some sacrifice be made, then blot me out of thy book." But Yahweh said in answer to this prayer of love: "Him only who has sinned will I blot out of my book. Now go, and lead this people to the promised land; and my angel will go out before them. But when I come and visit them, I will exact requital of them for their sins." So Yahweh smote that people for the golden bull which they had caused Aaron to make.

There are several points in this story which will repay our closer attention.

In the first place, let us consider the scene in which the sacrifice of the covenant is offered. The thought embodied in it is the same that Hosea expresses under the image of the marriage of Yahweh and his people. Yahweh is the god of gods, and has chosen Israel out of all the nations to enter into a close alliance with him. He will defend and bless his people if they, on their side, will observe the precepts of their god. This covenant is the central thought of Israel's religion from the eighth century B.C. onwards; and accordingly, when the Christian religion had risen up by the side of that of the Jews, the former was called the new covenant and the latter the old covenant. These names were afterwards transferred to the written documents of the two religions. The names, Old and New Testament, have risen out of a curious misunderstanding. It happens that in Greek the same word signifies "covenant" and "last will and testament;" and the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews enters into an argument which turns entirely upon a play on the two meanings of this word, and is hardly intelligible in a translation.² It is from

¹ Compare Deuteronomy ix. 20.

² Hebrews ix. 15 ff.

this passage that the names of Old and New Testament are derived.

We shall repeatedly see from the sequel of the history that this conception of Israel, as God's covenanted people, bore the most salutary fruits on the one hand in quickening the people's sense of dignity, and stimulating them to reject the Canaanitish usages and everything coarse and low; but, on the other hand, produced disastrous results in exaggerated national pride, and a spirit of cold and mercenary service.

The other leading thought of our story is: The chosen people has fallen away from its god; or, as Hosea expressed it, Yahweh's wife is an adulteress. The guilt of this apostasy falls chiefly on the people themselves, but Aaron is also deeply involved in the sin, and incurs the wrath of Yahweh in no small degree. The part which the legend has assigned to this brother of Moses is very perplexing, and cannot be explained with any certainty; but it seems probable that it originated thus: When the Mosaic school began to feel that the bull-worship was inconsistent with the conception they had formed of Yahweh, but had not yet conceived the utter abhorrence of it which characterized them afterwards, they attempted to palliate the ancient custom, which they despaired of rooting out, and to find a place for it within the circle of Mosaic traditions¹ by assigning its institution to Aaron, and probably explaining that it had some special purpose at the time and was expressly sanctioned by Yahweh. We shall see in the next chapter that a precisely similar use was made of the name of Moses in connection with the quite equally idolatrous worship of the brazen serpent. After a time, however, the Mosaic school came to hate the image-worship so intensely that they could no longer accept this compromise; and since Aaron's name was now firmly established in connection with this worship, he, too, came in for a share of the guilt and shame attaching to it. So the legend assumed an entirely new form, and it is in this later version that we still possess it. Aaron had indeed set up the first golden bull, but not at the command of Yahweh. It was a weak and culpable indulgence of the evil desires of the people, during the absence of Moses; Aaron himself was ashamed of what he did, and had hardly a word to say to Moses when he returned; and Yahweh was very angry with him. But in the course of time Aaron, as we shall see, came to be regarded as the representative of the priestly order, and the part he

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 104-107, 176-178.

played in the legend must have shocked and scandalized the priests of a later date beyond all measure. Accordingly a certain writer of strong Levitical sympathies did what he could to mend matters by leaving out the rebuke of Aaron, and so letting it be understood that Moses accepted his excuse, and then substituting the following passage,¹ which now appears, awkwardly enough, between Aaron's answer and the return of Moses to intercede with Yahweh :—

When Moses saw that the people had broken through every restraint, and had become the laughing-stock of their enemies, he stood at the gate of the camp and cried : " Whoever is on Yahweh's side, let him come to me ! " Then all the Levites came and ranged themselves round him, and he cried to them : " Thus says Yahweh, the god of Israel : Gird on your swords and go up and down the camp, slaying every one you meet, though it were your own brother, your friend, or your next of kin." The Levites obeyed, and about three thousand of the Israelites were slain. Then Moses said : " Now bring your sacrifice of consecration ; for you, who have spared neither son nor brother,² are worthy priests of Yahweh ! "

The interpolation is clumsy enough from an artistic and literary point of view ; but one can hardly help admiring the bold stroke by which the writer turned the story completely round, and made the event, which appeared to reflect such disgrace upon the priests, the very occasion of Yahweh's consecrating them to himself ; and that, too, not by arbitrary selection, but as a reward for their virtue in upholding his honor and attacking the worship of the bulls !

The part assigned to Aaron in the legend, then, is anything but creditable to him ; but that of Moses, the mediator between Yahweh and the people, commands unmingled admiration. Even in the story as we have given it, he is represented as interceding for his people with his god ; but in Exodus this point is insisted upon at still greater length, for there³ we are informed that when the forty days were over and Moses was on the point of descending the mountain, Yahweh told him how Israel had sinned in making the golden image of a bull. Yahweh declared further that the people were incorrigible, and that if Moses would but let him have his way, he would utterly destroy them, and would make the posterity of Moses himself a mighty nation. But Moses

¹ Exodus xxxii. 25-29. ² Compare Deuteronomy xxxiii. 8-10. See p. 192.

³ Exodus xxxii. 7-14.

tried to soothe his wrath: "O Yahweh! why shouldst thou do so? See! thou hast shown thy might by rescuing this people out of Egypt; and now wilt thou let the Egyptians say: He only led them out from here to slay them in the mountains and utterly destroy them?"¹ Ah, Lord! be gracious to this people once again. Consider thy promises to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob." Upon this Yahweh repented of the fearful threats which he had launched against the people.

This passage is certainly a later addition, for it is strangely out of keeping with the very next scene, in which Moses, as he talks with Joshua, has to gather from the sound that rises from the camp what it is that is there going on; while the closing scene, in which Moses returns to Yahweh to implore him to forgive the people, is still more incongruous with this interpolated passage, which would make it a simple repetition of what had been done already.

The object of the insertion is evidently to bring out still more clearly than was done in the old legend the power of the intercessory prayer of Moses, and thus to glorify the great messenger of Yahweh, by whom all the laws of Israel were supposed to have been given. The same purpose runs through the sequel of our story, which consists of various elements which it is exceedingly difficult to separate, and which are all identical in spirit. Their contents are as follows:—

Yahweh said to Moses again: "Take this people to Canaan. And I, for my part, will send my angel to drive out the inhabitants; but I will not go with them myself, for they are a stiff-necked people, and perhaps I should destroy them on the way." In mourning over these hard words, the sons of Israel set aside all their ornaments, whereupon Yahweh said again: "Yes, you are a stiff-necked people, and if I were to dwell amongst you, I should destroy you in a moment; but now remain in mourning garments, unadorned, till I make known my will to you."

After a time Moses said to Yahweh: "Lord, thou hast told me to lead this people on, but hast not declared who will go with me; and yet thou hast said that thou dost know me through and through and delightest in me! If this be so indeed, then let me know thy will, and remember that Israel is thy people!" And Yahweh answered, "Must I myself go with you, then, and bring you to the place of rest?" "Yes, Lord!" replied the shepherd of Israel, "for if you go not with us, it were better that we did not go at all! How are

¹ Compare Numbers xiv. 15, 16.

we to know that we, this people and I, are really loved by you, unless you go with us, and so distinguish us above all peoples?" "Since I take pleasure in you," answered Yahweh, "I will grant you this request likewise." Then the favored mortal uttered one more prayer, though half in fear, "Show me thy full glory!" But Yahweh answered his rash words: "It may not be! I will indeed pass by you in all my majesty, and will utter the name of Yahweh as I go, for I will show favor to those I love; but you may not look upon my face. No mortal could behold it and yet live! Here," continued Yahweh, "is a place on a rock hard by, where you must take your stand. When I am going to pass by you, I will place you in the cleft of the rock, and will cover your eyes with my own hand, that your life may be preserved; and, as soon as I have passed, I will take away my hand, so that you can see me from behind, but my countenance you must not see!"

With this Moses must be content. At the divine command he took two new tablets of stone and ascended the mountain, upon which no human foot must tread while he was there; nor must the very cattle be so much as allowed to graze over against it. Then, when Yahweh came down in his pillar of cloud, Moses adored him, and heard the deity pass by, as he had said, with the words: "I am Yahweh, a merciful and gracious god, very long-suffering, and faithful. I reward those that I love to a thousand generations, forgive their sins, their iniquities, and their offences; but I hold not him that trespasses guiltless, and I visit the father's misdeeds on the children and children's children to the third and fourth generation!" When he heard these words Moses bowed down and repeated his request once more: "If thou delightest in me, Lord! then do thou go with us; and though this people be so stubborn, yet do thou forgive their sin!" Yahweh graciously accepted his prayer, and promised to protect Israel; but he repeated some of his principal commandments, amongst which the avoidance of idolatry and all intermixture with the Canaanites were foremost, while the observance of the Sabbath, the celebration of three yearly feasts in honor of Yahweh, and the making of rich offerings, were also strongly insisted on.

Moses remained forty days and nights upon the mountain, without either eating or drinking, received many more instructions there, and wrote the Ten Commandments again upon the tablets of stone. Since he had been so long in the

neighborhood of Yahweh, his face shone so brightly when he returned that Aaron and the people entreated him to cover it with a veil, for they were afraid of approaching him. Ever afterwards he wore a veil when he spoke to them, and only put it away when he held converse with Yahweh.

To see God is death! Such was the faith of the Israelites from the eighth century onwards, when they had learned to think of Yahweh as a being too exalted for men to hold familiar intercourse with him, as the old legends about Moses and others represented them as doing.¹ To see God is death! so said all ancient peoples in whose conceptions of the deity was any touch of sublimity. To see God is death! was a thought most natural to those who felt their own littleness, and imagined themselves in the presence of the fearful God, who reveals his power in the dread phenomena of Nature, who can kill and make alive. To see God is death! is a thought which even wakes an echo in the heart of him who sees in God the power of moral Holiness above all else, for to him too, as long as he does not obey His will with all his heart, God may reveal himself as the consuming fire, as a being who condemns and punishes.² To see God is death! is a thought that fades only from the heart of the Christian who worships in the Holy One the Everlasting Love, and knows that his commands can bring him blessing only. Jesus could say: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God;" but ancient Israel was still far removed from such a thought.

A covenant in which the duties and privileges of the two parties are defined, leaves room for a mediator who prevents any small transgression on the one side from involving the utter discarding of the covenant on the other. Such a mediator is Moses, whose noble generosity and love, as he throws himself into the breach for his people, are finely sketched in the legend.

But the office of mediator between the Israelites and Yahweh fell for the most part to the priests. Though a prophet might on special occasions pray for his people, yet his peculiar office was to convey to them the commands, the warnings, threats and promises of Yahweh. A priest might sometimes give instruction, but his proper task was to appease the wrath of Yahweh and make good the people's sins by sacrifices and purifications. The very teaching that he gave was directed

¹ See vol. i. pp. 300 ff.

² See vol. i. p. 125.

to the same object; for it referred to the difference between cleanness and uncleanness, to sacrifices and tithes, to the celebration of feasts and the observance of the Sabbath; in a word, to the external commandments of Yahweh, to his ritual, and not to the moral life of man. If the prophet was Yahweh's messenger to Israel, the Levitical priest was Israel's mediator with Yahweh.

In the narrative we have been considering, if it is really a single whole, the priestly and prophetic elements are intimately blended. On the one hand all the precepts it contains refer to the so-called religious duties, such as renouncing images and elaborate altars, destroying the sacred objects of the Canaanites, observing the Sabbath and other festivals, making sacrifices and presenting and redeeming first-fruits and firstlings. In marked contrast to the ancient book of Law,¹ which a later editor inserted here on occasion of the conclusion of the covenant, the legend itself does not contain a single moral precept. But on the other hand there is the very soul of all morality in the noble self-abandonment of Moses for his people's sake. This is worth more than any code of moral laws, and reminds us that after all the best of the Israelites valued the special rites of Yahweh and condemned those of other deities chiefly because the former were associated with a higher and the latter with a lower grade of moral culture.²

Nevertheless we may already trace the danger of which we spoke when recounting the fall of northern Israel—the danger of the Mosaic school in Judah falling into the priestly groove, attaching undue weight to forms and ceremonies, and, under the guidance of the powerful Levitical priesthood of Jerusalem, attacking idolatry more vigorously than immorality.

But be the faults or merits of this party what they may, we are now to witness its first great victory.

¹ Exodus xxi.-xxiii. 19. See pp. 182 ff.

² Compare pp. 264, 268.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HEZEKIAH'S REFORMATION.

2 KINGS XVIII. 1-8. ¹

AHAZ reigned for sixteen years, and was then succeeded by his son Hezekiah, who was five-and-twenty years old, and who reigned twenty-nine years.

Three years after Hezekiah's accession, Hosea, king of Israel, threw off his allegiance to Shalmaneser, who soon afterwards laid siege to Samaria. Hezekiah was not wanting in courage, and had already done something towards strengthening the country; but he dared not defy the Assyrians, so he remained Shalmaneser's vassal, and left Hosea to his fate, as the king of Egypt also did.

The sternest of Yahweh's prophets did not fail to foretell Samaria's fall. It was situated on a hill that overlooked a fruitful valley, and Isaiah compared it to a splendid wreath of flowers, such as those with which the guests at a great banquet crowned themselves, especially when they were drunk; but the flowers of the wreath, he said, had now begun to fade.² The capital of Ephraim would be like a fig that has ripened before harvest time. Some passer-by observes it, holds it for a moment in his hand, and then eats it up. He found a peculiar appropriateness in the comparison of Samaria to the wreath of flowers on the brow of drunken revellers, for the sin of drunkenness was universal within her walls. Judges, warriors, priests, prophets, all of them staggered with strong drink. They tottered even as they gave their oracles or pronounced their sentences; and they even dared to make merry over the number of Yahweh's commandments. Woe to them! But neither did the preacher of repentance spare Jerusalem. How full of pride were Judah's nobles! How they boasted of their warlike strength, as though they had made a covenant with the shadow-land, that the overflowing scourge should not reach them! "It comes and hurls you to the ground. Yahweh deals with his people as a husbandman deals with his land and its sundry produce. He does not plough his corn-land at every season of the year, nor does he always break the soil with coulter and with harrow; for, when he has made

¹ 2 Chronicles xxix.-xxxi.² Isaiah xxviii.

the land ready, does he not scatter it with dill and cummin, and sow the wheat in rows, the barley within the hedge and the spelt upon the border? His god has taught him to do so. Then he does not thrash his dill with an iron flail, nor roll a cart-wheel over his cummin, but he quietly strikes out the seed with a staff. But the corn is thrashed, yet not too much; cart-wheels and horses are driven over it, but not till it is crushed. This, too, is Yahweh's teaching. Wonderful is his insight, great his wisdom!"

Micah of Moresheth saw yet more clearly than Isaiah himself that Ephraim would be roughly thrashed, yet not utterly crushed, inasmuch as it was Yahweh's people; and that Judah also would incur a fearful lot. In Micah's eyes the future of both Judah and Israel was full of gloom. Samaria, the seducer of Israel, should be made a heap of ruins, she should be utterly overturned, and all her images should be broken to pieces. But woe to Judah also! Jerusalem deserves nothing but misery, for countless are her sins. She is full of theft and usury. Are there no prophets in her then? Ah! yes; but they prophesy lies. Men who will utter oracles for a draught of wine pass with this people for Yahweh's messengers! Woe to you, princes of Jacob, who suck the marrow of the poor! Woe to the prophets who are ever ready with a favorable response for any one who pays the price! They shall all be covered with shame; but I am a true prophet, full of Yahweh's spirit, intent on showing Israel his sins. Listen! ye heads of Jacob, who build up Zion with the price of blood and Jerusalem with wrong! Alas! her priests give instruction for gold, and her prophets divine for gain, and yet they rely upon Yahweh and ask, "Is not Yahweh in our midst? Shall any evil overtake us?" Of a truth shall Zion be ploughed like a field; because of you, Jerusalem shall fall in ruins, and the mountain of the temple shall become a forest height.¹

In this last prediction Micah went further than any other prophet. It is true that while most of the men of God proclaimed nothing but blessings upon Yahweh's people, the most serious amongst them anticipated a heavy judgment; but that Jerusalem herself, the city of Yahweh and of his anointed, should be laid waste, it was impossible for them to believe. There is not one of Isaiah's oracles containing a prediction such as this. On the contrary, Isaiah firmly believed that Jerusalem would be spared. "Zion," says

¹ Micah i.-iii.

Yahweh, 'I have made a stone, a tried and precious corner-stone, a firm foundation. Let not him who has faith flee away.'¹ We shall constantly meet with this conviction elsewhere also. A century later it exercised a powerful influence upon Judah's history.

We must not suppose, however, that Micah anticipated the final ruin of Judah. Far from it! His own conviction was doubtless accurately expressed in the prediction which he probably borrowed from some other prophet:² "At the end of the days it shall come to pass that the mount of the temple shall stand at the head of the mountains and be exalted above the hills, and all the peoples shall stream to it. Then many peoples shall set out and cry: 'Come, let us go to Yahweh's mountain, to the house of Jacob's god; let us learn his commandments and walk in the ways which he shows us!' All this shall come to pass, because instruction goes forth from Zion and Yahweh's word from Jerusalem. Then shall he utter judgment over many nations, and pronounce sentences for mighty and far distant peoples. And they shall beat their swords into scythes and their spears into sickles; nation shall no longer lift up the sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Then shall each one sit under his vine and fig-tree, and no one shall make him afraid, for the mouth of Yahweh of hosts has spoken it; since all the peoples serve their gods, and we serve Yahweh our god for ever."

This reign of bliss and glory would be inaugurated by a king of David's house.³ "From thee, O race of Ephrath⁴ (that is to say, the stock of David), small as thou art amongst Judah's families, out of thee shall come forth one who shall rule over Israel, one whose descent is from ancient times. He shall pasture his people in Yahweh's name, his greatness shall spread to the ends of the earth, and in his time shall be peace. When the Assyrians come into the land we shall send seven shepherds to meet them; yea, we shall send eight princes, and they will pasture Assyria with the sword. Then shall the remnant of Jacob amongst the peoples be like dew upon the herbs; amongst great nations it shall be like a lion amongst the beasts of the forest, as a lion's whelp among flocks of sheep, who tramples down and tears as he passes by, and none can deliver from him."

In lofty expectations for Israel's future glory, then, Micah

¹ Isaiah xxviii. 16; after an amended version.

² Micah iv. 1-5. Compare Isaiah ii. 2-5.

³ Micah v. 2 ff.

⁴ After an amended version.

yielded to none of his brethren. But he differed from them in expecting to see the fall not only of the other cities, but of the capital, the holy city itself, before deliverance should come. For, as the chief guilt of Israel fell upon Samaria, so Jerusalem had led the way for Judah in all that was wicked.¹

In his ideas of good and evil, Micah agrees perfectly with Isaiah. He inveighs with equal vehemence against cavalry and war-chariots, cities and fortresses on the one hand, and soothsaying and magic, images, anointed stones and *asherahs*² upon the other. But he is no less indignant with dishonesty in trade, with usury and lying: for no sacrifices can please Yahweh; though a man should give his first-born son for a guilt-offering it would avail him nothing. "To do justice and to love devoutness, and to walk humbly with Yahweh" — that is what he requires.³

Such were the promises and threats of these messengers of Yahweh before the Assyrians had as yet turned their weapons against Judah; before, indeed, they had had any occasion to do so, and while Hezekiah was still their vassal. Yet the prophets could not choose but know how uneasily many of the Judeans, including the king himself, bore the yoke; and they were aware that a war with Assyria was far from improbable. In fact, the party that planned and stimulated rebellion was itself led by a number of the prophets. This was the necessary outcome of their religious beliefs. Was not Yahweh the lord of war-hosts? Could he not bring them aid? And should his people, then, bow down before the heathens, before the worshippers of idols? If Judah would but trust in her god, she would be invincible.

But before she could trust in his support she must act in accordance with his will; and that she was far from doing while she endured so many heathen practices in her midst, and above all the worship of images. This conviction had been striking deeper and deeper root in the hearts of a section of the people; and the fall of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign could not fail to add great weight to their opinions. Why had Yahweh rejected Israel, if not because it worshipped golden bulls? And if Judah was to be delivered and restored to power it must cleanse itself from this same stain. Under the influence of such considerations Hezekiah took in hand the work of reformation.

¹ Micah i. 5. ² Micah v. 10-14. ³ Micah vi. 10-12, 6-8; see vol. i. p. 148.

We must try to form a true idea of what this reformation really was, but trustworthy accounts of it are so scanty that the task is very difficult. The Chronicler, indeed, tells us all about it in great detail; but here, as in so many other cases, he has let his imagination run completely away with him. He describes Ahaz as a desperate opponent of the worship of Yahweh, who broke the sacrificial implements in the temple to pieces, raised altars and *bamahs* everywhere, closed the doors of the temple, put out the lamps, allowed no incense to be offered, and, indeed, completely stopped the worship there; but Hezekiah was as truly religious as his father Ahaz had been heathenish. No sooner had he mounted the throne than he opened the temple doors and invited the priests and Levites to purify the sanctuary, and restore everything to order, with a view to public worship there. When this was done he had a great sin-offering made for the people, paying special attention to the music.¹ The number of sacrifices offered upon this occasion was so great that the priests were not able to get through the work, and had to call in the help of the Levites, who were indeed far more zealous than the Aaronites themselves.

Then Hezekiah, the Chronicler goes on to inform us, ordered the Passover to be held throughout Israel, in the North as well as the South. In the northern districts many of the Israelites treated his messengers with contempt, but others were moved and repented; Judah, on the other hand, was unanimous. Jerusalem was purged of all unlawful altars, and the feast of the Passover was celebrated. Many of the celebrants, indeed, especially those from northern Israel, were not ceremonially clean according to the priestly ordinances; but the king prayed Yahweh to regard the dispositions of their hearts rather than their outward cleanness, and Yahweh heard him. Such a feast had not been celebrated since the days of Solomon.

After this the reformation of the worship was carried on vigorously throughout the land, including northern Israel. All the images, *asherahs*, *bamahs*, and altars were broken down and destroyed; the people volunteered their first-fruits and tithes in such quantities that heaps of provisions were left over; for Yahweh blessed his people so richly that everything was plentiful in the extreme. Finally, to secure the orderly continuance of public worship, the king appointed Levites and priests over every branch of it. Thus he did what was right and good in the eyes of Yahweh.

¹ Compare p. 10.

What the Chronicler is really describing is the conduct which a pious prince would have adopted in the third century B.C. ; but, in putting it all down to Hezekiah, he exaggerates the effects of his piety as much as he had already overdrawn the picture of the heathenish proclivities of Ahaz. We have already seen that the latter never dreamed of closing Yahweh's temple ; and in like manner we must forget the whole account of Hezekiah's reformation given us by the Chronicler, if we would form an even approximately correct idea of what it really was.

The writer of Kings is far more accurate. He extols Hezekiah greatly, says that he did what was right, like his father David ; that he removed the *bamahs*, destroyed the *massebahs*, cut down the *asherahs*, and broke in pieces the brazen serpent of Moses, to which the Israelites offered incense, and which they called Serpent-god. This gives us a very fair conception of what Hezekiah's reformation was ; but the account is too sweeping ; and when the writer makes Hezekiah forbid the Israelites to offer sacrifices upon any altar except the one in the temple at Jerusalem,¹ it is possible enough that he is confusing his work with that of Josiah ; for it is not probable that he actually went so far as this, even if he intended ultimately to do so. Nor is it at all likely that his reformation extended to the whole of Judah. We may safely suppose that it was confined for the most part to Jerusalem and its immediate neighborhood, and that it depended upon the local influence of the followers of Moses in each district of the country, whether the revolution effected in the capital was imitated there or not. In Jerusalem, at any rate, many objects of a heathenish complexion, such as *massebahs*, *asherahs*, *bamahs*, and, above all, representations of Yahweh, were destroyed. Amongst these objects the brazen serpent made by Moses is particularly mentioned.

This detail excites our special interest. We cannot be certain what was the origin of the belief that this serpent had been made by Moses ; but it seems probable that his name was connected with it in the same way and for the same purpose as Aaron's with the golden bulls. Before the detestation of the reverence paid to this serpent had risen so high as in Hezekiah's time, the reformers endeavored to disarm the practice by attributing its institution to Moses, and making it a part of the Yahweh worship. We still possess the legend composed with this object, which runs as

¹ 2 Kings xviii. 22.

follows:¹ When the Israelites had taken a circuit round the land of Moab, they complained of want of water, and said they were tired of the taste of the manna, upon which Yahweh punished them by sending *seraph*-snakes amongst them, and many of them died of their bites. Terrified and humbled, the people entreated Moses to intercede for them, and when he did so his god commanded him to make a brazen *seraph*, and raise it up on a pole. Any one who had been bitten would only have to look at it to be healed. Moses obeyed, and many Israelites preserved their lives by gazing at this serpent.

Originally, no doubt, the brazen serpent was the symbolical representation of some deity or some divine attribute. The Egyptians likewise regarded the serpent as a sacred animal and the symbol of the divine power of healing.

This "Serpent-god" then fell, amongst other venerable antiquities, under the strokes of Hezekiah's servants. But it is clear that destruction did not overtake everything which was afterwards regarded as heathenish. *Massebahs*, for instance, were less ruthlessly attacked than images; for the orthodox legends attached to many of them proved more effective in protecting them than had been the case with the serpent, and even the writer who describes how the covenant was concluded at Mount Horeb has no scruple in making Moses set up twelve of these stones round his altar.² But many an altar, above all many a *bamah*, of Yahweh was thrown down and destroyed, perhaps because they were built in heathen style or made of chiselled stones; perhaps because they were the centres of a more or less idolatrous worship. But the images of gods, including Yahweh, were the special objects of attack, and henceforth the words "cursed be the man who prepares a carved or a cast image, an abomination in Yahweh's eyes, the work of an artificer, and sets it up secretly," stood at the head of the religious laws of Judah,³ followed by such utterances as these: "Cursed be he who curses his father or mother, who removes the boundary mark between the fields, who leads a blind man out of his way, who wrongs the widow or the orphan, who gives himself over to gross in chastity, who slays his neighbor, who takes a bribe to condemn the innocent to death!"

Hezekiah's religious convictions exercised a marked influence upon his political action. The same enthusiasm which revealed itself in the prosecution of these reforms, and in

¹ Numbers xxi. 4-9.

² See p. 286.

³ Deuteronomy xxvii. 18-20.

zeal against every Canaanitish practice, naturally led to revolt against Assyria also. The people of Yahweh must not serve strangers, and now that they did what was pleasing in his eyes so faithfully, and observed their ancient covenant with him so strictly, they might surely reckon upon his support. The prophets raised the words of cheer louder than ever: "Fear not, O Israel, thou people made victorious by Yahweh!"

In many of Israel's hymns this trust in Yahweh's help finds powerful expression. We have already given some of them, as opportunity occurred.¹ One of the most beautiful is the following,² which may very well have been composed in Hezekiah's time:—

Yahweh ³ is our refuge and our strength,
 A help that fails not in time of trouble.
 Therefore we fear not, though the earth should swing,
 And the mountains tremble in the midst of the sea.
 Let the foaming waters roar;
 Let the mountains rock when the sea rages;
 Yet Yahweh of hosts is with us,
 Our fortress is Jacob's god.
 A rolling stream makes glad the city of God,
 That holy city where dwells the Most High.
 Yahweh is in her midst, she cannot be shaken;
 Yahweh shall help her at early dawn.
 Heathens raged and kingdoms trembled;
 When he lifted his voice, the earth was melted.
 Yahweh of hosts is with us,
 Our fortress is Jacob's god.
 Come and behold the deeds of Yahweh,
 Who fills the earth with amazement;
 Who makes war to cease throughout the world;
 Who breaks the bow, who shivers the lance, who burns the chariots!
 "Be still, and acknowledge that I am Yahweh,
 Exalted among the heathen, exalted in the earth."
 Yahweh of hosts is with us,
 Our fortress is Jacob's god.

We may take for granted that all the Judæans were not disposed to revolt from the king of Assyria, and that those who were did not in every case rely implicitly upon Yahweh. King Hezekiah himself, though his love of freedom was closely connected with his zeal for Yahweh, by no means discarded natural means of strengthening himself against the Assyrians.

In the first place he carefully chose the time for declaring himself independent. After conquering Samaria, Shalma-

¹ Psalm xvi., vol. i. p. 210; Psalm xci., vol. i. p. 222; Psalm cxlii., vol. i. p. 220; Psalm c., vol. i. p. 237; Psalm xxxiii., vol. i. p. 293 f.; 1 Samuel ii. 1-10, vol. i. p. 426 f.; Deuteronomy xxxii., pp. 191 ff.

² Psalm xlii. Compare vol. i. p. 529 f.

³ Compare v. 120.

neser's army had indeed taken several cities, even including Ashdod it would seem,¹ whether under Shalmaneser himself or his successor, Sargon, is not certain; but Tyre had stood a five years' siege with the utmost heroism, and by retaining its independence had falsified Isaiah's prediction that it would be captured and devastated together with Sidon and the other Phœnician cities.² Shalmaneser's or Sargon's successor, Sennacherib, had now turned his arms against the States of Asia Minor, so that when Hezekiah refused his tribute there was no Assyrian army in the neighborhood.

Moreover, he took the natural course of endeavoring to strengthen himself by alliance with other peoples who, like his own, were tributary to Assyria, but had determined to throw off her yoke. Amongst these were probably the Babylonians, whose prince, Merodach Baladan, sent an embassy to Hezekiah.

According to the accounts we now possess,³ this embassy came to Jerusalem after the retreat of the Assyrians, and its purpose was to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery from an illness that had afflicted him that same year. This story is full of impossibilities, for in the first place Merodach Baladan was probably already dead when the Assyrians left Judah; in the next place he would never have sent an embassy to Jerusalem for such a purpose; and, finally, in that special year Hezekiah was poor and destitute, and had none of the treasures to show which, as we shall see, play so important a part in the story.

But it is high time to turn to the story itself. When Hezekiah received the visit of the Babylonians, we are told, he was so flattered by the honor conferred upon him that he exhibited all his treasures and magazines to the ambassadors. But his ostentation was rebuked by Isaiah, who foretold that all his treasures would be carried away to Babylon, and that his very sons would serve there at the court. Upon this Hezekiah expressed his acquiescence in the will of Yahweh, "if only there were peace and prosperity in his own days." This legend, with the miserably poor-spirited and selfish part it assigns to Hezekiah, is simply due to the desire of putting into the mouth of the great prophet Isaiah a prediction that Judah would be carried away captive to Babylon. Such a prospect was in reality far beyond his horizon; for in his days the only threatening power was Assyria. The sole historical reminiscence that may perhaps underlie this story is that the Babylonian prince sought Hezekiah's alliance.

¹ Isaiah xx. 1.

² Isaiah xxiii.

³ 2 Kings xx. 12-19; Isaiah xxxix.

The king sought help in his struggle for freedom not only from his fellow-vassals, whose plots were similar to his own, but also from Tirhakah, king of Egypt, who seemed his natural ally. But this step gave great offence to Isaiah, who would not have him trust to Egypt, but only to Yahweh, who would certainly deliver him. The prophet believed with equal certainty in this deliverance, and in the chastisement that must precede it. "Woe to thee!" he cried,¹ addressing Jerusalem, the city of the temple, "woe to thee, hearth of God, hearth of God, dwelling-place of David! Year by year let your feasts revolve, till I lay siege to the hearth of God. Wail and bewail! for you shall be a veritable hearth of fire to me. But when you are utterly humbled, and whisper in your dejection like a conjurer of the spirits of the dead, then shall the tumult of your foes be like chaff before the wind. This shall come to pass in a moment, by Yahweh's visitation, with rush and crush, in storm and thunder, with flames of consuming fire. The besiegers of God shall be like dreamers; dreaming that they eat and waking to find themselves famished, dreaming that they drink and panting for thirst when they wake. Nay!" adds the prophet, as he turns directly to his hearers, "look not with such bewildered gaze upon me, as though you were drunk without drinking wine! Yahweh has poured a spirit of drowsiness on you; and my vision has become like a book that is sealed. One who can read takes it up, but he cannot read it, for it is sealed. So they give it to another and say, 'Read this!' and he has to answer, 'I cannot read.' And this, says Yahweh, is because my people draws near to me with the lips, but wanders far from me with the heart, and serves me with the ordinances of men which it has got by rote. Therefore will I deal so strangely with this people that their sages and their men of sense shall go utterly astray."

On another occasion he gives unmistakable expression to his condemnation of the action adopted by Hezekiah and his counsellors:² "Woe to the rebels who heap sin upon sin, and go to Egypt for help without consulting Yahweh! Pharaoh shall become your shame, and trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion. Write it in a book that it may serve for the far-off future. It is a stubborn people that will not listen to Yahweh's teaching, and seduces his prophets to see deceitful visions. Thus says Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel: 'By quiet repentance you may be rescued; in the stillness of trust

¹ Isaiah xxix.² Isaiah xxx.

is your might.' But you would not hear him, and said, 'We will fly upon horses,' so you shall flee; 'We will ride on swift chargers,' so your foes shall charge swiftly. A thousand of you shall flee at the threatening gesture of a single foe; before five of them you shall flee, till you are deserted like an ensign planted upon a hill. And yet, O people of Zion, you shall not always weep! He will take pity as soon as you lament, and will give you bread in your affliction and water in your distress. When you repent and fling away your idols, then days of prosperity shall dawn, such as have never been. The moon shall give light as the sun, and the sun shall shine forth with a sevenfold glory. Lo! there comes Yahweh from afar, burning and furious; his lips full of rage; his tongue like a consuming fire; his breath like an overflowing torrent. He winnows the heathen; he wrenches the bit between the jaws of the peoples. Then you rejoice as on the eve of the Passover; for Yahweh's voice strikes Ashur with terror, and turns all your foes to a sacrifice of fire."

This discourse of Isaiah is another example of the strange influence which must have been exerted on the Israelite by his faith in the absolute power of the god of his covenant. It not only supported him in times of trouble, if he believed himself to have earned the favor of his god; it not only urged him to repentance for fear of Yahweh's judgments, but it compelled him to reject all human means of defending himself and his country. A devout man must not trust to his physician when sick; a devout prince must build no fortresses, maintain no cavalry or war-chariots, and enter upon no alliances with neighboring peoples. "In stillness and trust in Yahweh is your might!" was the unvarying principle of Isaiah. Such a precept was never acted upon by a prince, and it is indeed utterly unreasonable; but it follows immediately from the belief that the deity directly guards his favorites, and blesses them with temporal prosperity. That Isaiah dared to embrace these consequences so boldly and undisguisedly is a proof of the intensity of his conviction. This conviction was very one-sided, and consequently led to absurd results; but, nevertheless, Isaiah's frank acceptance of them shows his religion to have been more genuine and his consistency more complete than those of Hezekiah and the rest, who also proclaimed their trust in Yahweh, but meanwhile looked out for allies.

Hezekiah, then, together with most of his advisers, was driven to revolt from Assyria by his love of freedom and his

trust in Yahweh's help. For he thought he had secured the favor of his god by attacking the image-worship, and accordingly he awaited the approach of the powerful and exasperated foe, trusting on the one hand to Yahweh's help, which the prophets had promised him: and, on the other, to the assistance of the king of Egypt. Many of his subjects shook their heads. The sternest preachers of righteousness and the most earnest prophets, such as Isaiah and Micah, looked for a judgment on the sins of the people, and on the want of faith that revealed itself in the alliance with Egypt. The supporters of the ancient half-idolatrous modes of worship were shocked by the destruction of so many sanctuaries of Yahweh, and expected nothing but mischief to come of it. But meanwhile the mass of the prophets cried exultingly, "Hail to thee, Israel! Yahweh will root out all thy foes before thee!"

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ASSYRIANS IN JUDAH.

2 KINGS XVIII. 13-XX. 11.¹

FOR the history of the period upon which we are now engaged, we have Assyrian as well as Judæan authorities; for it was the custom of ancient kings to perpetuate their exploits, such as the fortification of cities, the extermination of wild beasts, or the building of temples, and above all their warlike feats, in inscriptions on the walls of their palaces, sometimes adorned with pictures.² This custom was followed by the kings of Assyria; and amongst the ancient monuments of Nineveh which have already been dug out³ there are certain inscriptions of Sargon and Sennacherib. We certainly cannot place implicit reliance on their statements, for the vanity of these princes often made them pass over their reverses in silence and magnify their victories; but in spite of all this their inscriptions are of priceless value in supplementing the meagre accounts of the Judæan historians. For instance, Sennacherib's inscriptions teach us the extent of the war against Assyria in which Hezekiah took a part. Phœnicians,

¹ 2 Chronicles xxxii.; Isaiah xxxvi.-xxxviii.

² Compare pp. 124-126.

³ Compare vol. i. p. 88.

Judeans, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and Philistines had all conspired to throw off the yoke of Assyria, and Egypt sent numerous auxiliaries to their support. But the maritime cities, from Sidon to Accho, which had to bear the first brunt, soon submitted again; "they stood appalled at the fame of Ashur, my lord," says Sennacherib. Upon this most of the princes who had joined the revolt hastened to submit, and "kissed Sennacherib's yoke." Then Askelon and several other Philistine cities were forced to yield, and when Sennacherib, "trusting in Ashur, his god," had defeated the Egyptians, Ekron also fell. Hezekiah now withstood the mighty Sennacherib alone, and he had to pay a heavy price for his obstinate resistance. The Assyrians took almost all his fortified places except the capital itself, so that, to use the graphic expression of the Assyrian inscription, he "was shut up in his mighty city of Jerusalem like a bird that is brooding," and was so terrified that he attempted to buy off the foe by sending him an enormous amount of gold, silver, and other valuables, to raise which he was compelled to lay hands on the temple treasure, and even to strip off the gold from the doors and doorposts of the sanctuary. So at least we are told by the writer of Kings, but by him alone, and the measure is certainly a strange one. In any case it was of no avail. Sennacherib felt so profoundly the importance of possessing the fortress of Jerusalem as a bulwark against Egypt that nothing would induce him to give up the project of capturing it. So while he was still besieging Lachish, which probably lay south of Jerusalem, or just after the fall of that city, he sent the Tartan, that is the captain of the body-guard, the Rabсарis or overseer of the keepers of the harem, and the Rabshakeh or chief cup-bearer, with a strong division of the army, to demand the surrender of Jerusalem.

The Assyrians encamped on the northern side of the city, and sent a herald to invite the king to a conference. Hezekiah sent some of his chief officers of state to represent him; and when they asked what the Assyrian king had to say to them, the Rabshakeh delivered his message with great animation and adroitness. "Tell Hezekiah," he said, "that the great king addresses him thus: What do you trust to, in resisting me? It was but an idle word when you said you had taken your course deliberately and were prepared for war! Come, now, do you trust to Egypt—that broken reed that will pierce the hand of any one that leans upon it? A firm support, indeed! Or do you trust in Yahweh, your god?

But is it not he whose *bamahs* and altars Hezekiah has been throwing down? However that may be, my king will lay a wager with you: he will make you a present of two thousand horses, if you can find the riders! How could you resist the paltriest of all my master's vassals—for all your confidence in chariots and horsemen from Egypt? And do you suppose that I came up to devastate this place without Yahweh? Why, it was he himself that said to me, Go and destroy the land!" Hezekiah's representatives showed how unequal they were to cope with the Rabshakeh's shrewdness by their innocent request that he would speak Assyrian in order that the people on the wall might not understand! Upon this he answered, "Do you think my words are only meant for you and for your king, and not just as much for these people on the wall who must perish of hunger and thirst?" Then he turned to the sentinels and all the others who were assembled on the walls, and cried aloud, "Thus says Sennacherib: Let not Hezekiah deceive you, for he cannot pluck you out of my hand! Let him not teach you to trust in Yahweh, as though he would deliver this city! Where are the gods of Hamath and all those other cities now? Have they been able to rescue their peoples out of my hand? What can Yahweh do more than they? Did he rescue Samaria? Listen to Sennacherib's offer: If you will but come over to me, then each of you can quietly enjoy the fruit of his vine and his fig-tree, and drink water out of his well, until I take you with me to a land as rich and fruitful as your own. Harken not to Hezekiah, or you will perish!"

To all these offers and all this boasting no one answered a single word, for such were Hezekiah's orders. But many must have felt their hearts sink within them; and many must have asked themselves in sore perplexity whether Yahweh would, indeed, desert them! It was true enough that Hezekiah had overturned a number of his altars; and, besides, this king of Assyria was so terribly powerful! So many kings had had to yield! The deep impression made by the Rabshakeh's speech is evinced by the fact that Hezekiah's representatives themselves returned to the king with their garments rent. The Assyrian had told them nothing that they did not know already, but his words had brought the dread reality more clearly than ever before them!

Hezekiah himself was so much moved when they conveyed Sennacherib's demands to him, that he went straight to the temple, with his garments rent; and, in the anguish

of his heart, despatched some of his officers, together with certain leading priests, all with their garments rent, to take this message to Isaiah: "Thus says Hezekiah: this day we are in dire extremity. Will not Yahweh, your god, take any heed of the words of scorn which the Rabshakeh has uttered against the living god? Will he not punish the Assyrian for it? Oh! pray for the miserable remnant of the people!"

In Isaiah they had found the right man. Undaunted as ever, he answered the king's messengers with words of cheer: "Tell your master not to fear the blasphemous words of these servants of the Assyrian king; for, behold, I will fill him with terror, says Yahweh, and he shall return to his own land, and there I will slay him with the sword."

So the Rabshakeh's demand was refused, and he returned to his king, whom he found no longer encamped before Lachish, but at Libnah. There Sennacherib soon heard that Tirhakah of Egypt was approaching with a great army; so he made one more attempt to gain immediate possession of Jerusalem. He wrote a letter to Hezekiah, in which he pointed out the folly of defying his irresistible forces, and once more demanded the city.

But as soon as Hezekiah had read the letter he went with it to the temple, unrolled it before Yahweh's face, and prayed: "O Yahweh, god of Israel, who sittest upon the cherubs,¹ thou alone art god over all the kingdoms of the earth, and hast made everything. Incline thine ear, O Yahweh, and listen! Open thine eyes and see! Sennacherib has insulted thee, the living god. The Assyrian kings have indeed laid waste the lands of the heathens, and have burned their gods, for they were not gods at all, but mere wood and stone, the work of the hands of men. These therefore they could destroy. But now, O Yahweh, our god, deliver us from Sennacherib's hand, that all the kingdoms may know that thou, Yahweh, art the only god!"

This time Hezekiah was far from despondent himself, but Isaiah nevertheless quickened his courage once more; for he sent a messenger to him with the cheering oracle: "The maid of Zion derides Sennacherib, the daughter of Jerusalem shakes her head at him. Whom but the Holy One of Israel has he reproached with his vauntings of all he has done and how he will conquer Egypt? All that has happened was ordained by Yahweh; and because Sennacherib

¹ See p. 87.

waxes arrogant, Israel's god will curb his pride and put him to shame." Hezekiah must not be downcast, for the following year no hostile army should hinder his subjects from tilling their land and consuming the produce. The remnant of Judah should strike root and be fruitful. Salvation should come from Jerusalem. The jealousy of Yahweh should bring all this to pass. Nay, the king need not even fear so much as a siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib. It would not come to that. He would go back by the way he had come, and Yahweh would protect Jerusalem for his own glory and for David's sake.

Isaiah's hopes were not put to shame, for, according to the historian, that very night the angel of Yahweh smote a hundred and eighty-five thousand men in the camp of the Assyrians, so that Sennacherib had no choice but to return with the remnant to Nineveh, where he was murdered by two of his sons some time afterwards, as he was worshipping the god Nisroch in his temple. The murderers fled, and Sennacherib's brother, Esarhaddon, succeeded him.

What was it that compelled Sennacherib to return in such haste? The Judæan historian ascribes it to the sword of Yahweh's angel; but we have also an Egyptian tradition of the same event. The Greek historian Herodotus, who visited Egypt in the middle of the fifth century B.C., tells us that he heard the following story from the priests: King Sethos was priest of the god Hephaistos, and greatly despised the warrior caste, thinking he should never need them. Amongst other measures he took away the lands which they had obtained from his predecessors. So when the Assyrian king, Sennacherib, marched upon Egypt with a great army, the warriors refused to go out to battle. This plunged the king into deep distress, and he went to the temple and lamented his hard fate with tears before the deity. As he was thus bewailing himself he fell asleep, and received the cheering announcement in a dream that he need not lose heart; for, when he marched against the Assyrians, he should suffer no harm, since the deity himself would send him auxiliaries. Trusting to his dream, the prince advanced with all who would follow him to Pelusium, where the enemy was already encamped; but the troops of Sethos were not practised warriors. They were only hucksters, artisans, and peasants; but, when he arrived with them at Pelusium, his god sent a host of field-mice into the camp of the enemy, and they gnawed at the quivers and bows and the thongs of the shields with such

effect that the Assyrians were compelled to flee unarmed the following day, and many of them were slain. And to this day, adds the historian, there is a statue of the king, worked in stone, standing in the temple of Hephaistos, with a mouse in his hand, and the inscription, "Whosoever looks at me, let him reverence the gods!"

This story furnishes an amusing example of how little these Egyptian priests comprehended the ancient symbols of their religion. The mouse was really the emblem of desolation in general, or specifically of the plague; and the story of the troop of field-mice is nothing but an erroneous explanation of the mouse in the hand of the king's statue. The Egyptian king in whose reign Sennacherib was compelled to retreat is called Sethos here, whereas the Biblical account makes him Tirhakah. It is not certain, therefore, that the two stories refer to the same event; though in other respects they agree very well, for the mouse was the Egyptian symbol of the plague, which the Israelites ascribed to the angel of Yahweh.¹

Sennacherib, then, returned to his own country, with an army thinned by the devastating pestilence; and there he closed his boastful inscription by the statement that he had brought great booty from Judah, as well as other countries, and that Hezekiah had offered him not only tribute but renewed submission. This, however, we know to be false. Hezekiah retained his independence.

The tone in which Isaiah spoke of the Assyrians on this occasion was very different from that which he had formerly adopted. No wonder! Though the prophets themselves cherished the conviction that they received exact information as to future events by direct revelations from Yahweh, yet the oracles uttered at different times by the same prophet show us clearly enough that they spoke, like other men, under the influence of complex and varied emotions, and that to them, too, the same event presented itself in a very different light, when still in the future and when actually present. As long as the Assyrians were not in the land, as long as Judah's enemies and neighbors only were chastised, so long could Isaiah point to the conquerors as he threatened his own people with punishment, and paint in living colors the chastisement they would inflict on godless Judah also. But when it really came to pass, when every day brought fearful news of the massacres and horrors which accompanied the sack of cities, when the capital itself was in extremest danger and

¹ Compare 2 Samuel xxiv. 16.

the vaunting words of the Assyrians were passed from mouth to mouth, then the whole thing assumed a different aspect, and the prophet began to ask, If Yahweh's hand is heavy on his people, is that a reason why another nation should do whatever it will with impunity? Will not his judgment fall on Ashur too? Why should the heathens triumph thus? Are they anything but tools in Yahweh's hand? They too shall fall under his rod! Then consoling visions of Judah's future came of themselves to complete the picture.

Such were the thoughts expressed in a prophecy of Isaiah,¹ uttered, in all probability, while Sennacherib's army was still in Judah. Its substance is as follows:—

“Woe unto Ashur, the rod with which I chastised in anger! I sent him against a godless people, and commanded him to plunder and trample under foot the nation of my wrath; but he planned its utter destruction, and the rooting out of many nations. All my nobles, he says, are kings! How many mighty cities have I forced to yield! And is not Samaria one of them? Why should I not do to Jerusalem and her images what I have done to Samaria and her gods? But when Yahweh has fulfilled his judgment on Zion, then will he punish the Assyrian's pride, for he says: ‘I gather me the wealth of all peoples, as one gathers deserted eggs from a nest, and no one flutters or chirps!’ He is but an axe rebelling against the woodman; a saw that vaunts its might against the workman! Therefore shall Yahweh bring low his pride; Israel's light shall be a fire to Ashur, his Holy One a flame, burning up all these thorns and thistles in a single day.”

“When this comes to pass, then the house of Jacob will no longer put its trust in Ashur that smote it, but will faithfully trust in Yahweh. The remnant repents,² the remnant of Jacob turns to God. For though thy people, O Israel! were countless as the sand on the sea-shore, the remnant only would repent, for Yahweh of hosts is executing a heavy judgment. Then fear not Ashur, O my people that dwellest in Zion! He smote thee with a heavy hand, as Egypt did of old; but full soon my wrath will burst over him to destroy him. Yahweh of war-hosts shakes the scourge over him, as he erst smote Midian at Raven's Rock.”³

“But a shoot shall spring from the stock of Jesse; a fruitful stem shall burst from his root. On him shall Yahweh's spirit rest, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, of coun-

¹ Isaiah x. 5-xii

² See p. 258.

³ Compare vol. i. pp. 387, 388.

sel and might, of knowledge, and the fear of Yahweh. He shall love the fear of Yahweh, and utter righteous judgment. The poor and the humble he judges truly; his sentences shall hit the mark; and he slays the wealthy with the words of his lips. His loins are girt with justice and faith. Then shall the wolf dwell with the lamb, and the panther lie down with the kid; then the ox shall graze by the lion's side, and a little lad shall pasture them. A cow and a she-bear feed together, their young ones lie down side by side; the lion eats straw like an ox. Then a sucking child shall play by an adder's hole; a child thrust its hand into a serpent's nest. In all my holy mountain shall be nothing that hurts or destroys, for the land shall be full of the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the bed of the sea."

"In that day shall Jesse's shoot be an ensign for the heathens; they shall come to him for instruction and judgment, and his dwelling-place shall be glorious. Then shall Yahweh redeem the remains of his people a second time, from Assyria and Egypt and all the lands to which they have been carried away. He lifts on high a banner, that all the peoples may see; and from every quarter of heaven he collects the scattered ones of Israel and unites the exiles of Judah. Ephraim's jealousy is gone and Judah's restless ones are cut off. Ephraim envies Judah no more, nor Judah vexes Ephraim. But they fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines together, they plunder the sons of the East; they lay their hand upon Edom and Moab, and the sons of Ammon obey them. Then Yahweh dries up the Egyptian sea, strikes the Euphrates and smites it into seven streams, so that men can go over dry-shod, and there is a path for the remnant of my people that remains from Assyria, even as in the day when Israel came out of Egypt."

"Then shalt thou say: I will praise thee, Yahweh, for though thou wast angry with me, thy wrath is appeased and thou comfortest me. Behold the god who delivers me, in whom I trust and tremble not! For my might and my song is Yahweh, who hastened to my succor! Then you shall drink water out of the wells of salvation, and shall sing: Praise Yahweh! Glorify his name! Proclaim through the nations his mighty deeds! Chant psalms to him, for his name is exalted! Sing to the glory of Yahweh, for he has done mighty deeds! Let it be known throughout all the earth! Rejoice and exult, O daughter of Zion! for great is the Holy One of Israel in thy midst."

There is a good deal of Israelitish exclusiveness in these anticipations; for the blessings of the golden age of the future are specially intended for Israel, and will only be shared by the heathen in so far as they submit to Israel's ruler. It is well for mankind that this prediction has never been literally fulfilled. But nevertheless we are deeply moved, not only by the prophet's unshaken trust in Yahweh's help and his touching hope that the hostility between Ephraim and Judah will disappear, not only by his beautiful description of the great scion of David's house and the blessings of his rule, but above all by the central thought of the whole prophecy — namely, the belief in a golden age in the future. The Greek and Roman poets sang of a golden age in the past, but expected the world to grow ever more wicked and miserable in the future; and most men are still heathens in this respect, mourning over a lost paradise and the growing corruption of the world, and expecting nothing but increasing wretchedness. Not so the Israelite believer. He, too, dreamed of a golden age in the past — the time of David — but he hoped and trusted in its return. It was this hope that gave him strength and courage. However defective the form in which he clothed it may have been, it was itself a gift of God, and a sign of true nobility of soul.

When Jerusalem was being threatened by Sennacherib, whether before or after its surrender had been demanded, the king's life was for a time in great peril. He was dangerously ill, and the prophet Isaiah came to him in Yahweh's name with the words of warning: "Set everything in order, for you are about to die." But Hezekiah had recourse to prayer. With his face turned to the wall, weeping aloud, he besought Yahweh to spare his life, and appealed to all that he had done for the honor of his god. So Yahweh was moved, and before Isaiah had passed out of the court of the palace, he received another revelation from his god of very different purport from the other. Yahweh would restore the king, and that so soon that on the next day but one he would be able to visit the temple. He would still live fifteen years, and the city would be rescued from the hand of the Assyrians. Isaiah went immediately to tell the king of the answer to his prayer, but Hezekiah could hardly believe it; and even when the prophet made the fever instantly abate by laying a bunch of figs upon the place affected, still he begged for some miraculous sign to set his doubts to rest, and assure him that he would really

visit the temple in three days. Isaiah gave him his choice whether the shadow on the sun-dial of King Ahaz should move ten degrees forwards or backwards. Hezekiah chose the latter, and at Isaiah's prayer the sun went back so far that the shadow on the index retreated ten degrees.

It need hardly be said that both Isaiah's accurate announcement of the fifteen years that still remained of Hezekiah's life and the miraculous movement of the shadow on the dial, which would imply a complete revolution in the whole solar system, are purely legendary. We can easily guess how such a story might arise. After this sickness in the fourteenth year of his reign, Hezekiah did actually live for fifteen years, and when the fact was known nothing could be easier or more natural than to make Isaiah predict it. Again, the king's recovery might be poetically described in some such words as these: As though the sun at close of day were to go back and pass once more through the hours on the dial, so the king's life, when hastening to its close, entered upon its course afresh; and such a simile might well be transformed by the legend into the account of a miraculous sign. That Hezekiah's recovery was due to his fervent prayer is doubtless a superstitious conception, but it was perfectly natural at a time when religious natures, while tracing the hand of God in disaster and deliverance, failed to inquire into the natural sequence of cause and effect.

A glimpse into the inner thoughts of a pious man who had recovered from a sickness in those days, is furnished us by Hezekiah's song of thanksgiving, which we find in the book of Isaiah. Its closing lines are as follows¹:—

O Yahweh! bitterness, ay bitterness, has turned to my salvation!
 For thou hast drawn me in thy love from out the pit of destruction,
 Since thou hast cast my sins behind thy back.
 For the shadow-land praises thee not,
 Death glorifies thee not,
 Those who are laid in the grave no longer hope in thy truth;
 The living, only the living, praise thee,
 As I praise thee this day.
 The father makes known to his children thy faithfulness.

From these words we see that, if a man grew ill, he attributed it to his sins; and that Yahweh was supposed to restore him partly out of love for the sufferer himself, whose trespasses he threw behind him, that is to say, ceased to regard them and forgave them, and partly for his own glory's sake, inasmuch as by letting a devout man die, he robbed

¹ Isaiah xxxviii. 17-19.

himself of a faithful worshipper. But in criticising such an outpouring as this, we must never for a moment forget that we are not dealing with an intellectual argument, but with an effusion of the heart.

The close connection which the Israelites, in common with other peoples of antiquity, imagined to exist between spiritual and temporal privileges, made them regard every misfortune as a punishment, and relief from it as a sign of God's forgiving love. The intensity of this feeling is evinced by many of their songs. We will give one as a specimen.¹

Bless Yahweh, O my soul!
 All that is within me, bless his holy name!
 Bless Yahweh, O my soul!
 And forget thou not his benefits;—
 Who forgives all thine iniquities,
 Who heals all thy diseases,
 Who redeems thy life from death,
 And compasses thee with grace and mercy;
 Who satisfies thee with all that is good,
 And renews thy youth like an eagle's!
 Yahweh maintains the right,
 And judges truly for the oppressed.
 He made known his commands to Moses,
 And his deeds to the sons of Israel.
 Yahweh is merciful and gracious;
 Slow to anger and plenteous in mercy.
 He will not always chide,
 Nor keep his anger for ever.
 He has not dealt with us after our sins,
 Nor rewarded us according to our iniquities
 For high as the heaven is over the earth,
 So great is his favor toward them that fear him;
 As far as the East is from the West,
 So far has he removed our transgressions from us.
 Like as a father pities his children,
 So Yahweh pities them that fear him;
 For he knows our frame,
 And remembers that we are dust.
 The days of man are like the grass,
 Like to a field-flower so he blooms;
 When the wind blows over it, it is gone!
 And its place knows it no more.
 But Yahweh's favor is from eternity to eternity towards them that
 fear him.
 His faithfulness to children's children,
 If they observe his covenant
 And remember to do his commandments.
 Yahweh has established his throne in the heavens;
 His dominion spreads over all.
 Bless Yahweh, ye his angels, mighty ones!
 That do his behest and give heed to his word.
 Bless Yahweh, ye his war-hosts!
 That serve him and do his pleasure.
 Bless Yahweh, all his works, in all parts of his dominion!
 Bless Yahweh, O my soul!

¹ Psalm ciii.

Of course, when Sennacherib left the country it was in a state of profound misery. Listen to Isaiah's description of it in one of his exhortations to repentance:¹ "Hear, ye heavens, and give ear O earth, for Yahweh speaks: 'I have reared' and brought up sons, and they are faithless to me. The ox knows his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel knows nothing, my people is void of understanding.' Woe to the sinful people, heavy with iniquity, the race of evil-doers who work mischief! They have forsaken Yahweh; have despised the Holy One of Israel; have refused to follow him. Where will ye still be smitten, that ye still revolt again? The whole head is sick; the whole heart faint. From the crown of the head to the sole of the foot there is not a sound spot; but all is wounds and bruises and festering sores, uncleansed, unbound, unmollified with oil. Your land is a desert; your cities are burned down. The produce of your fields is devoured before your eyes by strangers; all is laid desolate as if by a waterspout. The daughter of Zion is still left, like a hut in a vineyard, like a lodge in a cucumber garden, like a fortress that commands the district. Unless Yahweh of war-hosts leaves us a remnant, we shall soon be as Sodom, and like to Gomorrah." In complete accord with this description is Isaiah's own judgment on the fruitlessness of his work, which we considered in speaking of his prophetic call.²

What Hezekiah did to alleviate the sufferings of his people we do not know. He fortified and adorned Jerusalem, and supplied it with fresh water by means of subterranean canals, as befitted the city which was spoken of in a song which probably dates from this period, as: "The city of Israel's god, his holy mountain, fair in its site, the joy of all the land, the city of the great king, in whose palaces dwells Yahweh, god of war-hosts."³ He also waged war with the Philistines and defeated them along the whole border of their land. But how much of all this took place before and how much after Sennacherib's invasion we cannot tell. After Sennacherib's time the Assyrian kings had enough to do to hold their own in Assyria, and could pay but little attention to their distant provinces; and these provinces themselves were too completely drained and exhausted to be able to wage any serious wars against each other.

So Hezekiah's days went on in peace and Judah was beginning to recover slowly from her disasters, when the king died and was followed by his son Manasseh.

¹ Isaiah i. 2-9.

² See pp. 240, 250.

³ Psalm xlviii. 1-3, 8.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

JUDAH UNDER MANASSEH AND AMON

2 Kings XXI.¹

WHEN a religious reformation is accomplished anywhere and a step is taken forward, the period of progress is generally followed by a temporary standstill, or even reaction. This is very natural; for the victory has not been the result of a universal or even preponderating conviction of the value of the better principles, but has been the work of some few men in advance of their surroundings, who have so infected others with their enthusiasm as to induce many who only half comprehended their purposes actually to help in accomplishing them. And again, the advocates of the old order of things, who owed their defeat in great measure to their want of energy and vigilance, are now thoroughly roused by the fall of the usages and opinions which are dear to them, and collect their forces to recover the lost ground. And they have all the better chance of succeeding because the victors, satisfied with their triumph, are often divided amongst themselves, and have not enough concentration of purpose to be able to offer a successful resistance.

This is exactly what took place in Judah upon Hezekiah's death. The Mosaic school, which had won its first great victory in his reign, was forced to succumb under his son Manasseh. We cannot follow the Israelite historians in attributing the change entirely to the king himself. He probably followed the stream of public opinion rather than led it; for though the power of an ancient monarch was limited by no written law, yet his policy was very often determined for him by circumstances. We have not simply to deal with Manasseh personally, then, but with the majority of the people, which maintained its opposition to the Mosaic school throughout the fifty-five years of Manasseh's reign and the two years of his son Amon.

No wonder! For Hezekiah's measures must in themselves have appeared not only extraordinary but positively impious in the eyes of many of his subjects. Had he not destroyed the altars and other sacred objects of Yahweh, and

¹ 2 Chronicles xxxiii.

abolished the most venerable rites? And again, the subsequent fate of Judah may well have raised a doubt as to whether Hezekiah's principles were sound. He had hardly completed his measures before Sennacherib invaded the land; and Judah was evidently abandoned by its god. Jerusalem was indeed delivered. But how? "Like a lodge in a cucumber garden," as Isaiah had too truly said. That saying of the Rabshakeh's: "How can you trust in Yahweh? Is not he the god whose altars Hezekiah has thrown down?" had certainly given utterance to the thought of many a Judæan.

As long as Hezekiah lived the Mosaic party remained at the helm of state; but the new ruler followed a different policy. The oppressed heathenizers, who had reached no loftier convictions, but had simply yielded to force, now compensated themselves for their sufferings; and all the rites which the ancient Israelites shared with the heathens were soon restored to honor.

Foremost amongst these was the sacrifice of children to Molech, which was performed in one special place, the Tophet, in the valley of the son of Hinnom.¹ This valley stretches along the southern boundary of Jerusalem, and probably derived its name from some ancient owner or inhabitant. The name "Valley of the son of Hinnom" was afterwards abbreviated into "Valley of Hinnom,"² or in Hebrew Ge-Hinnom, and this again was corrupted into *Gehenna*, and became the designation amongst the later Jews of the abode of the damned and of the devils.³ Now in this valley there was a certain enclosure walled off, and called "the Tophet," in which stood a number of *bamahs*, altars, and images. The meaning of the name is unknown. It was to this place that the children were brought for sacrifice. Jewish scholars, long after the beginning of our era, have represented the children as being burned alive, while the priests attempted to drown their shrieks with music. But this is incorrect. The children were slaughtered just like other victims, and their blood was poured over the sacred stones. Then the bodies were brought to the image of Molech, which was probably in human form, with an ox's head, and its arms stretched out before it sloping downwards towards a hole filled with fire, into which the children rolled when laid upon the outstretched arms, while music was played in honor of the deity. These particulars are gathered

¹ See Map IV.

² Joshua xv. 8, xviii. 16; Nehemiah xi. 30.

³ Compare vol. iii. pp. 167, 174, 214.

from the terms in which certain prophets allude from time to time to this worship, and from the description of an image of Molech that belonged to the Carthaginians, who were themselves of Phœnician or Canaanite origin. It is difficult to make out how far the Judeans who sacrificed their children in the valley of the son of Hinnom distinguished between Molech and Yahweh, and in what relation the worship of the one stood to that of the other; but it is certain that these Molech worshippers frequented the temple of Yahweh, invoked his name, and thought they were pleasing him when they sacrificed their children. Sacrifice to Molech was a part of the ancient Israelitish religions, as well as those of Canaan, and indeed the worship of Yahweh as upheld by the heathenizing party was in every respect modelled after that of Baal, Milcom, Chemosh, and the other gods of the Canaanites and surrounding peoples. The straits to which Judah was reduced in the reign of Ahaz induced that monarch to offer one of these frightful sacrifices,¹ and perhaps it was he who built the Tophet. Under Hezekiah, the worship there was suspended, or at any rate it languished; but it flourished more than ever under Manasseh, who led the way himself by sacrificing his first-born son.

The worship of the Sidonian goddess Astarte resulted, like that of Molech, from the conception of the deity as a stern, destroying power. Like the worship of Molech, too, it was closely interwoven with the heathenish service of Yahweh, while the Mosaic school included all its usages amongst the "abominations of the Canaanites." In the Old Testament itself we find but few allusions to it, but we are pretty well acquainted with it from other sources. The "consecrated ones," as the Israelites called them, were men who had mutilated themselves in a fit of religious frenzy, on occasion of some festival, and then dressed themselves up in women's clothes, and either ministered at some sanctuary of Astarte, or wandered about in troops through the land, preceded by the sound of horns, with an ass in their midst, bearing a veiled image of the deity and a beggar's wallet. Decked out themselves in many-colored female garments, with naked shoulders, and with swords, bill-hooks, and scourges in their hands, they entered the cities and villages dancing to the sound of their music. Then a revolting scene took place, consisting of howling and hideous dances, fierce self-chastisement, wild confessions of guilt, followed by renewed self-

¹ Compare p. 241.

torture, and the whole closed by a collection! With the money thus obtained they endeavored to compensate themselves, as best they might, for their self-inflicted sufferings.

Side by side with these religious usages, which aimed at crushing man's physical nature, flourished the Asherah-worship which consecrated in chastity and encouraged the reckless indulgence of every lustful passion.¹ In the temple of Yahweh at Jerusalem there were not only "consecrated ones" such as we have just described, but also priestesses who wove tents for the Asherah² which Manasseh had set up there together with an image of Baal.

Soothsaying and witchcraft, which always accompanied the heathen forms of worship, were now diligently practised, especially under the influence of the Assyrian religion, which found many adherents in Judah, and especially in Jerusalem, under the reign of Manasseh. Ever since the time of Ahaz the Judæans had been in communication with the Assyrians, and had therefore become acquainted with their religion; more especially since Shalmaneser or Sargon,³ and subsequently Esar-haddon,⁴ had recruited the half-depopulated district of Israel by colonies of Babylonians, Mesopotamians, and Syrians, and placed it under Assyrian governors. Indeed, all the surrounding districts had felt the influence of the Assyrians more or less powerfully, for their armies had shown themselves everywhere, up to the very borders of Egypt. Now in their religion the adoration of the heavenly bodies occupied a foremost place; and these luminaries were worshipped by sacrifice and all manner of other ceremonies. Manasseh was a zealous adherent of these practices, and set up altars in the two courts of the temple for "all the host of heaven," especially the Sun-god, the Moon-goddess, or Queen of heaven, and the five planets. Similar altars were also raised on the roof of the palace of Ahaz. Nay, there were even chariots and horses of the Sun kept in the temple.⁵ This adoration of the Sun was all the more offensive to the Mosaic school because the worshippers, holding a bundle of vine-twigs to their mouths and facing the East, when paying reverence to the great luminary, turned their backs upon the sanctuary of Yahweh.⁶

Manasseh's desire to show honor to as many gods as possible extended further yet. Not only were the sanctuaries of Astarte, Chemosh, and Milcom, which Solomon had built

¹ Compare p. 113.

⁴ Ezra iv. 2.

² 2 Kings xxiii. 7.

⁵ 2 Kings xxiii. 5, 11, 12.

³ 2 Kings xvii. 24 ff.

⁶ Ezekiel viii. 16.

close by Jerusalem, left undisturbed and probably restored by Manasseh, but the friendly relations now subsisting between Judah and Egypt paved the way for the introduction of the religious usages of the latter country, until at last they established themselves in the very temple itself. Thus the prophet Ezekiel, when an exile, painted once more the scene he had so often witnessed of the Israelitish women in the temple-court bewailing the death of Tammuz, that is Osiris;¹ and the same prophet spoke of chambers in the buildings round the sanctuary, now bricked up but once accessible enough, on the walls of which were depicted all kinds of animals, quadrupeds, insects, and reptiles, to which incense was burned.²

That the example of Jerusalem should be followed by the other cities was but natural; Jeremiah indeed repeatedly declares that the Judeans sacrificed beneath every green tree, and held licentious festivals upon every lofty hill,³ that their gods were as many as their cities, and that they burned incense to Baal in every street of Jerusalem;⁴ and though these statements are manifest exaggerations, yet the Asherah-worship was certainly very prevalent, and many children were sacrificed elsewhere than in the valley of Hinnom, the beds of streams being generally selected for this purpose.⁵

Even at this distance of time and with every desire to be impartial, it is often difficult for us to realize that the members of this heathenizing party were not the monsters of iniquity and licentiousness which their practices would argue them if judged in the light of our present civilization, but were men of average feeling and culture, obeying in all sincerity the dictates of the prevalent conceptions of deity. We can therefore readily understand the horror with which the leaders of the Mosaic school regarded the customs of their opponents.

We should be wrong, however, in inferring from all this that Judah had renounced its allegiance to Yahweh. The preachers of repentance often indignantly reproach the people with having deserted their god, but we can see from their own words that the accusation was not justified, and that the very people who took part in all these rites nevertheless swore by Yahweh, frequented his temple, had a very lofty conception of its sanctity, boasted of being Yahweh's people, and trusted in his help for the future. The supporters of the heathen

¹ Ezekiel viii. 14. Compare vol. i. pp. 412 ff. ² Ezekiel viii. 7-12.

³ Jeremiah iii. 6 ff., and elsewhere. ⁴ Jeremiah xi. 13. ⁵ Isaiah lvii. 5.

practices really believed that their way of worshipping Yahweh was the true one.

Now though Manasseh was to some extent following his own inclination, which was in accord with that of the majority of his subjects, in favoring the worship of foreign gods and of images, yet there can be no doubt that he was also influenced by political considerations. In the first place his foreign policy pointed in that direction; for the Mosaic school, who would have the Judæans worship Yahweh only, were always disinclined to foster a close alliance with other peoples, for that made not only hostility but even indifference towards their gods impossible. A prince who encouraged commerce, industry, art, and science must of necessity treat the foreign gods with more or less toleration.

But home as well as foreign policy encouraged Manasseh in his course; for a king who favored the Mosaic school was in great danger of becoming the mere creature of priests and prophets.

Nothing feeds a man's ambition like the belief that he is the representative of the deity or the mediator between man and God; hence the spiritual chiefs have in every age grasped at temporal power, and the superstition of princes and peoples has often crowned their efforts with success.

Now in Judah the foundation of a hierarchy had long been laid, and indeed it had been considerably developed by the high position which the Levitical priesthood of Jerusalem took, and the services which the chief priest Jehoiada had rendered to the reigning dynasty.¹ It was but natural that the priests should sedulously build upon this foundation under the reigns of the successors of Joash. Even the higher conceptions of God now entertained contributed to the result. For the more Yahweh was regarded as the infinitely exalted one, the consuming fire before whom the sinner must tremble, the higher was the reverence which the believers paid the priest who could draw near to this dread being with incense and sacrifice, who could take away the sinner's guilt and secure forgiveness for his sins, and the wider grew the chasm that separated the priest from the layman. In ancient times any one who liked had been allowed to approach or enter the sanctuary, but gradually this came to be thought inadvisable, and only the priests were allowed to enter the temple.

According to the Chronicles laymen were forbidden to

¹ See pp. 176 ff.

enter the sanctuary or to perform any priestly function even in the reign of Uzziah; for we are told¹ that that monarch, made presumptuous by his growing power, transgressed against Yahweh, and insisted on penetrating into the temple and burning incense on the altar that stood in the holy place for this purpose. Vain were the warnings of the chief priest Azariah, who followed the king into the sanctuary with eighty other priests and endeavored to restrain him! In vain did he cry: "It is not for thee, Uzziah, to burn incense to Yahweh! Only the priests, the sons of Aaron, who have been consecrated to the task, may perform it. Leave the sanctuary, for thou art sinning, and it cannot be for thy good in Yahweh's eyes." Uzziah only grew angry with them, and persisted in his purpose. But when he was in the very act of swinging the censer and vituperating the priests, all at once the marks of leprosy appeared upon his brow. The priests gazed at him in horror! There could be no doubt that he was a leper. They hurriedly removed the unclean creature from the sanctuary, and he himself submitted quietly to his fate, for he felt that Yahweh's hand had smitten him. He remained a leper to the day of his death, and was kept apart, while his son Jotham governed in his place.

This story is evidently a fiction. It is just like the Chronicler, who is a priest to the backbone, to make Yahweh punish a transgression of the priestly laws with leprosy. The name of "the sons of Aaron," which is here given to the priests, is of later origin, and indeed the sharp distinction between priests and laymen is altogether an anachronism when transferred to Uzziah's time; for his grandson Ahaz still sacrificed in the temple with the approbation of the priests themselves;² nor was the exalted conception of Yahweh's being, from which the sharp distinction between priests and others flowed, at all widely spread, even suppose it existed, in the days of Uzziah.

But if the Chronicler is vastly premature in this as in all his representations of the usages of worship, he nevertheless indicates the direction in which things were now moving in Judah. In early times the princes were often members of the priesthood, and the king himself performed the functions and enjoyed the privileges of a priest;³ but now the Levites of the temple of Jerusalem were gradually forming themselves more and more completely into a close caste, from which even the king was excluded, and which claimed extensive rights and privileges.

¹ 2 Chronicles xxvi. 16-21. ² 2 Kings xvi. 11, 12. ³ Compare p. 177

Besides the Levitical priests of the temple at Jerusalem, there were many prophets who maintained the exclusive worship of Yahweh. We have seen that between the reigns of Solomon and Amaziah prophecy played but a very secondary part in the development of Judah's history, and at any rate the prophets never took the position of popular leaders, as they did in northern Israel. This was not due to any difference of aim or disposition between the messengers of Yahweh in the two kingdoms, but simply to the fact that David's posterity had retained the throne of Judah almost without opposition, and no great religious conflict had been there fought out; but, in the seventh century, a change took place in this latter respect. The loftier conceptions of the deity, the fresh life that revealed itself in the literary activity of the prophetic schools, and the growing conviction that Israel was the chosen people of Yahweh, the only god, could not fail to stimulate religious enthusiasm in every direction. The battle against idolatry and image worship, and all that conflicted with the Mosaic worship of Yahweh, was ever calling fresh forces into the field.

In many respects priests and prophets stood at the opposite poles; but when it was a question of defending the purity of the worship of Yahweh, they joined hands with each other, and under Hezekiah their united forces had constituted a very powerful party, which could rely upon the heartiest support from the king, but laid him under no little restraint. If Manasseh wished successfully to maintain his independence in the face of this combination of priests and prophets, he had no choice but to throw himself into the arms of their opponents.

Thus the religious convictions of the majority of the people, combined with the natural desire of the king himself to shake off the restraints to which the Mosaic school would subject him, secured to the conservative or so-called heathen tendencies a speedy triumph.

The heathen school remained at the helm of state throughout the reigns of Manasseh and Amon and the early years of Josiah. So, at least, says the book of Kings. The Chronicler, on the other hand, informs us that Manasseh only reigned after this godless fashion at first; but that when he and his people refused to listen to the voice of their god, Yahweh sent the generals of the Assyrian king, and they took Manasseh captive and led him to Babylon in chains of

brass. Then, we are told, he prayed in his distress to Yahweh, and humbled himself before the god of his fathers, who suffered himself to be appeased, brought him back to Jerusalem, and restored him to his throne. Then Manasseh perceived that Yahweh was god, and not only fortified Jerusalem but rooted out idolatry. He commanded his people to worship Yahweh, and they did so. The *bamahs* were still allowed to stand, but henceforth Yahweh alone was worshipped at them.

The Chronicler has certainly derived this story from some more ancient authority. His mentioning certain writings as containing the words of the prophets who warned Manasseh, and even the prayer which the king himself uttered in captivity, does not go for much. But it appears from the Assyrian inscriptions that Manasseh really was a vassal of Asarhad-don. It is highly improbable, however, that he was ever taken to Babylon as a prisoner, and certain that he did not reform the religion of Judah; for in the first place the book of Kings has not a word of all this, and the Chronicler himself is very vague in his account, neither giving us the name of the Assyrian king, nor telling us how Manasseh regained his liberty and was restored to his throne; and in the next place, history teaches us that Josiah inaugurated many reforms which would have been rendered quite superfluous if his grandfather had already accomplished them.

Moreover, if Manasseh really repented of his heathenish proclivities and became an advocate of the exclusive worship of Yahweh, how comes it that the writer of Kings regards the fall of Judah as the punishment for Manasseh's idolatry? Nor does this writer stand alone. Jeremiah, too, believes that the fall of Jerusalem was irrevocably decreed in consequence of Manasseh's sin. "Yahweh says to me," he exclaims,¹ "Though Moses and Samuel stood before me to avert my wrath, my heart could no more be moved for this people. Drive them away, and cast them out of my sight! And if they say to you, 'Where must we go?' then answer: Thus says Yahweh: To Death! those that are fated to death. To the sword! those who must fall by the sword! To famine! those who must die of hunger. To exile! those whose fate is banishment. Four kinds of scourges will I bring upon them: the sword, to slay; the dogs, to devour; the fowls of the air and the beast of prey, to rend and destroy. I will make them the sport of the kingdoms of the earth, because

¹ Jeremiah xv. 1-6.

of Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, king of Judah, and because of his deeds in Jerusalem. Who would spare thee, Jerusalem! Who would pity thee! Who would turn aside to ask after thy weal! Thou hast forsaken me, says Yahweh; thou art utterly apostate, wherefore I turn my hand against thee to root thee out. I have repented, till I am weary, of my purpose to destroy thee, and now I will repent no more." Jeremiah was born during the reign of Manasseh, and if the king had really pursued a different course at the close of his life from what the prophet means by "deserting Yahweh," he could not have helped knowing it. We are therefore safe in assuming that the account in Chronicles is a fiction. The writer doubtless gathered from the fact of Manasseh's reigning prosperously for more than half a century and then departing in peace, that he must have seen the error of his ways. Otherwise, how could Yahweh's dealings with him be justified?

The Chronicler declares that Manasseh's prayer was to be found in ancient writings; and in this connection we may mention that the so-called Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, which have passed from the Greek translation into the bibles of the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches, contain what purports to be the prayer of Manasseh. It is a comparatively recent production.

Manasseh, then, pursued the same policy throughout the five-and-fifty years of his reign, and his son, Amon, trod in his footsteps; but, after a reign of two years only, this prince was murdered in the palace by some of his courtiers. The motive to this deed is quite unknown. We have no reason to suppose that zeal for the service of Yahweh armed the hands of the assassins. Their purpose, whatever it may have been was defeated, for "the people of the land" slew them and crowned Josiah, Amon's son, a boy of eight years old.

Though there is nothing to justify a suspicion that Amon's murder was the work of the Mosaic zealots, yet, of course, they had resisted the triumph of the heathenizing party with all their might. How could they stand by passively while the fruits of their victory under Hezekiah were all being snatched away? And we may well believe that the king on his side made all who resisted him feel the weight of his hand. In ancient times the sword was the chief argument by which conflicting opinions sought a settlement; and the examples

of slaughter set by Elijah and Jehu in Israel, and even to some extent by Jehoiada in Judah, prevent our judging Manasseh too severely, if he persecuted some of the leaders of the Mosaic school.

"He filled Jerusalem with innocent blood from end to end," says the writer of Kings. According to a Jewish tradition, preserved in the Talmud, Isaiah was one of his victims. If this is true, the prophet must have been extremely old, for he began to prophesy in the year of Uzziah's death;¹ that is to say, sixty years before Manasseh's accession. The tradition, however, is too late to deserve our confidence; and, if the writer of Kings had known anything of the matter, he would surely have recorded it. This special story, therefore, cannot be accepted; and if the historian's statement, that all Jerusalem was filled with innocent blood, refers to the persecuted disciples of the Mosaic school rather than to the children sacrificed to Molech, it is an obvious exaggeration. But the faithful followers of Moses must necessarily have had a hard time of it, and many of them doubtless lost their lives. The truth of the supposition is confirmed by the terrible vengeance which they afterwards exacted.

In Israel the Mosaic school had very seldom experienced the hostility of the monarchs; and even then it was not very bitter. In Judah they had never been exposed to any serious attack. It stands to reason, therefore, that Manasseh's persecution must have made a deep impression. While the faint-hearted renounced their convictions, those who remained faithful clung to their principles more firmly, grasped them more clearly, and worked them out more consistently than ever. Here, too, the blood of the martyrs watered the Church, and the heathenizing school that sowed the wind would reap the whirlwind.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PSALMS AND PROVERBS.

PSALMS XXII., CIX., XXIX.; PROVERBS I. 7-IX.

NOTHING could be more natural than the conjecture that some of the psalms reflect the emotions which so many of the advocates of the exclusive worship of Yahweh must

¹ See p. 249.

have experienced under Manasseh's rule. It is exceedingly difficult, however, to determine the date of any given poem in the book of Psalms, for they hardly ever contain any names or distinct allusions to facts with which we are acquainted, and their contents are so general as to afford hardly any clew to their date. We cannot be sure, therefore, which of the psalms belong to Manasseh's time, and can go no further than to say of some of them that they may possibly or probably have been composed at that period, though they may also have been written one or more centuries later.

For instance, there is nothing to prevent our supposing that the twenty-second psalm dates from this epoch. This poem had a special significance for the first Christians, since they regarded it as a prediction of the sufferings and death of the Christ; and accordingly we find frequent allusions to it in the Gospel narratives of the crucifixion. For this reason we will take it as an example, in preference to other psalms, such as the third, fourth, fifth, eleventh, twentieth, or twenty-first, which are in themselves equally appropriate:—

“ My god! my god! why hast thou forsaken me,
Far from my rescue! ”—so I complain.
My god! I cry by day, but thou answerest not;
By night, but I find no rest.
Yet thou art the Holy One,
Enthroned on the praises of Israel.
Our fathers trusted in thee;
They trusted, and thou didst deliver them.
When they cried unto thee, they were rescued;
They built upon thee and were not put to shame.
But I am a worm and no man,
The scorn of men and contempt of the people.
All they that see me laugh me to scorn,
Curling the lip and shaking the beard:
“ He trusted in Yahweh! then let Him rescue him;
Let Him deliver him, since He delights in him! ”
Nay, it was thou that didst bring me to birth,
And didst lay me in peace on my mother's breast;
Thou hast been my protection since first I drew breath,
And as long as I live thou art still my god!
Be not far from me, for trouble is nigh,
And there is none to help.

Many bulls have circled me round,
Bulls of Bashan have compassed me;
Men open wide their jaws upon me,
Like a ravening, roaring lion.
I am poured out like water;
My bones are shaken asunder;
My heart is like wax,
It is melting within me.
My throat is dried up like a potsherd;
My tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth;
Thou hast brought me to the dust of death.

Nay, I am surrounded by dogs;
 A band of villains encircles me;
 They have pierced my hands and feet!¹
 I can count all my bones.
 My enemies look on and exult in my misery,
 They have parted my garments among them,
 And cast lots for my vesture.
 But thou, O Yahweh, be not far!
 O my strength! haste thee to help me.
 Rescue my soul from the sword.
 My life from the power of the dogs;
 Deliver me from the lion's mouth;
 Save me from the horns of the buffaloes!

I will proclaim thy name to my brothers,
 And praise thee in the midst of the assembly.
 Ye worshippers of Yahweh, praise him!
 Unite in his praise, ye seed of Jacob!
 Tremble before him, all Israel's offspring!
 The affliction of the afflicted he despises not nor contemns;
 He hides not his countenance from them,
 But hearkens to their entreaty.
 From thee comes the bliss that I celebrate in the midst of a great
 assembly.
 I will pay my vows in the presence of them that fear thee.
 The oppressed shall eat till they are satisfied;
 Yahweh shall be praised by his worshippers,
 May their heart live for ever!
 All the world shall remember and come back to Yahweh;
 Before thy face shall all nations bow.
 For Yahweh is king,
 And rules over the heathens.
 The great ones of the earth shall be sated, and bow before him,
 The humble shall all bend low,
 The offspring of the destroyed shall serve him.²
 They shall tell of the Lord to remote generations.
 They shall come and declare his righteousness,
 His deeds to a new generation.

The expounders of this and of many other psalms have often been much perplexed to determine whether the poet is speaking of himself only, or whether he lays his lamentations upon the lips of the suffering community. On the one hand, the poet seems to give utterance to the intense individual suffering which he himself has endured; and on the other hand, he rises so completely out of the sphere of personal considerations when he indulges his expectation of the general triumph of the worship of Yahweh, that we completely forget both him and his sorrows. The most natural explanation of all this is to suppose that the poet when persecuted for his faith, knowing that his lamentations were not his alone, and sympathizing with all who suffered in the same cause, described their bitter experiences under the type of his own. His sufferings and those of his brothers were the sufferings

¹ The translation is very uncertain.

² The translation is doubtful.

of all the devout, the whole community of Yahweh's faithful worshippers; and his deliverance would be the triumph of his god. This peculiarity gives to many of the psalms all the warmth which belongs to personal outpourings of the heart, while preserving a generality of application which makes them suitable for every age and for individuals and communities alike.

But this identification of the poet's personal desires with the honor of God carries with it one great danger which the psalmists did not escape. If their cause was the cause of their god, then their enemies were the enemies of Yahweh, and they had not the smallest scruple in cherishing the bitterest hatred of them. To love one's enemies was a virtue the glory of which was sometimes¹ perceived in antiquity, but very rarely. Not only was the rule, "Love your friends and hate your enemies," subject to few exceptions, but to spare an enemy would, generally speaking, have been decried as pusillanimous. Must not the relative of a murdered man pursue the murderer and avenge his kinsman's blood? It was his sacred duty. The right of reprisal was a legal, nay, a divine privilege. Yes, divine! for Yahweh himself exercised it, in requiting every man according to his deeds. Nowhere is this proposition laid down more sharply, I had almost said more offensively, than in the following verses of a psalm²:

Yahweh has recompensed me for my virtue,
 Rewarded me openly for the cleanness of my hands.
 For to the merciful thou art merciful,
 And upright to the upright man;
 To the faithful thou art faithful,
 Perfidious to the false.
 For thou dost save the afflicted people
 And humble the eyes of pride.

Extraordinary as the assertion sounds that Yahweh himself deceives the deceitful man, it is no more than is contained in the proverb,³—

Yahweh's curse is on the house of the godless,
 But the dwelling of the just he blesses.
 For he will mock the mockers,
 But show grace to the oppressed.

The conception of the Divine nature which underlies these and other such utterances sanctions and almost hallows the hatred of Yahweh's foes. The feelings expressed in the fol-

¹ See Exodus xxiii. 4, 5; Proverbs xxv. 21, 22.

² Psalm xviii. 24-27; 2 Samuel xxii. 25-28.

³ Proverbs iii. 33, 34.

lowing lines¹ were permissible and even imperative upon the Israelite : —

Should not I hate them that hate thee,
And abhor them that oppose thee?
I hate them with intensest hatred;
I hold them for my foes.

Hence many poems, such as Psalms v., lviii., lix., lxi., cxxix., cxxxvii., are disfigured by expressions of bitter hatred. Indeed they are sometimes so full of them that they may well be called the "psalms of cursing." We give as an example a portion of a psalm, which, if not itself written in Manasseh's time, is probably an imitation of a poem of that period² : —

O God, whom I praise, be not silent!
The mouth of the godless, the mouth of deceit, is opened against me;
They speak to me with deceitful tongue,
Words of hatred surround me,
They attack me without a cause.
In reply to my love they assault me,
While I am ever praying.³
They repay evil for good,
Hatred instead of love.
Set a godless man in power over him,
And let an accuser be ever near him!
When sentence is given may he be condemned;
May his prayer be counted as sin!
May his days be few!
May another man take his post!
Let his sons be orphans,
His wife a widow!
May his children wander about as beggars,
And seek bread, far from their ruined home!

And in this strain the poet goes on till his curses at last melt into lamentations and prayers for deliverance.

So lamented and cursed, so prayed and sighed, full many an oppressed disciple of the Mosaic school, while Manasseh and Amon reigned.

However great the interest which most of the Judæans felt in these contested questions, there was at least one circle of religious thought which was almost unaffected by them. What had the sacrifices to Molech or the worship of asherahs, the feasts of new moon and the adoration of images, to do with the revelation of God in Nature? To the more cultivated members of either party, but especially to the reformers, Yahweh was the god of gods, the creator of heaven and earth,

¹ Psalm cxxxix. 21, 22.

³ The translation is very doubtful.

² Psalm cix. 1 ff.

the god who revealed his glory in the thunder-storm and the sunshine, the rain and the whirlwind. In the book of Psalms we still find some few songs which celebrate Yahweh's greatness as revealed in Nature. It is, of course, impossible to assign their exact date, but they may have been written at any time after the Israelites had learned to believe that Yahweh was the god of the heavenly hosts, and that the visible creation was the scene upon which he revealed his power. They may date from any period after the eighth century, therefore.

Let us take as an example a poem whose author does not seem as yet to have risen to the conception of God's unity; for in the first verse he addresses the sons of the gods, which must mean either angels or subordinate deities, — but the expression is too obscure to warrant any confident deductions. The poem in question is Psalm xxix. : —

Praise Yahweh, O ye sons of gods,
 Give Yahweh praise and glory!
 Give Yahweh the honor due to his name,
 Bow before Yahweh in sacred apparel!
 Yahweh's voice is upon the waters: the glorious god is thundering.
 Yahweh's voice rolls o'er the waters of heaven.
 Yahweh's voice is mighty;
 Yahweh's voice is full of majesty.
 The voice of Yahweh breaks the cedars;
 Ay! Yahweh shatters the cedars of Lebanon.
 He makes them leap, — Mount Lebanon like a bull,
 And Hermon like a buffalo.
 Yahweh's voice flashes flames around it.
 Yahweh's voice makes the desert tremble,
 Yahweh makes the desert of Kadesh shudder,
 Yahweh's voice makes the hinds cast their young.
 Yahweh's voice strips the bark from the forest.
 In his heavenly palace all cries: Glory!
 Yahweh enthroned him on mighty waters,
 Still Yahweh is throned there, as king eternal!
 Yahweh will give his people might;
 Yahweh blesses his people with riches.

We have not many of these psalms of Nature. Psalm civ., which is too long for insertion here, and was probably composed at a later date, contains a very poetical description of Yahweh's glory. He is enthroned in heaven; he makes the winds his messengers and the lightning flashes his servants;¹ he has created the earth and all that is on it,² and has sustained man and beast ever since. — Why could not the poet who adapted this song for the temple service rest content with such a celebration of Yahweh's glory? Why must he add these words at the close: —

¹ After an amended version of v. 4.

² Compare vol. i. pp. 24-26.

The sinners shall be destroyed from the earth;
 The godless shall be there no more.
 Praise Yahweh, O my soul!
 Hallelujah!

No doubt a considerable number of songs and many Israelitish myths have been lost to us in consequence of the feeling, very laudable in itself, that Yahweh's revelation in Nature was as nothing compared with his glory displayed in the Law.¹ In the first part of Psalm xix.² we still possess the fragment of an ancient psalm of Nature; and the grandeur of its opening lines shows that its author was no ordinary poet:—

The heavens declare the glory of God,
 The firmament heralds the work of his hands;
 Day upon day pours forth instruction,
 Night upon night bears witness.

Unfortunately, some of the lines that follow are obscure and unintelligible, while the last half of the psalm is a glorification of Yahweh's law, which evidently had no connection whatever with this psalm of Nature.

We have often observed already that the Israelites, like every one else, conceived their god after their own likeness, and ascribed to him whatever they regarded as most noble and glorious in man. The level of culture which they had reached at any period was reflected in their conception of their god. At a low stage, when the pleasures of sense were supreme, they described Yahweh as eating and drinking, put into good humor by the pleasant smell of a sacrifice, and made merry by wine.³ When prowess in battle was held to be the greatest virtue, Yahweh became a mighty warrior, brandishing his sword and spear, and rushing upon the foe with a war-cry like the lion's roar. The stern moralist, on the other hand, saw in Yahweh a being of moral holiness and of strictest justice, rewarding every man according to his work; and tender hearts would sometimes rise to the thought of Yahweh's pitying love. The proverb-makers or "sages," for their part, saw in him the perfection of wisdom, the god who had deliberately adapted everything to its purpose.

This is especially exemplified in a section of the book of Proverbs,⁴ which was, perhaps, written in the age of Manasseh. It does not consist, like the other portions of the book of Proverbs, in unconnected sayings, but is one continuous discourse. It is a very earnest exhortation to a moral life, a

¹ Compare vol i. pp. 423, 424.

² Judges ix. 13.

³ Ps. 1-6.

⁴ Proverbs i. 7-ix.

warning against murder, theft, contentiousness, dishonesty, sloth, and, above all, in chastity and adultery. To this last point the writer constantly reverts.

His view of the connection between piety and wisdom is characteristic. He regards the fear of Yahweh as the first step on the path of wisdom, and Wisdom herself as the most glorious possession that can fall to man. He introduces her as speaking thus¹:—

Come now, children! hearken to me.
 Blessed are they who abide on my paths!
 Hear my instruction,
 That you may be wise and not unrestrained.
 Blessed is the man that hearkens to me,
 Daily attending my gates
 And keeping watch at my door-posts!
 For whoso finds me, he finds life
 And gains the favor of Yahweh.
 But he who sins against me wrongs his very soul;
 And whoso hate me, they love death.

Wisdom is Yahweh's possession also. It was with her help that he formed the world.²

Yahweh established the earth by wisdom
 And reared the heavens by understanding.
 By his knowledge the oceans break through
 And the clouds drop down with dew.

Just as the writer personifies Wisdom, and makes her exhort mankind by means of her friends who sit in the gate of the city, so he also makes her boast that she stood by Yahweh's side when he created the world.³

Yahweh possessed me when he began his work,
 Before he made anything, even of old.
 From eternity was I anointed,
 From the beginning, before the world was.
 When the oceans were not, was I born,
 When there were no gushing springs,
 Before the mountains had gained their foundations.
 Before the hills, was I born.
 No corn land or pastures were made as yet,
 Nor the masses of earth that form dry land;
 When he made the heaven I was with him,
 When he stretched its vault athwart the chasm;
 When he hung the clouds above
 And the springs burst forth from the depth;
 When he set its bounds to the sea, that its waters should not
 mount over its shores,
 And established the pillars of earth:
 Then was I with him as an artificer,
 His delight day after day,
 Rejoicing with him always.
 And now I sport on the face of earth
 And rejoice with the children of men.

The meaning of the last lines appears to be that Yahweh always took pleasure in that Wisdom which now spreads delight through the world, and whose joy it is to make men happy. But whatever the precise meaning of this representation of Wisdom may be, we should certainly be wrong in looking for any philosophical conception underlying it. It has, indeed, given rise to many speculations, but it is nothing itself more than a poetical personification. The Wisdom which stood by Yahweh's side at the creation is the same that exhorts mankind and leads them on to life.

This work, like the psalms of Nature, is entirely free from allusions to any religious contest. The fact may very fairly be urged as an argument that it is of later origin than we have supposed, and was written when the conflict was already over; but the inference is far from being as certain in the case of these sages as it would have been in the case of prophets or priests. From Solomon's time onwards the tendencies of the "wise men" had been broadly human rather than especially Israelitish; and though not opposed to religion, they had always insisted upon morality and a sensible mode of life rather than upon sacrifices and all the accompaniments of religious worship.

But now a certain change may be observed. The conception of Yahweh's being had become very exalted, and he was revered as the creator of the world and the ruler of the fates of men; the sages, therefore, might easily bring the recognition of his power into connection with their principles of the conduct of life. Now that religion had become more reasonable the sages grew more religious. The writer of Proverbs i. 7-ix. even utters the following exhortation¹:—

Honor Yahweh with your substance,
With the first-fruits of all your increase;
Then shall your barns be filled with plenty,
And your presses shall overflow with wine.

But it was still the exception for the "wise men" to turn their attention to such things. No doubt these preachers of morality often looked down with a kind of contempt upon the zealots and fanatics who contended so eagerly about the best forms of worship.

¹ Proverbs iii. 9, 10.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE BEGINNING OF JOSIAH'S REIGN.

2 KINGS XXII. 1, 2; ¹ JEREMIAH I.-II. 13.

HEZEKIAH'S religious reformation had been the work of the king rather than of the people; but during the rule of Manasseh and Amon the principles of the Mosaic school took deeper and deeper root, while its members looked with ever-growing indignation upon the prevalence of heathen practices. Though their mouths were still closed by fear, they were nevertheless plotting the best means of rooting out all these idolatries and abominations. A storm was evidently gathering.

In ancient times the very religion of a people depended to an almost incredible extent on the line of action taken by its king; and it was only natural that, as soon as Josiah ascended the throne, the followers of Moses should fix their eyes upon him with extreme anxiety, and ask what the new rule would yield. Josiah, however, was but eight years old; and it would seem that the regent, who held the reins of the State during his minority, either sympathized with the conservatives or, at least, shrank from taking the vigorous measures which a thorough religious reformation would demand. The reformers, therefore, were compelled to bide their time; but their zeal burned all the hotter, and, when the smothered flames of their faith and hate should at last break out, they would rage all the more fiercely.

Meanwhile they became more and more clearly conscious exactly what they wanted and how they meant to get it. First of all, they were determined absolutely to put down both the service of all gods but Yahweh and the worship of images. These two points were embraced in the current version of the Ten Commandments under one great precept: "Thou shalt not worship any gods beside me, Yahweh, nor shalt thou make thyself any image of a god of any form whatsoever, nor bow down before it; for I, Yahweh, am a jealous god, and visit the sins of those that hate me, from father to son, to the third and fourth generation, but show mercy to them that love and obey me to a thousand genera-

¹ 2 Chronicles xxxiv. 1-3.

tions."¹ Moreover, the reformers were determined to suppress and abolish whatever they regarded as of Canaanitish origin; such as anointed stones, *asherahs*, images of the sun, sacrifices of children, and unchaste religious customs. This was equivalent to carrying out the important measures towards the accomplishment of which Hezekiah had already taken certain steps. The reformers now required that they should be carried out inexorably. The freedom of religious usages must be laid under close restrictions. Henceforth there must be but one place of worship, the temple on Mount Zion, and every sacrifice offered elsewhere must be branded as a heathenish abomination. The priesthood, too, must be confined henceforth to Levi, the tribe to which the influential servants of the temple of Jerusalem belonged.

We need hardly ask who took the foremost part in the reformation of the seventh century. The Levitical priesthood furnished the leading spirits round whom the others gathered, and were the boldest champions of the reformation. Jeremiah, the son of Hilkiah, who was the greatest prophet of the succeeding period, and a stout supporter of the reformation, was himself a priest of the temple at Jerusalem; but he was far from surrendering himself to the guidance of his colleagues, and complained that the preaching of the prophets altogether tended to establish the supremacy of the priests.²

Throughout the first eighteen years of Josiah's reign the reformers were compelled to bide their time. No doubt it became ever clearer that the king was in sympathy with them; but as yet he took no decisive steps to give effect to their wishes. According to the book of Chronicles, indeed, he not only began to seek the god of his father, David, when he was sixteen years old, but vigorously prosecuted the reform of Judah's religion from the twelfth year of his reign. But this assertion is obviously false; for the discovery of the book of Yahweh's Law, which the book of Kings represents as the proximate cause of the reformation, is strangely out of place in the story of the Chronicler, where it is not mentioned until the whole affair has long been settled.

Let us now glance at the political condition of Judah in the first years of Josiah's reign.

Under Manasseh and Amon the country had already begun to recover from the disastrous wars against Assyria; and

¹ After an amended version.

² Jeremiah v. 81.

Josiah seemed to have a fair chance of considerably extending its power. From Assyria he had nothing to fear, for the former mistress of the world was now tottering to her fall. The powers of Media and Babylonia had laid siege to Nineveh, and the king was compelled to leave his distant provinces to their fate.

When we remember Isaiah's denunciations of the Assyrians and their pride, we may well conceive the feelings with which the Judæans heard that their mortal foes were now surrounded by deadly peril. The prophecy of Nahum gives powerful expression to their joy in Nineveh's humiliation. We cannot tell exactly when this man of God uttered his oracles, but it was certainly after Sennacherib's defeat, and not improbably during the siege of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians. "See! there upon the mountains comes the messenger of joy," he cries to his countrymen, "the bearer of glad tidings drawing near! Now celebrate your feasts, O Judah! and perform your vows, for henceforth the man of Belial shall no more pass through you. He is utterly destroyed!"¹ The prophet compares Nineveh to a lion's den full of plunder; but Yahweh will snatch all her plunder from her, and burn her chariots.² She was a city of blood, full of lying and violence, but Yahweh would put her to utter shame and none should pity her.³ "The shepherds thou hast appointed, O king of Ashur, shall slumber, and thy princes shall lie down in sleep; thy people shall be scattered on the mountains, and no one shall gather them again. Thy bruises shall not be healed, and thy wound is grievous. All they that hear of it clap their hands for very joy, for whom hast not thou afflicted?"⁴ Whenever these words were uttered, they undoubtedly reproduced the feelings with which the Judæans heard of every disaster that fell upon Assyria.

From the South Judah had more to fear; for Psammetichus had become king of the whole of Egypt, after the land had been divided for a considerable time amongst twelve monarchs, and this powerful and warlike king aimed at extending his territory at the expense of his north-eastern neighbors. But he had already been besieging the Philistine city of Ashdod in vain for years, and though his power may have occasionally caused the king of Judah some uneasiness, yet the people gradually became accustomed to having the Egyptian army in their neighborhood, and the

¹ Nahum i. 15.² Ib. ii. 12, 13.³ Ib. iii. 1, 6, 7.⁴ Ib. iii. 18, 19.

obstinate resistance offered by Ashdod went far towards allaying their fears.

Josiah, therefore, reigned in peace, and no threatening danger gave the Mosaic enthusiasts occasion for insisting on the reform they longed for. As long as the people basked in prosperity, Yahweh must surely be content. What more could heart desire than peace and prosperity? To borrow a metaphor employed by a prophet of those days, the people were like wine standing untapped upon its lees. They muttered carelessly, "Oh! Yahweh never does anything, good or bad!"¹

But strange and fearful rumors suddenly arose in Judah. Nineveh was delivered and the king of the Medes defeated — not by the Assyrians, however, but by a people utterly unknown before. They were the Scythians, and their countless hordes of horsemen, armed with lance and bow, streamed over Asia, plundering and devastating on every side. About the eighteenth year of King Josiah, they were pressing on further and further, and spreading terror and consternation everywhere.

These events caused the rise of several prophets in Judah. One of them was the man from whom we borrowed a few words but now. His name was Zephaniah; his great-great-grandfather was called Hezekiah,² and was probably the king of that name. We still possess one of his oracles, or rather a collection of short discourses, the connection of which it is often difficult to make out, on account of the sudden transitions from the most violent denunciations of punishment to the most glorious promises. Probably Zephaniah had his eye upon the Scythians when he thus described the great day of Yahweh's judgment:³ "A day of wrath, of trouble and distress, of fierceness and of desolation: a day of gloom and darkness, of clouds and obscurity; a day when the trumpet shall sound against all fortresses and turrets. Then will I bring trouble upon men, and they shall grope upon their way like the blind, because they have sinned against Yahweh. Their blood shall be poured out as dust, and their flesh as dung. Neither shall their silver or their gold deliver them in the day of Yahweh's wrath; but the whole land shall be devoured by the fire of his vengeance, for he shall make an end speedily of all the dwellers in the land."

The prophet draws an appa'ling picture of Jerusalem's wickedness.⁴ "Woe to the abominable and polluted one, the

¹ Zephaniah i. 12.

² Zephaniah i. 15-18.

³ Zephaniah i. 1.

⁴ Zephaniah iii. 1-5.

city of oppression ! She has not hearkened nor taken warning ; she trusted not in Yahweh nor took refuge with her god. Her princes within her are as roaring lions ; her judges as wolves ravening at even, and leaving nothing for the morning ; her prophets are vile and deceitful ; her priests desecrate that which is holy and despise the Law. Yahweh is righteous in her midst ; he does only what is just. Every morning he brings his justice to light and never fails. But the evil-doer is past all shame." It could not be but that Yahweh would chastise them fearfully. "Wait, then !" cries the prophet.¹ "Thus saith Yahweh : My sentence is to collect the heathen and draw the kingdoms together, to pour out my anger upon you and show you my burning wrath." But all these fearful judgments were destined to compel the heathen to serve Yahweh "with united shoulder," that is, unanimously. Then the proud ones shall be taken away, and a people shall be left, poor and wretched, but resting upon Yahweh's name. The remnant of Israel shall do no wickedness and speak no falsehood. Then they shall lie down as peacefully as cattle chewing the cud, and none shall make them afraid. "Rejoice, O daughter of Zion ! shout for joy, O Israel ! Be glad with all your heart and leap for joy, O daughter of Jerusalem ! Yahweh has removed your sentence and chased away your foe. Yahweh, the king of Israel, is in the midst of thee, and thou shalt have no more misery. Then shall they say to Jerusalem : Fear not, O Zion ; let not thy hands be slack ; Yahweh is in thy midst, a mighty one to deliver thee. I will preserve thy tottering ones, and bring back thy exiles, and make thee the marvel of all nations."

The triumphant glow of the conclusion follows strangely upon all these gloomy predictions ; and we can hardly help asking whether the prophet accurately reproduced what he had said when he committed his oracles to writing. In any case, however, Zephaniah, in spite of all his indignation against the sins of Judah, and his firm conviction that Yahweh would not leave them unpunished, yet cherished an unshaken faith that Judah would never be destroyed, and that Israel's god would be honored at last by all the heathen.

We have just expressed a doubt as to whether the written versions of the prophets' discourses always agreed with what they had actually said. We can justify this doubt by an appeal to the history of the oracles of one of the greatest

¹ Zephaniah iii. 8 ff.

men that Judah ever produced, — the prophet Jeremiah. His fortunes are so closely interwoven with those of his people, and his prophecies are so rich a source of information concerning the times in which he lived, that we cannot record the history of the last half century of Judah's existence without constantly referring to him. We shall therefore presently know more of him, but just now we have chiefly to do with the history of a portion of his oracles.

Our knowledge of this history by no means increases our confidence in the accuracy with which he has passed down his utterances to us; for it was not till three-and-twenty years after the beginning of his prophetic activity that he committed the substance of his preaching to writing, in order that it might be read aloud. The roll of his prophecies was afterwards completely burned, upon which he wrote them down again;¹ but of course the best memory in the world would not enable a man to reproduce the very words that he had uttered upon all manner of occasions during nearly a quarter of a century. Altered circumstances, views, and feelings could not but make the prophet color the distant past afresh, and involuntarily bring it into closer harmony with the requirements of the public he had in view, not when he uttered, but when he recorded his oracles. Thus it happens that we cannot say for certain whether he referred to the Scythians or the Chaldæans when he threatened his people with an enemy from the North. When he wrote, he was doubtless thinking of the Chaldæans; but in the reign of Josiah, when he spoke, this people was almost if not quite unknown in Palestine; and Jeremiah can hardly have referred to any other power than that of the Scythians.

The greater part of the first twelve chapters of his book probably dates, in substance, from the times of Josiah. We could almost guess its contents from what we have already seen of the works of other prophets, for there is great uniformity in the conceptions of the men of God of the eighth and seventh centuries. The judgment which must come upon the people's dreadful sins occupies the foreground; and in the background there is always a joyous future in which the people shall return to Yahweh and enjoy prosperity. Upon this picture of bliss a stronger or fainter light is thrown, according to whether the prophet thinks a greater or smaller portion of the punishment has been inflicted already.

Jeremiah, however, is distinguished from almost all his

¹ Jeremiah xxxvi.; compare v. 1 with xxv. 3. See also xxxvi. 32.

colleagues by his lofty conception of Yahweh's moral demands and his intense indignation with the people's sins, which compelled him to appear for the most part as a preacher of repentance.

This impression is strikingly reproduced in the account he gives of his own call to the prophetic office:¹ "The word of Yahweh came to me: 'Before I had formed you in your mother's womb I knew you; before you were born I had sanctified you, and appointed you as a prophet over the heathen.' Then I said, 'Alas, Lord Yahweh! I cannot speak, for I am still so young.' But he said to me, 'Say not, I am too young, for you must go whithersoever I send you, and do whatsoever I command you. Be not afraid of them, for I am with you to deliver you.' Then Yahweh put forth his hand and touched my mouth and said, 'Behold! I put my words upon your lips; I set you this day over the heathens, and over the kingdoms to pluck up and destroy, to lay waste and to desolate, and also to build up and plant.' And afterwards Yahweh spoke to me again, and asked me what I saw; upon which I answered, 'I see a kettle boiling, and its spout is turned from the North.' Then Yahweh said, 'From the North shall come affliction upon all the dwellers in this land; from the North, at my command, shall many princes come and set their thrones before the gates of Jerusalem, and besiege her walls and all the cities of Judah. Then will I bring judgment on the men of Judah for all their sins, for they have forsaken me and burned incense unto other gods and bowed down before the work of their own hands. Do thou, then, stand up and gird thyself and say to them all that I command. Be not afraid nor tremble before them, for I strengthen you this day like a fortress, like an iron pillar, like a brazen wall, against all the land, against kings and princes, against priests and people. They will contend against you, but will not prevail; for I, Yahweh, am with you to deliver you.'"

In the case of Jeremiah's call, as in that of Isaiah's,² we must bear in mind that the prophet is not giving an exact description of something that took place at a given moment, but the substance of what he could remember of his mental experiences before he had found courage to begin his work as a prophet. This vision of the caldron boiling over is just one of those artificially-constructed productions of which we have already spoken,³ and may serve as a proof that Jeremiah

¹ Jeremiah i. 4-19.

² See pp. 249, 250.

³ See pp. 226 ff.

Is not simply relating his actual experiences. How could he have done so? A man of such deep emotional nature, who made such lofty claims upon himself and others, must doubtless have hesitated long before he became a prophet. Not once, but often, he must have heard the word of Yahweh, "I have chosen you to be a prophet;" not once, but often, he must have answered, "Lord! I am too young!" until at last he could no longer resist the overmastering impulse, and was fully persuaded of Yahweh's mighty support. Nor were there any questions under discussion when he began to preach, in which numbers of heathen nations were involved, so that he was not at first what he here describes himself, a prophet for the heathens, though he became one in the second part of his career; and, finally, he must surely have begun his work with brighter expectations, or at least better hopes than we can trace in this account of his call.

But if the story does not faithfully reproduce the prophet's experiences on taking up his office, it exactly reflects the spirit of his work in the interval between the thirteenth¹ and seventeenth years of Josiah, as well as afterwards. In spite of his naturally tender and almost over-sensitive disposition, he was severe and stern in the extreme, for he looked upon Judah as the nation of apostates. Ah! when Israel was young and served Yahweh in the wilderness, it was a holy people that loved its god, and all they who would injure it were punished; but now Yahweh must ask the Israelites what wrong he had done to their fathers that they should worship idols. They had polluted Canaan, the land of Yahweh. The priests asked not, Where is Yahweh? and the men learned in the law knew him not. The shepherds of the people rebelled against him, and the prophets prophesied through Baal, and indulged in idle dreams. Had such a thing ever been before? No people in the world had ever changed its gods, even though they were but idols! "Be amazed, O heaven! My people has done two evil deeds. They have deserted me, the fountain of living water, and they have hewn out for themselves broken cisterns that can hold no water!"² Ashamed, like a thief that is caught, stood the house of Israel, with its kings and princes, priests and prophets, for they said to an image of wood, Thou art my father! and to a god of stone, Thou hast created me! while they turned their backs to Yahweh.³ Had not Judah seen how the faithless Israel had practised idolatry upon

¹ Jeremiah i. 2.² Jeremiah ii. 1-13.³ Jeremiah ii. 26, 27.

every high hill and under every green tree, and had not repented though Yahweh exhorted her so often? Yes, she had seen! And had seen, moreover, how Yahweh had rejected his people for its sins, and yet for all that she had not repented, but had likewise become enamoured of the images.¹ Dire was the extent of Judah's idolatry; she had as many gods as cities, as many altars as there were streets in Jerusalem,² and the Queen of Heaven was publicly adored to provoke Yahweh's wrath.³

The position which Jeremiah occupies, and from which he judges the religious condition of his people, is certainly one-sided. His own words show us that Judah had not really deserted the worship of Yahweh; for when he attacks the immorality of the people, he introduces Yahweh speaking thus:⁴ "To what purpose do you bring me incense from Sheba and choicest cinnamon from a distant land? Your burnt-offerings please me not; your sacrifices I will not accept." The people, then, did honor Yahweh with incense and sacrifices. Nor did the heathen party ever think of denying that they worshipped the Baals. They could see no manner of harm in it.⁵ Many of them sacrificed their children in the Tophet, but they declared that they did so at the command of their god; and the prophets who opposed the practice were obliged emphatically to proclaim that Yahweh had never enjoined it; nay, that such a thought had not so much as entered his heart.⁶

What we call the perception of a relative truth, the appreciation of the position of an opponent, was unknown to antiquity. Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and their supporters believed their own conceptions to be the pure and simple truth, and regarded those of their opponents as downright lies, the fruit of contumacy and godlessness. They could see no difference between the sacrifices to Molech and wanton murder; between the Asherah-worship and common in chastity. Sooth-saying and image-worship were the rejection of Yahweh's service. All was deliberate insubordination. Woe to the sinful people, then! Yahweh would chastise them fearfully. Of course their opponents paid them back in their own coin, called them sacrilegious blasphemers, and hurled the bitterest reproaches against them in answer to their demand for the abolition of so many religious usages.

¹ Jeremiah iii. 6-10.

² Jeremiah vii. 18.

³ Jeremiah ii. 23, 25

⁴ Jeremiah xi. 13.

⁵ Jeremiah vi. 20.

⁶ Jeremiah vii. 31, xix. 5, xxxii. 35.

No quarter would be asked or given. How long the suppressed conflict lasted we cannot tell with any certainty. But this we know, that when it finally burst out, probably on occasion of the approach of the Scythians, the indignation against the heathen practices, which spoke in deeds of violence, must have been long gathering in secret. Before it came to this, however, it had become quite clear that the king would gladly second the efforts of the reformers could he see his way to doing so. He was still hesitating, however, when at last, in the eighteenth year of his reign, the followers of Moses saw that their chance had come to secure his decisive adhesion.



CHAPTER XXXI.

JOSIAH'S REFORMATION.

2 KINGS XXII. 8-XXIII. 25.¹

IT was the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign (626 B.C.). Yahweh's temple at Jerusalem had again fallen into such a condition as to need considerable repair in many portions. The chief priest, Hilkiah, had charge of the necessary work, under the superintendence of Shaphan, one of the king's private secretaries. Now, it happened one day that Hilkiah told this Shaphan that he had made a wonderful discovery in the temple. What he had found was neither more nor less than the book of the Law itself; and he now begged his permission to read it aloud to him. Shaphan listened with intensest interest; and afterwards, when telling the king how the portion of the temple revenues set aside for the repairs had been administered, he also informed him of Hilkiah's discovery. Upon this Josiah asked to have the book read to him. He was deeply moved by its contents, and rent his clothes in grief and terror, to think of the chasm which yawned between the actual religious condition of his people and the demands of Yahweh. Alas! it was only too clear that even the former generations had strayed far from the right path, and that Yahweh's wrath burned with too just a cause. These Scythians must have been sent by him to chas-

¹ 2 Chronicles xxxiv. 34-xxxv. 19.

tise his rebellious people. But what was to be done? Josiah hastily summoned his principal ministers, and soon commissioned five of them, — Hilkiah, Shaphan, and three others, — to consult Yahweh on behalf of the king and the people. His emissaries went to a certain Huldah, whose husband, Shallum, was “keeper of the wardrobe;” but whether this office was connected with the temple or with the palace we do not know. Huldah was famed as a prophetess, and it was in that capacity that she was now consulted. Her exact answer has not been preserved. The books of Kings and Chronicles make her utter a fearful threat, in which she predicts that Yahweh's wrath will inevitably burst upon the holy city; but, at the same time, promises that Josiah himself shall die in peace, because he has humbled himself. Were this all that she had said, her response would have been most disheartening. Undoubtedly she really urged the king, in Yahweh's name, to carry out the religious reformation demanded by the newly-discovered book of the Law.

At any rate Josiah immediately set about this task. The nobles, priests, and prophets of Judah, all her most influential citizens, who might be regarded as representing the whole people, were summoned to an assembly in the court of the temple. The book was read to them in the hearing of a crowd of bystanders, and they were told of the king's determination to reform the religion of the country in the spirit of this code of laws. The nobles received the intimation with shouts of approval. Many of them were genuinely devoted to the principles of the Mosaic school, and those who felt otherwise either held their peace or were at once overwhelmed by the rest. Countless sacrifices sealed the covenant which the king now made with Yahweh, in his people's name, to root out idolatry, image-worship, witchcraft, and every heathenish practice, and to serve Yahweh alone, according to the law of Moses.

It was no light matter thus to reform the religion of Judah. It involved nothing short of a complete revolution. Of course, it could not be expected that every one would fall in with the new movement heartily, nor did any one dream of endeavoring to convince those who were opposed to it. The only idea was to carry out the reformation with the high hand of royal might.

The purification naturally began with the temple; and here the king found a strenuous ally in the priest Hilkiah. All the sacrificial instruments and consecrated gifts of Baal and

Asherah, together with everything connected with the worship of the heavenly bodies, were carried out of Jerusalem to the heaps of refuse in the valley of the Kidron, where they were broken to pieces, burned with fire, and the ashes scattered to the winds.¹ The great *asherah* was also burned, and its ashes thrown over dead men's graves, to pollute it for ever. All the apparatus in the temple connected with the Asherah-worship, or the honors paid to the Sun-god, was destroyed. The reformation did not stop at Jerusalem. Armed bands, with raging priests and prophets at their head, swept, at the king's command, through every quarter of Judah, from Gibeah to Beersheba. All the *bamahs* they could find they overthrew and polluted. The same lot fell upon the Tophet, and the sanctuaries of Astarte, Chemosh, and Milcom, which had stood ever since the days of Solomon upon a hill opposite Jerusalem.² *Massebahs* and *asherahs* were smitten to pieces, and dead men's bones were scattered over the sacred enclosures, to pollute them and make them unfit for religious purposes for ever.

The priests of these forbidden places of worship were treated in no gentle spirit; but a distinction was drawn between Levites and others. The former were allowed to present themselves at Jerusalem, where they were not admitted to any of the duties of the temple, but were nevertheless provided for.

At the head of the chief force that passed through the land to destroy every vestige of heathen practices was the king himself. When Judah had been sufficiently purified, he entered the former territory of Judah. Who was to prevent him? The Assyrian governor, if there still was one, had certainly no spare troops under his command, and could not look to Nineveh for help. The scattered population, half composed of Israelites and half of foreigners who had been transplanted there,³ was in no position to resist an army of any considerable power. Moreover, many an Israelite was doubtless in hearty sympathy with the Mosaic party in Judah, and was ready to give Josiah a joyful welcome. The king first turned his zeal upon Bethel, where stood the sanctuary of Jeroboam, detested by all good Judæans. He burned and broke the altar, the *bamah*, and the *asherah*, and over the spot on which they had stood he scattered dead men's bones from the graves hard by. One tomb alone he left unviolated. It was that known in the neighborhood as "the grave of the

¹ After an amended version. ² Compare pp. 71, 72. ³ See p. 301.

prophet of Judah."¹ When Bethel was thus cleansed, the *bamahs* of many more Ephraimite cities, which the kings of Israel had set up, were destroyed. And when any of the priests that had officiated at them fell into Josiah's hands, provided they were not Levites,² he put them to death and burned their bodies on the altars.

Having thus executed the command of Yahweh the king returned to Jerusalem, where he made arrangements for a solemn and universal celebration of the Passover. The writer of Kings expressly states that such a Passover had never been celebrated throughout the days of the Judges and the Kings, in contradiction to the Chronicler, who makes Hezekiah hold a Passover in accordance with the regulations of the Law. The writer of Kings himself evidently supposed that the feast had been regularly celebrated before the time of the Judges, — that is to say, in the wilderness and in the days of Joshua; but we have already seen that this was not really the case, and have discussed the probable origin and meaning of the Passover.³

After all these steps had been taken, the king had still to keep a tight hand upon the religious customs of the people. There were many Canaanite practices common in Judah which could not be destroyed at a single blow, like idolatrous altars, anointed stones, or *bamahs*. It was exceedingly difficult, for instance, to take any effective measures against the practice of witchcraft and magic, or against the numerous popular customs of heathen origin, such as gashing the face in sign of mourning. In such points as these Josiah was never quite successful; but his zeal for the principles of the Mosaic school never flagged; he did all that in him lay to compel his people to worship Yahweh in accordance with the precepts of the book of law discovered by Hilkiah; and though he was unable thoroughly to carry out his wishes in some respects, though the Mosaic school itself was afterwards compelled to modify its demands in many particulars, yet the heathen party never regained the ascendant. Hilkiah's book of law became the rule of faith and conduct for after generations, and the victory which the Mosaic principles gained under King Josiah was never followed by a defeat.

We need not stay to prove that the discovery of the book of law, which produced so profound an impression, was the occasion rather than the cause of the reformation. It simply put an end to the king's hesitation, and compelled

¹ Compare pp. 105-107. ² Compare p. 104. ³ See vol. i. pp. 277-279.

him to take the great, decisive step which would certainly have cost him his throne and his life had the heathen party proved too strong for him. But although the book, taken alone, did not exercise so great an influence as appears at a first superficial glance, yet we cannot help asking, with extreme interest, what it really was and how it came into the temple. These questions we can for the most part answer with sufficient certainty.

In the first place, Hilkiah's book of the law may still be found in our Deuteronomy. The similarity between the precepts of this book and the measures taken by Josiah is so striking as to exclude every other supposition. But it does not follow that the whole of the present book of Deuteronomy existed then; for it is evidently made up of several distinct portions, and both the beginning and the end are later additions. We may, therefore, take Deuteronomy iv. 45-xxvi. and xxviii.-xxix. 1 as the book found by Hilkiah. Even in these chapters there are many laws which have little or no connection with the great principles of Josiah's reformation; and since we have no means of fixing the precise date of their origin, it is quite possible that some of them also, as well as the opening and closing chapters of the book, are later additions. Indeed, this is not only possible, but almost certain, if we are to believe the statement that the whole of Hilkiah's book was read straight through to the people assembled in the court of the temple. It can hardly have been a work of two-and-twenty chapters! But all this is of comparatively little consequence, for in any case these additions do not affect the general purpose of the book.

But how did it get into the temple? That is more than any one can say. Most likely it was written by Hilkiah himself, or by some friend of his, and with his assistance. Deuteronomy shows a marked similarity in style and diction to the oracles of Jeremiah, who was, perhaps, the son of this very Hilkiah. If the chief priest or his son really wrote the book, then the assertion of the former that he had "found" it was what is called a "pious fraud," that is to say, a lie told for the glory of God, and alas! it is not the last lie that has been told for that purpose. If we cannot bring ourselves to attribute so dishonorable an action to Hilkiah, we may suppose that the book was composed by some one else of kindred spirit, and placed in the temple by its author without the knowledge of the priest. In that case, the discovery may have been as great a surprise to Hilkiah as to any one

else, and the only "pious fraud" would be that of the unknown author.

Be this as it may, the book was certainly written about the time of its discovery. It is true that it introduces Moses as uttering the precepts and exhortations of which it consists, just before the people enter Canaan. But this is no more than a literary fiction. The position of affairs assumed throughout the book is that of Judah in the time of Josiah, and the forms of idolatry it denounces are those practised by Manasseh. Before his time the book of Deuteronomy would have been unintelligible. In Josiah's reign it exactly expressed the demands of the Mosaic school.

It is easy to understand why the author of Deuteronomy, instead of writing in his own name, put the views he wished to enforce into the mouth of Moses. In ancient times no man of deep religious feeling would think of taking any important step without the command of the deity, who revealed his will, it was supposed, in the directest possible manner, by means of his emissaries.¹ All the knowledge of God which Yahweh's worshippers possessed rested, according to their own conception, upon the external authority of communications they had received from him, and not at all upon what their own hearts and minds approved. Now these revelations might be made to the prophets, and in northern Israel it was they who actually fought the battle for the purity of Yahweh's worship. Hosea, for instance, condemned the worship of the images of bulls. But in Judah the prophets were not so powerful or independent as they were in Israel. For the most part they followed the lead of the priests, who in their turn professed to derive all their wisdom from Moses. The story of Moses punishing the Israelites for worshipping an image had played an important part in the first attempt at a reformation, under Hezekiah;² and now the great founder of Israel's religion must be brought upon the scene again to admonish a later generation. The priests felt themselves to be the true followers of Moses; they were convinced that all their teaching was exactly what he had wished and intended, and this seemed to give them a perfect right to speak in his name.

We must now give a short summary of the contents of the book in order to gain a just conception of the views entertained by the Mosaic school that rose to power in Judah under King Josiah.

When Israel, says the book of Deuteronomy, was on the

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 300 ff.

² See pp. 264 ff.

point of crossing the Jordan, Moses determined to impress upon his people once more the commandments of their god. So he began by reminding them of all that had taken place at Horeb; how Yahweh had made known the Ten Commandments to them there, and how deadly terror had seized them at the aspect of the mountain. As soon as they came into the land of the Canaanites, then, they must be sure, above all things, to destroy the sacred objects of the peoples dwelling there — their altars, their *massebahs*, their *asherahs*, and their images — and not to serve their gods. With no less earnestness does Moses warn them against the worship of images, which was so closely connected with the service of other gods. To impress this upon them he reminds them of Yahweh's wrath when they worshipped the golden bull. Another point of distinction between the Israelites and the Canaanites was that the former were not to offer sacrifices to their god in any place that happened to be convenient, but only at the sanctuary in the city "which Yahweh should choose." Idolatry must be punished with death. Even if a man who enticed them to idolatry performed miracles to prove his divine mission, still he must be put to death. His nearest relatives must not spare him. If a whole city became guilty of idolatry it must be laid under the ban. Levi was separated from the rest, henceforth to be the priestly tribe. The Levites were to have no inheritance with the others, but were to live upon the proceeds of the altar, that is to say, upon the portion of the sacrifices that was due to them, and the firstlings. The Israelites were also urged to invite destitute Levites to a share in their tithes and freewill offerings. All kinds of witchcraft were sternly forbidden. To find out Yahweh's will Israel must go to the prophets whom he would send; and if a prophet foretold anything that did not come to pass, it would show that he was a false prophet, and he must be stoned to death.

Such are the great leading principles of Deuteronomy: Idolatry, image-worship, and witchcraft must be utterly abolished; there is but one priestly tribe — the tribe of Levi; there is but one lawful place of worship. To these points the lawgiver returns again and again. But we also find a number of other precepts in his book, some of them very short, and some of them worked out at length. For instance, he forbids the Israelites to mutilate themselves in time of mourning, or to eat unclean animals or carrion; and he commands them to cancel all debts once in seven years, on the

Sabbath year, and also to release any Hebrew slave who has served six years, in case he wishes it. The book also contains regulations concerning the three great feasts, the administration of justice,¹ the duty of kings,² the cities of refuge (to which we shall return presently), the customs of war, the measures to be taken if a dead body should be discovered anywhere, the inalienable right of primogeniture, the way in which a son who obstinately disobeys either of his parents is to be dealt with, the punishment of in chastity, the inviolability of a vow to Yahweh, and much more besides.

It deserves remark that the limitation of lawful worship to a single place sometimes compels the lawgiver to cancel older laws. For instance, there was an ordinance that every Israelite who slaughtered a beast must do it at the neighboring sanctuary, with the assistance of the priest, otherwise he would be held guilty of bloodshed. This law was intended to put some check upon various idolatrous practices, and was perhaps issued in Hezekiah's time, though it is now embedded in a much later law.³ Now if there was only to be one sanctuary in the whole country, it would be utterly impossible to carry out this regulation, and accordingly the Deuteronomist declares that the Israelites may slaughter and eat their beasts wherever they like, as long as they do not eat the blood; but that they must take their first-fruits, their firstlings, their tithes, their votive and other offerings to the one sanctuary of the land.⁴ If they lived too far away from it, they might sell their gifts and buy offerings with the proceeds in the chosen city.⁵

The older law ordained that places of refuge should be instituted everywhere, to which any one who had accidentally killed a man might flee for safety. It was taken for granted that the place of refuge would usually be an altar.⁶ But when it was ordained that only one altar should exist in the whole country, it became necessary to make some new arrangement. Accordingly, the Deuteronomist fixes upon three cities of refuge, in various districts of the land, in which any one who has accidentally taken his neighbor's life may dwell in safety. In case Israel's territory should extend, three more are to be added to the number.⁷

In reading through the book of Deuteronomy we are struck by the tone of glowing earnestness and fervor in

¹ See p. 181.

² Deuteronomy xii. 13-27.

³ Exodus xxi. 13, 14.

⁴ See p. 32.

⁵ Leviticus xvii. 3 ff.

⁶ Deuteronomy xiv. 23-26.

⁷ Deuteronomy xix. 1-13.

which the writer announces Yahweh's laws to the people. The legislation of antiquity had generally something of a hortatory character,¹ and this is eminently true of Deuteronomy. It is as if a father were instructing his children, sometimes with great severity, but always with deep affection. However fearful the threats he utters from time to time, he always means them as an exhortation to obedience to Yahweh, that the blessings of obedience may follow. He by no means thinks that a mechanical observance of God's commandments will suffice. Israel must be a holy people, must fear his god, and, what is more, must love him with all the heart.² In many respects the writer takes an exalted moral attitude. It is true that he repeatedly urges the Israelites to lay the Canaanites and all other idolaters under the ban; but in this connection it is only fair to remember that when he wrote there were no Canaanite cities in existence, so that in this respect at any rate, his injunctions cannot have been intended to be actually put into execution. Nevertheless, we must admit that he distinctly enjoins a massacre to the glory of God, and would call in the sword to back the truth. This is a mischievous and dangerous mistake, but we must not forget that it was universal in antiquity, that the Christians themselves fell into it for whole centuries, and that many of them cherish it even now. We could not expect the Deuteronomist, then, to join love for the idolaters with hatred of idolatry, or to apply the law of kindness to the treatment of such transgressors.

To understand the writer's deep and earnest moral feeling, we must dwell upon such precepts as these: "If you give your slave his liberty after six years' service, you must not let him go away empty handed;"³ "If you wish to marry a captive woman, you must first allow her time to mourn for the relatives she has lost, and must never afterwards sell her as a slave;"⁴ "If you find a nest with a bird and eggs or young ones in it, you may take the eggs or young ones, but not the mother;"⁵ "You must not make your countrymen pay interest on the money you lend them, but you may take interest from foreigners;"⁶ "If you find your brother's ox or sheep straying, see that he gets it back again;"⁷ "Never take a man's upper or nether millstone in pledge; and if you take a

¹ See p. 185.

² Deuteronomy xv. 13, 14.

³ Deuteronomy xxii. 6.

⁷ Deuteronomy xxii. 1-4.

² Deuteronomy vi. 5, and elsewhere.

⁴ Deuteronomy xxi. 10-14.

⁶ Deuteronomy xxiii. 19, 20.

pledge from any one, do not go into his house for it; and if the pledge is some necessary garment, take it back to him before nightfall;"¹ "Never oppress the poor, the laborer, or the stranger, nor keep his wages till the day after he has earned them;"² "Leave good gleanings in your field and orchard for the poor, remembering that you were once oppressed yourselves in Egypt;"³ "Remember the day of rest, for your servants must rest on it;"⁴ "Fathers must not be put to death for their children's crimes, nor children for their fathers;"⁵ "You must not muzzle an ox as it treads out the corn;"⁶ "You must not give up a slave who has escaped;"⁷ "When a man is sentenced to be scourged, you must not lay more than forty lashes upon him."⁸—Truly, when we consider the times in which the code was drawn up, it seems difficult to go too far in admiration of its fine spirit of humanity.

So at last the Mosaic school triumphed for good in Judah. It had had a long struggle for victory, and had often seemed in danger of destruction.

Its triumph under Josiah brings us to a pause in the history of Israel's religion, for henceforth, although heathendom may raise its head from time to time in Judah, it is always easy to put it down. Henceforth Hilkiah's book of law furnishes the people of Yahweh with a firm foundation upon which to rear the edifice of its religion.

In the interests of humanity, can we hail this triumph of the Mosaic school with joy? Undoubtedly we can. When we contemplate the strife in which it was engaged, we can definitely declare in its favor and against its adversary. When the conflict first began there was still room for hesitation, for we saw that in Solomon's reign the heathen party was that of industrial and artistic progress, and that their narrow-minded adversaries were not so very much above them even in their conception of the attributes of God. But now that the two tendencies have gradually developed the principles that guide them, now that we see clearly where heathendom would have landed Israel, and how Mosaism raised it to ever loftier conceptions of Yahweh and purer principles of morality, now we can rejoice with all our hearts to see the

¹ Deuteronomy xxiv. 6, 10-13, 17.

² Deuteronomy xxiv. 19-22.

³ Deuteronomy xxiv. 18; compare p. 176.

⁴ Deuteronomy xxv. 4.

⁵ Deuteronomy xxiii. 15, 16.

⁶ Deuteronomy xxiv. 14, 15.

⁷ Deuteronomy v. 12-15.

⁸ Deuteronomy xxv. 1-3.

scale inclining as it does. The moral worship of Yahweh has triumphed, and, though it has still many defects, we have good grounds for hope that it will gradually purify itself from all its stains.

But, after all, our satisfaction is far from complete. We cannot sympathize with the way in which the Mosaic party gained its victory. It was force which brought the worship of the Judeans into agreement with the Mosaic programme, and Hilki'ah's book of law was introduced and maintained by royal decree. It is true that we can hardly find fault with this. The principle was recognized by all parties alike that the sword was the natural arbiter in such affairs. But a violent solution is fraught with danger to the victors. They had suppressed opposition by force; would not they themselves in their turn become slaves of their own law? The Deuteronomist makes Moses explicitly declare, with reference to the prohibition of all sacrifices elsewhere than at Jerusalem, "Henceforth you shall not do, as we have done hitherto, each one as he thinks best."¹ The Judeans, then, were laid under such restrictions as made religious freedom henceforth impossible. No sacrifices might be offered except at Jerusalem, nor even there except under the supervision of the Levitical priests and in accordance with the precepts of the Law. Even in civil affairs complicated questions must be referred by the tribunal before which they came to the supreme court at Jerusalem, in which the chief priests, amongst others, had a seat.² What dangers have we here for the religious and social life of Israel! When priests reign supreme it is all over with freedom, with genuine religious life, and at last with morality itself. Was it likely that the Levites of the temple of Jerusalem, henceforth the only lawful priests, would allow the worshippers of Yahweh any freedom? Would they tolerate the prophets — those men of the spirit? Would they not rather suppress with growing rigor every free expression of thought or feeling, carry their Law into ever more and more frivolous detail, and foster the spirit of formalism?

Alas! these questions admit of but one answer. Those who had put down idolatry with the sword would not shrink from appealing to force against anything they deemed inconsistent with the purity of the worship of Yahweh as by law established. And if this be so, alas for Israel! for its religion must degenerate into formalism. The special strength and glory of the Mosaic school had always been the intimate con-

¹ Deuteronomy xii. 8.

² See p. 181.

nection which it established and maintained between religion and morality; but this very strength exposed it to the fatal risk of subjecting the spiritual life to the same external system of commandments and prohibitions which regulate public morality, and treating forms of worship and speculative opinions as equal in importance to moral purity and earnestness. The mischief is contained in germ even in the Ten Commandments, which lay equal stress upon the precepts of morality, the observance of the Sabbath, and the prohibition to serve other gods or worship images. This germ was but slightly developed in the most ancient Israelitish code,¹ but in that which underlay Hezekiah's reformation it was much more prominent,² and its consequences came out far more clearly yet in the book of Deuteronomy. Here the noblest moral precepts stand side by side with the most trivial regulations as to forms of worship, and the same binding power is conferred upon them both. We shall see hereafter with what fatal vigor this spirit of formalism spread and grew.

Not long after the promulgation of Hilkiah's book of law, a certain Judæan furnished it with an introduction and an appendix, in which these words occur: ³ "The commandment which I command you this day is not hidden from you, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven that you need say, Who shall climb up to heaven for us, and bring it down for us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea that you need say, Who shall go over for us, and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it? For it is very near to you; you take it upon your lips, and can repeat it by heart." Here we find the fatal theory of the Law, the worship of the letter, introduced! In course of time this principle will petrify the soul of Israel, and choke its moral life.

All this we shall see. But, as a good principle only reveals its sanctifying power little by little, and at first gives small sign of it, if any, so an evil principle may long conceal its fatal consequences. In the centuries which followed the introduction of the Law, Israel still enjoyed the fruits of the prophetic spirit, and gave many a proof of sacred inspiration, of a faith that sweeps everything before it, and of the true piety of the heart; but while after generations were thus sustained by what their fathers had prepared for them, the deadly poison of formalism was ever sinking deeper and yet deeper, and preparing a woeful end for Israel's religion.

¹ See pp. 181 ff.² See p. 274.³ Deuteronomy xxx. 11-14.

BOOK IV.

FROM JOSIAH TO THE MACCABEES

CHAPTER I.

JOSIAH'S DEFEAT AT MEGIDDO.

2 KINGS XXIII. 29-35;¹ JEREMIAH XI. 18-23.

WE have now reached the last period of the history of Israel's religion and national existence recorded in the Old Testament; and since it gives us the key to the comprehension of the age of Jesus and to some extent of modern Judaism also, its treatment is by no means the least important part of our task.

The first requisite for a clear insight into Judah's subsequent history is a distinct conception of the religious position held by the guiding spirits of the nation from the time of Josiah's reformation onwards. They believed that the fates of nations and of men did not depend upon the natural sequence and connection of events, following the laws of cause and effect, but were the immediate dispensations of Yahweh, who accorded his favor or displeasure to the virtue or the vice of men. For any one to ask a blessing of Yahweh, therefore, involved his appealing to his own fidelity in the service of his god and to the uprightness of his life.

Hitherto, therefore, the prophets of the Mosiac school had been sparing in their promises to Judah, stained as she was by the worship of strange gods and images; but now that the stain had been removed and Yahweh alone was worshipped in the land, they were certain of his help, and uttered words of lofty cheer without stint.

At first the event seemed to justify their confidence. The

¹ 2 Chronicles XXXV. 20-XXXVI. 4

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Scythians, who had inspired the Judæans with such terror,¹ inflicted no serious injuries upon the country. We can easily guess the reason, for the great road from the Euphrates to Egypt ran through the plain of Jezreel and on through Gaza, skirting the territory of Judah, but not crossing it, and leaving it, therefore, in comparative safety. The Scythians, accordingly, overran the former kingdom of the ten tribes, where they possibly left a record of their stay in the name of Scythopolis or Scythian-town, which was given to the ancient Bethshan,² after which they advanced along the sea-coast towards Egypt. King Psammetichus, who broke up the siege of Ashdod on their approach, succeeded in buying them off, upon which they returned by the way they had come, plundering a temple in the Philistine city of Askelon as they passed, and finally retired altogether. Judah was therefore spared. All this most likely took place soon after Josiah's reformation, and would naturally strengthen the confidence of the Judæan prophets very greatly. Was it not plain to see that Yahweh was protecting his people?

The same view was taken by many inhabitants of the northern district also. Even before the fall of Samaria the worship of the bulls had been vigorously attacked, and now the sanctuary at Bethel was desecrated and the chapels of the *bamahs* laid waste. Moreover, all zealous Israelites dreaded the influence of the religions which the heathen colonists had brought with them,³ and felt a corresponding sympathy for the worship of Yahweh now established in Judah.

The social condition of the country was also favorable to a closer union. The men of the North were too feeble to hope for national independence, especially since they had suffered so much from the Scythians, and they were therefore anxious to unite once more with their brethren in the South; while the Judæans, on their part, were ready to receive them with open arms. The points upon which they differed were no insuperable obstacle to their union, and Jeremiah might now exclaim to the dwellers in the North:⁴ "Repent, O children that have gone astray! For Yahweh's favor toward you has revived, and he remembers that he is your god. Ere long shall men cease to grieve because the ark of the covenant is gone; for all Jerusalem shall be called the throne of Yahweh, and all the heathen shall put away their evil deeds and shall come up to Zion to worship Yahweh."

¹ Compare pp. 320 f.

² Compare p. 301.

³ See Map V.

⁴ Jeremiah iii. 12-13.

According to Jeremiah, Judah had sinned as deeply as Israel, and had only repented in appearance;¹ but the majority of the prophets were far from sharing his belief. Surely Judah was a pious nation, they thought, visibly protected by Yahweh! During the next few years the prophets who cherished these self-satisfied and confident thoughts had a great advantage over the man who still wailed for the people's sins and ever cried for repentance; for the years rolled prosperously by, Josiah sat upon the throne of his fathers in peace, the northern districts came more and more completely under his sway, peace and prosperity reigned unconfined. No wonder that the voice of the prophets of smooth things rose ever higher, and secured a more and more universal response.

We may judge of the sentiments entertained towards Josiah from the following song, which was, perhaps, composed in his honor. It is the seventy-second psalm, with the omission of the last two verses, which were added to it when it was taken up into the collection of Psalms as the concluding hymn of the second book:—

O Yahweh! teach the king to utter judgment,
 Give insight to the monarch's son!
 Let him judge thy people in equity,
 Thine oppressed in wisdom and honor.
 The mountains shall bring forth peace to the people,
 So shall the hills by righteousness.
 He shall maintain the right of the poor,
 Shall rescue the children of the needy,
 And shall bring the oppressor low.
 They shall fear him as long as the sun shall shine,
 As long as the moon exists, for ever!
 He shall be like the rain on the pasture,
 Like the shower that waters the earth.
 In his days shall the righteous flourish,
 And prosperity shall not fail as long as the moon endures.

May he rule from sea to sea,
 From Euphrates to the ends of the earth!
 May his adversaries² bow before him;
 May his enemies lick the dust!
 Let the kings of Tarshish and the isles bring presents,
 Let the rulers of Sheba³ offer him gifts!
 May all the kings pay homage to him,
 And all the heathen serve him,
 For he rescues the poor who cry for help,
 The afflicted whom there is none to succor;
 He pities the wretched and needy;
 He delivers the souls of the poor.
 From injustice and violence he rescues them;
 In his sight their blood is precious.

¹ Jeremiah iii. 6-11.

² After an amended version.

³ Compare p. 73.

Long may he live! may they bring him gold from Sheba,
 May they pray for him always and bless him ever!
 May corn abound in the land;
 May the harvest wave on the hills like the forests of Lebanon;
 May the people of the cities increase like the grass!
 Let his name abide for ever
 And extend as far as the sun shines!
 Let men wish each other prosperity like his;¹
 Let all the nations call him blessed!

It is, indeed, quite possible that this song was composed in honor of some other king, or is a so-called Messianic psalm; that is to say, a psalm expressing a longing for Israel's ideal king, and celebrating his glory: but in any case it expresses the feelings entertained towards Josiah by most of the leaders of the Mosaic school; for "before him," in the judgment of the author of Kings,² "no king had equalled him in perfect obedience to Yahweh, according to all the law of Moses, nor did his like rise up after him."

But amidst all the rejoicings of priests and prophets, who vied with each other in praises of the king and people, and saw nothing but blessings in the future, one man at least was wholly dissatisfied with Judah's present condition, and that man was Jeremiah. Doubtless he, too, had rejoiced with all his heart when Josiah set about purifying Judah's religion from heathen stains, but this was by no means enough. To break down *bamahs*, to burn *asherahs*, to shatter *massebahs*, and to pollute the *tophet*, was well; but it fell far short of Yahweh's demands. What did he really care for all the sacrifices which his worshippers made to him? "To what purpose," cried the prophet, in Yahweh's name,³ "do you burn up some of your sacrifices whole? Make a meal of them with an easy heart! For when I brought you out of Egypt I gave you no commands about burnt-offerings and sacrifices. One only thing did I command you: To listen to my voice, that I might be your god, and you my people. But you have been rebellious, since you came out of Egypt until now. In vain have I sent my servants, the prophets, to warn you, for you would not hearken to their voice, but have done even yet more wickedly than your fathers. Therefore I will bring misery upon you and reject you."

The declaration that Yahweh attached no value to the distinction between the burnt-offerings which were entirely

¹ Compare Genesis xii. 3; and vol. i. p. 109.

² 2 Kings xxiii. 26.

³ Jeremiah vii. 21-23.

consumed and the ordinary sacrifices, only a part of which was laid upon the altar, is extremely significant, and so is the slighting manner in which, as we have just seen, Jeremiah speaks of the ark of the covenant. Such words become all the more remarkable when uttered by the son of a priest. They show what supreme importance he attached to the claims of morality, and how completely he postponed everything else to that "love of Yahweh with all the heart" upon which Hilkiah's book of law had also insisted so powerfully.

His hearers, however, were anything but docile. Who so intolerant as those who are pious in their own eyes! The Judæans, after Josiah's reformation and still more after what they regarded as the visible proof of Yahweh's favor in the departure of the Scythians, were so taken up with themselves and so profoundly convinced that they were the chosen people, that a sharp reproof sounded quite sacrilegious in their ears, and it was by no means safe to rebuke them openly. When Jeremiah did so he became the object of such bitter hatred that his very life was in danger.

This was the case before he left his native place of Anathoth. An attempt was made to close his mouth, and when that failed snares were laid for his life. As he himself expresses it, he was like a lamb or an ox that is led to the slaughter, for he knew not that his life was threatened; but he discovered the plot in time. "Yahweh revealed it to him," upon which he fled in all haste to Jerusalem, and there worked on in the same spirit as before. He was bitterly incensed against his fellow-townsmen for refusing to listen to Yahweh's word. Years afterwards, when he recorded the whole affair in writing, he could not refrain from adding these words, as he remembered what had taken place: "O Yahweh of war-hosts! thou righteous judge, who searchest the inmost parts and the very heart, let me behold the vengeance which thou wilt exact, for to thee have I made my complaint. Verily, says Yahweh, I will repay these men of Anathoth for their deeds; their young men shall fall by the sword; their sons and daughters shall perish with hunger; not a remnant shall be left when I chastise them in the year of vengeance."¹

We shall soon see that Jeremiah fared no better in Jerusalem than he had done in Anathoth. We cannot tell when he reached the capital; but thirteen years elapsed between Josiah's reformation and his defeat, so that, if we place the

¹ Jeremiah xi. 18-23.

retreat of the Scythians about a year after the reformation, there are twelve years left during which the prophet must have reproached the people with their sins, threatened them with Yahweh's wrath, and called them to repentance and conversion, though the general prosperity seemed to prove that Yahweh was well pleased, and the mass of the prophets glorified Israel with one mouth. "Peace! peace! All danger is afar!" No wonder that Jeremiah himself sometimes went astray and doubted whether Yahweh gave a thought to Israel's doings; no wonder that, when all this light was suddenly changed to darkness, he cried in the depth of his pity for the humbled people:¹ "Alas! Lord Yahweh, thou hast deceived this people and Jerusalem! Thou hast deceived them! For thou didst tell them they should prosper, and now the sword smites them to the death."

Judah was indeed to be smitten to the death! Let us see what came to pass in the thirty-first year of Josiah's reign.

The Egyptian king Necho, who had succeeded Psammetichus, was bent upon war. His motive was that which usually actuates powerful princes, namely ambition. The opportunity seemed to have come for him to extend his dominions towards the Euphrates; for Nineveh, rescued a few years before by the appearance of the Scythians, was now besieged anew by the Medes and Babylonians, and not a single monarch in western Asia was in a position to resist the mighty ruler of Egypt. Should Necho's weapons prove victorious, Judah and the other countries round about the Dead Sea would infallibly fall a prey to him; but for the present the danger swept by them, and we find Necho encamped at Megiddo, in the plain of Jezreel, north of Judah, intent upon marching straight for the Euphrates, though whether he had taken the high road through Gaza or had transported his troops by sea we do not know.

Had Josiah listened to the dictates of prudence he would have awaited the issue of Necho's campaign, or at any rate would have made allies amongst his neighbors; but we are well enough acquainted with the disposition of the Judæans of the time to feel no surprise at their discarding such prudent counsels. Megiddo was situated in the ancient territory of Israel, now subject to Josiah, and was therefore upon holy ground. Should Yahweh's people, purified as now it was and honoring its god according to the dictates of his law, suf-

¹ Jeremiah iv. 10.

fer the uncircumcised to tread upon his heritage? Was it not certain that he, the Almighty, would sustain his people Israel? What faithful servant of his would care to count the foe! Yahweh would smite them before the face of his servants, and if they advanced to battle by a single way they would flee by seven.¹ Josiah, the anointed of Yahweh, was invincible. To arms, then, for Yahweh and Josiah!

The Chronicler tells us that Necho dissuaded the king of Judah from the war, saying that he meant him no harm, but that God had sent him against another kingdom whither he must hasten, and that it was against the will of God to delay him. Josiah, however, took no heed of the word of God declared by the mouth of Necho, and opposed the further advance of the Egyptian army.

The battle was fought at Megiddo, in the plain of Jezreel. Israel was defeated and Josiah himself was slain. This was the end of Judah's independence. Necho did not enter the land itself, for he had no time to waste in taking possession of so insignificant a territory, but he was safe in regarding himself as Judah's lord. Josiah's son Jehoahaz, whom Jeremiah calls Shallum,² was summoned by the people to mount his father's throne; but three months afterwards he presented himself at Riblah, in Syria, apparently at Necho's command. Thence he was sent in chains to Egypt, and his brother Elia-kim or Jehoiakim was placed on the throne of Judah as the vassal of Necho, to whom he had to pay a heavy tribute.

Josiah's defeat and death were an overwhelming blow to Judah. From the height of prosperity, at which, in its presumption, it had feared no one and foreseen nothing but blessings, it was plunged into the depth of humiliation and slavery. It had also to bewail the beloved and still youthful monarch to whom it owed its regeneration; and Jeremiah, as the Chronicles inform us, made songs of lamentation for Josiah, and all the singers have sung of him "until this day."

No wonder! The terrible shock experienced by the Judeans was caused not only by the loss of prosperity and freedom, but by the impossibility of reconciling the event with the tenets of their faith. Josiah, the most devout of princes, slain! Judah, but now reformed in accordance with the law of Yahweh, lying in the grasp of the enemy! What could it mean? Why had Yahweh done these things? The adherents of the heathen school cried out, Was it not Josiah

¹ Deuteronomy xxviii. 7.

² Jeremiah xxii. 11.

that overturned the altars of Baal and abolished the service of the Queen of Heaven? The Mosaic school of course refused to accept this explanation, but were at a loss to find a better. Even Jeremiah, who had been so far from sharing the high-wrought expectations of the popular leaders, could not hold back the words, "O Yahweh, thou hast deceived this people in prophesying peace." What, then, must others have said! Even the staunchest believers felt their faith in Yahweh shaken.

CHAPTER II.

THE PREACHER OF REPENTANCE.

JEREMIAH XXIII. 9-40, XXVI., XVI. 1-9, XX. 7-18.

WE can trace the course of Judah's history, after Josiah's defeat, in the book of Kings; but while this work hardly gives us anything but the succession of events, the writings of the prophets who lived at the time initiate us more or less completely into the position and the motives of the several parties, and the moral condition of the Judæans. The most abundant source of these indications is the book of Jeremiah's oracles; for in it this remarkable man, whose fate was so closely intertwined with that of his people, records his own utterances and experiences.

We have already spoken of him more than once, but must now dwell more expressly on his mission and his character.

Every page of his writings shows him as the preacher of repentance. The cry of "Woe!" was almost always on his lips. On certain occasions he showed his power as a comforter, but the burden of his cry is usually found in dire threats of famine, sword, and pestilence. And this went on for nearly half a century, in the midst alike of a prosperous and of a sorely-trying and deeply-suffering people. The prophet became so much accustomed to this gloomy view that he once distinctly said:¹ "True prophets of the elder time have always foretold misery; and should one proclaim a blessing, men must not hold him for a messenger of Yahweh before his word has been made good." To understand his own conception of his task we must pay especial attention to his on-

¹ Jeremiah xxviii. 8, 9.

slaughters upon the prophets who foretold prosperity. The following is one of his discourses:¹ —

My heart is broken, my bones tremble; I am like a drunken man overcome with wine. It is because of Yahweh and his holy words; for the land is full of adulterers and is pining under its curse. Thus says Yahweh: Prophets and priests commit sacrilege together; in my very house I detect their wickedness. I will therefore bring misery on them in the year of their visitation. If the prophets of Samaria led my people astray, the prophets of Jerusalem do yet greater horrors; for they commit adultery, they lie, and confirm evil-doers in their impenitence. Wherefore, says Yahweh, I will feed them with wormwood and give them the water of galls to drink, for the prophets themselves are the source of the sacrilege which covers the land with guilt. Oh! give no heed to their words; for they lie, and utter the inventions of their own hearts, and not what I have revealed to them. To those who forsake Yahweh's word they cry: "You shall have peace;" and to him who follows his own devices, "No evil shall overtake you." But their words are false, for the storm of Yahweh's wrath is rising up to burst over you. These prophets I have not sent; and they know not what I purpose. Am I a god of yesterday or the day before, says Yahweh, and not a god of primeval time? Could any one hide from me, that I should not see him? Do I not fill both heaven and earth? Truly I hear these prophets who utter lies in my name and say, "I have dreamed. I have had a dream!" How long will they still find lies to tell? By their false dreams they make my name forgotten, as their fathers rejected it for that of Baal. Let the prophet who has had a dream tell it, and let him who receives my word report it faithfully! But what has chaff to do with wheat? Is not my word like a fire, asks Yahweh, and a hammer that shatters the rock? Wherefore I will rise up against all these empty prophets, against those who steal the words of others, against those who repeat "'tis God's word" without thought, against those who lie with set purpose, and lead my people astray. When this people again asks in mockery, "What is the charge of Yahweh!" then shall you answer, "Why prate ye of Yahweh's charge? Ye are my charge, but I fling you aside! says Yahweh. I will punish the prophet or priest or whoever shall speak of the charge of Yahweh." Rather say one to another, "What is the answer?" or "What is the word

¹ Jeremiah xxiii. 9-40.

of Yahweh?" But speak no more of Yahweh's charge, lest his word should charge upon you and root you out and put you to eternal shame.

In this oracle Jeremiah speaks of the prophets, without qualification, as though not one of them was possessed by a better spirit or was an honorable man. We have already shown why we cannot accept this verdict.¹ No doubt many of Jeremiah's opponents acted in as complete good faith as he himself did. If he accused them of deceiving the people, they denounced him no less earnestly as a lying prophet, and since they were so numerous and were backed by the people, Jeremiah had to pay a heavy reckoning for his boldness.

He had already fled from Anathoth, as we have seen, to save his life. But he was in no less danger at Jerusalem, where he appears thenceforth to have resided, and where he may have had to discharge the duties of a priest. Here, of course, he must have seen still more to grieve and shock him than he had witnessed in his native place, and the attack upon the prophets, which we have just given, shows us the footing upon which he soon came to stand with the leaders of opinion in the capital. His mode of speech could not fail to give rise to violent collisions, which more than once brought his life into the utmost danger.

Let us glance at an event which occurred towards the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign.²

Jeremiah was deeply offended by the immoral lives of many Judæans who professed the utmost strictness in the outward observances of religion; and on more than one occasion he stood at the gate of the temple and cried to those who entered, "Thus says Yahweh of war-hosts, Repent and make clean your lives! Then will I suffer you to dwell in this land in peace. Trust not the vain words: The temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh is here! If you do right and pronounce judgment truly; if you oppress not the stranger, the orphan, or the widow; if you shed no innocent blood nor serve strange gods, — I will have you to dwell in this land and prosper. But to steal, to slay, to commit adultery and perjury, burn incense to Baal, worship other gods whom you knew not of old, and then come and stand before my face in this temple with the words of idle confidence, 'We are delivered!' in spite of all your abominations . . . Do you think this temple is a den of thieves? Nay,

¹ See pp. 214-218.

² Jeremiah vii. 1-16.

but I have marked your deeds! Go but to Shiloh, where I was worshipped in olden time,¹ and see what I have done to it. If you shut your ears to all my warnings I will do to you as I have done to your brothers in Ephraim. And as for me, Yahweh has forbidden me to pray for you any more, for he will not listen."

Such was the strain in which Jeremiah repeatedly addressed the Judæans who came with offerings to the temple. Though he could never see that he produced any good result, he still cherished the hope that Judah might yet repent and turn to Yahweh, and that he might stay his avenging hand and deliver his people. But his hearers regarded him with ever-increasing aversion. His bitter reproaches were in themselves extremely offensive to the Judæans, for they were full of triumph in the favor of their god, and were accustomed to a very different style of address from the other prophets. Moreover, these fearful threats inspired them with positive dread; for we must remember that they looked upon a prophet's prediction not as the simple unveiling of an inevitable future, but rather as a kind of spell that produced a blessing or a curse. The prophet did not only announce the judgment, but actually brought it to pass by his preaching.² Jeremiah himself once said,³ "Thus says Yahweh to me, Behold! I will make my words a fire in your mouth, and will make the people fuel for it to burn." It was the fear which the men of Judah felt for the prophet of repentance that made their hatred so dire.

Yet they would probably have bridled their indignation and endured the prophet's denunciations out of reverence for Yahweh's word had he not gone the length of absolutely predicting the fall of the temple. But when he repeatedly pointed to Shiloh, that ancient dwelling-place of Yahweh, and declared that the sanctuary on Mount Zion should likewise be laid waste and Jerusalem made a heap of ruins, then they could endure it no longer, and their fury broke all bounds.⁴

So one day when Jeremiah was at his old task in the court of the temple, threatening the sanctuary with destruction and pointing to the fate of Shiloh, the closing words had hardly passed his lips when a tumult broke out amongst his hearers. The priests, whose duty it was "to put any fool who made himself a prophet into the stocks with a chain round his neck,"⁵ and the prophets, whom Jeremiah denounced as liars because they always foretold deliverance and prosperity to

¹ Compare vol. I. chapter xxii. p. 433.

² Jeremiah v. 14. ³ Jeremiah xxvi. 1-19, 24.

⁴ Compare pp. 131 f.

⁵ Compare p. 178.

Israel, so incensed the people against the messenger of repentance that his life was in the utmost danger. The tumult ran so high that the fierce cries of the populace reached the ears of the "princes of Judah," who appear on this occasion as judges, and who ordered the prophet and his accusers to be brought before them at one of the temple gates. The proceedings had now assumed a more regular character; the priests and prophets came forward as the accusers, while the assembled people represented public opinion by shouts of approval or disapproval which the judges would hardly venture to neglect in pronouncing sentence.

Jeremiah, when thus accused of blasphemy before the princes and people because he had foretold the fall of the city and temple, retained all the courage of faith. There was but one line of defence open to him, and that was an appeal to Yahweh's revelation. His god had commanded him to say what he did. Would they not do well to hearken to him and amend their ways? Perhaps Yahweh might even yet avert his wrath. As for himself, he was in their hands; they could do what they would with him, but they might rest assured that if they injured him they would be shedding innocent blood, and would thereby draw down the vengeance of Yahweh upon the city and upon their own heads; for in truth, he was Yahweh's emissary.

This was the only plea he could urge; for when a prophet uttered a prediction, he was never challenged to justify it by arguments, since it was not supposed to rest either on arguments or any other kind of proof, but simply upon the direct revelation of Yahweh. Who should decide whether a seer had really had such a revelation, or whether he "prophesied after the dictates of his own heart," as it was called? Meanwhile the steadfast dignity with which Jeremiah repeats his prophecy bears witness alike to his courage and his intense conviction.

His answer produced a deep and instantaneous effect, and gave rise to several colloquies. Surely a man should be heard when he appealed to Yahweh! This was a weighty consideration in itself, and the judges and people were still less disposed to lay violent hands on the man of God when one of the princes took his side. It was Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, perhaps the very Shaphan who had been an officer of Josiah's and to whom Hilkiah had first shown the newly-discovered book of the law.¹ Moreover, some of "the elders

¹ Compare p. 326.

of the land" reminded them of what had taken place in the reign of Hezekiah. Had not Micah of Moresheth foretold the fall of Jerusalem and the devastation of the temple in those days? But the king, so far from putting him to death, trembled before Yahweh, and prayed to him till he repented of his dread decree. They must take good heed not to bring the guilt of blood upon their souls.

Though only half-convinced, and by no means inclined to accept Jeremiah's word as a word of God, the priests and prophets could not venture to insist any further on his being put to death. "We must not slay the man who speaks to us in Yahweh's name;" on this principle the people declared that Jeremiah must be released; and for the present he was saved and was at liberty to preach as his god commanded him: "Woe to Judah, the sinful people! Woe to Jerusalem! Woe to the temple!"

When we hear Jeremiah comparing the word of Yahweh to a hammer that shatters the rocks, and observe that his discourses were almost always stern denunciations, full of terrific threats, we might well be disposed to think of him as a hard, rough man, as a pitiless judge with but little feeling for another's woe. But to do so would be to misjudge him utterly. Jeremiah was naturally soft-hearted even to a fault, and amidst the thunders of his stern rebukes rise ever and anon the words of tenderest pity. Hear how he poured out his heart in the time of Judah's humiliation, when a portion of the people was already in captivity¹:—

What comfort is there for my sorrow? My very heart is sick. For the wailing of my people is borne from a distant land. "Is Yahweh not in Zion? Is Israel's King no longer with them?" Yes, he is with them, but why have they provoked him with their images, with vanities from foreign lands? "The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved!" For the hurt of my people am I hurt; I am clothed in black, and amazement has laid hold of me. Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Then why is the wound of my people unbound? Oh that my head were water, that my eyes were streams of tears! Then would I weep day and night for my people that are slain!

No less touching is his lamentation when the country was tortured by drought:² "Judah mourns and her gates languish. They bow down to the earth in mourning, and Jerusalem's

¹ Jeremiah viii. 18-ix. 1.

² Jeremiah xiv. 1-8.

cry ascends to heaven. The great ones have sent their servants for water; they go to the cisterns but find none; they come back with empty buckets in shame and confusion. The ground is all cracked for want of rain, and the ploughmen are red with shame and cover their heads in confusion. The very hind leaves her fresh-dropped fawn to its fate, for there is no grass to eat. The wild asses stand on the hills, sniffing the air like sea-monsters, with their eyes sinking for lack of fodder. Although our sins bear witness against us, yet hear us, O Yahweh, for thy glory's sake; for our transgressions are many, and we have sinned against thee. O thou hope of Israel! thou who dost rescue him in his need! why shouldst thou be like a stranger in the land, like a traveller who comes but to spend a night? Why shouldst thou be like a man without counsel, like a strong man who can bring no help? Thou art in our midst, O Yahweh! We are called by thy name. Forsake us not thou!"

Jeremiah, then, was capable of intensest pity, but the strength of his moral feeling filled him with burning indignation against the sins of his people. In common with all the Israelites he was convinced that Yahweh would chastise his people's offences sternly. The godless Judah, he thought, warned again and again, but still as wicked and impenitent as ever, was advancing to a fearful fate. What choice had he but to warn, rebuke, and threaten? Even the circumstances of his private life were affected by his profound conviction that days of darkness were at hand. He never married, because, as he expresses it,¹ "Yahweh told him that the boys and girls who should be born in Judah would die a frightful death with their fathers and mothers, and would lie unmourned and unburied, like dung upon the fields. They would perish by sword and famine, and their bodies would become a spoil to beasts and birds of prey."

The priest and prophet, whose gloomy presentiments kept him unmarried, stood almost alone. His habitual feeling of mournful indignation must have deeply affected his ordinary intercourse with men. How could he share the joys and sorrows of his fellow-citizens like one of themselves? He who, whenever he witnessed a disaster, thought to himself, "They deserve nothing better;" whose comment upon every joy was, "It will pass away,"—could never feel at ease amongst his fellows. After the manner of the prophets, he threw this painful sense of isolation in the midst of a populous city into

¹ Jeremiah xvi. 1-4.

the form of a revelation from Yahweh. "Yahweh," he declares,¹ "said to me: Enter no house of mourning to go with the dead to his grave, and take not the wail of the dirge on your lips; for I have withdrawn my peace from this people; the full-grown and the young shall lie dead and unburied, and none shall bewail them nor share in the funeral meal. Neither go thou into the house of feasting, for thus says Yahweh of war-hosts, Israel's god: Behold I will take away all rejoicing, all the mirth of bridal joy."

We must not suppose, however, that Jeremiah was engaged in desperate conflicts every day. Weeks and months must have passed by without giving him any special occasion to speak. At these times we picture him withdrawing into himself, and fixing his sombre gaze upon all around him, as he pursued his lonely path, while the people looked on him as half a saint and half a madman, and treated him with mingled respect, fear, pity, and ridicule.

But few understood him. We know of only one faithful friend who always stood by him, and that was a certain Baruch. A prophet here and there, such as Urijah of Kirjath-Jearim, may have taken up the burden of his discourses; a few distinguished citizens of Judah, such as Ahikam and Ebedmelech, may have listened to him respectfully and endeavored to protect him: but in general he could exercise no perceptible influence, and seemed to be speaking to the wind. He saw nothing but disaster in the future, and with love and pity stirring the depth of his heart he warned, he prayed, he threatened, all in vain! Ever more clearly could he see the judgment drawing nigh; still more and more inevitable did the dire future become in his eyes, and no one would hearken to him!

What must not such a man have suffered!

The heart-rending cries that escape his lips from time to time reveal to us what was sometimes passing through his soul. "Ah me, my mother! why didst thou bear me?" he once exclaimed.² "I am at variance and strife with all the world. I lend to no man and no man lends to me. I am cursed of every one." How terrible to stand upon a footing of such mutual distrust with one's fellow-men as not even to be able to indulge in ordinary intercourse with them!

But it pained the prophet still more to be made the constant object of mockery. Such experiences wrung words of lamentation from him, which reveal the inner secrets of his life³:

¹ Jeremiah xvi. 5-9.

² Jeremiah xv. 10.

³ Jeremiah xx. 7-18.

O Yahweh ! thou hast enticed me, and I have let myself be enticed. Thou hast been too strong for me ; thou hast prevailed. I am derided all day long ; every one mocks me ; for, as long as I speak or cry, I must announce humiliation and desolation ; and the word of Yahweh covers me with shame and mockery unceasingly. Then I said to myself, " I will think of him no more, and never speak in his name again ; " but it was as if a fire were burning in my heart, were shut up in my bones. I strove to restrain it, but could not. Many a one have I heard muttering, " Accuse him ! Let us accuse him ! " My very friends are watching to see if I stumble : " If he slips, he will be in our power, and we can take vengeance on him. " But Yahweh stands by me as a doughty champion ; my persecutors shall fall, shall be put to shame when their plots have failed, with eternal confusion that shall never be forgot. Yahweh of hosts judges righteously and sees into the heart. I shall surely behold how thou wilt avenge me, for I have committed my cause to thee.

Sometimes, on the other hand, he would bring to mind how often his god had rescued him from the hands of his foes, and would cry exultingly, " Praise Yahweh ! Sing to his glory, for he rescues the poor man's life from the hand of the evil-doers. " But he soon relapsed into the old strain, " Cursed be the day upon which I was born ! May no blessing rest on the day when my mother bore me ! Cursed be the man who brought the glad tidings to my father, ' a boy is born to you, ' making his heart rejoice ! May that man perish like the cities which Yahweh pitilessly destroyed, while shrieks arose at the hour of dawn and the sound of war at mid-day ! Oh, would that they had slain me the moment I was born, or that my mother had been my grave ! Why was I born to see labor and sorrow, to consume my days in shame ? "

While condemning the bitter tone of such lamentations, we are compelled to add that still sharper invectives, launched against his enemies, are recorded in Jeremiah's prophecies. Once, as he tells us,¹ they laid plots against him with the words : " We shall always have priests enough to teach us the Law, and sages gifted with insight, and prophets to preach the word. Come then, let us plot against this Jeremiah, put him to silence with our words and refuse to listen to him. " Whereupon the prophet prayed : " O Yahweh hear my prayer ! Must evil be rendered me for

¹ Jeremiah xviii. 18-23.

good? Remember how I have pleaded for them with thee! And now they seek my life. Make their sons a prey to hunger, and let them perish by the sword! Forgive not their iniquity and blot not out their sins, but utterly destroy them in the season of thy wrath!"

So far from excusing these passionate imprecations, we are deeply shocked by them; but the sharper the pain which finds expression in them, the higher must our admiration rise for the man who bore all this obloquy and enmity for God's sake, and persevered in speaking out what lay upon his heart.

These complaints do not appear to date from the beginning of Jeremiah's prophetic activity, but from a later period, when it was growing harder and harder for him to persevere in the threatening tone of rebuke which exposed his life to such constant danger. We have given them here, however, in order that we may be able to form at the outset a clear conception of the prophet's general disposition and character.

The lamentations contained in some of the psalms, and their sudden transitions of feeling, correspond so perfectly with the outpourings we have just given, that the conjecture forces itself upon us to regard Jeremiah as their author. Psalm xxxi., for instance, contains the following words of trust and supplication,¹ after many bitter lamentations:—

But as for me I trust in thee, O Yahweh!

And say: "Thou art my god."

My fate is in thy hand;

Deliver me from the might of enemies and persecutors!

Make thy face to shine on thy servant;

Save me by thy mercy.

O Yahweh! put me not to shame, for I call upon thee.

Let the godless blush for shame, and be put to silence in the grave

¹ Ps. 14-17.

CHAPTER III.

JEHOIAKIM AND JEREMIAH.

2 KINGS XXIII. 36, 37; ¹ JEREMIAH XXV., XXXVI.

WE will now consider Jeremiah's relations to king Jehoiakim.

All that we know of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, whom Necho had made king of Judah, is discreditable to him, and it is therefore only natural that we should suspect more harm of him than we actually know. Evidently the people had no confidence in him, and had therefore placed his younger brother upon the throne. And why did the Egyptian prince take Jehoahaz captive and make Jehoiakim king? Had the latter undermined his brother's power by promising submission and a heavy tribute to Necho? Likely enough, for he was quite capable of similar baseness. It is much to his discredit that although the tribute he had agreed to pay necessitated his exacting large sums of money from his subjects, he increased their heavy burdens further yet for the sake of indulging his fancy for building. He perverted justice to extort money from his subjects, and their very lives were not always sacred to him. Jeremiah, who had honored Josiah and who thought very highly of Jehoahaz also, had nothing but stern rebuke for Jehoiakim. "Weep not for him that is dead (Josiah)," he exclaimed,² "Weep rather for the exile who shall return no more (Jehoahaz). But woe to him who builds magnificent palaces and holds back his workmen's wages! Art thou fit to rule, unlike as thou art to thy father? He did what was right, and therefore he prospered; he maintained the cause of the wretched, and it was well with him. It is thus that men show they know me, says Yahweh. But thy desire is all for gold; thou destroyest the guiltless and playest the tyrant. Wherefore thus has Yahweh decreed against Jehoiakim: They shall raise no dirge over him, for he shall be buried like an ass; dragged out and cast away, far from Jerusalem's gates!"

We can well imagine the state of mind of the Judæans, and especially the men of Jerusalem, during the first years of his reign. They murmured against the imposition of such

¹ 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 5.² Jeremiah xxii. 10-19.

an unjust king by a foreign power, but yielded to what they could not shun, paid the taxes as best they might, and lent an eager ear to the prophets who still spoke, as they had done under Josiah, of Israel's election by Yahweh, of the imperishable glory of the temple, and the certainty that the Lord's people should inherit the earth. Necho, too, was far away, for he had crossed the Euphrates to measure his strength against the Assyrians and Babylonians; and mankind in general fear no danger that is not close at hand. For the rest, we must note the instructive fact that the Mosaic school remained in the ascendant, although Josiah's defeat seemed a weighty argument against it, and the heathen school might well exclaim: That is what comes of Judah's deserting Baal and the Queen of Heaven! No doubt such language was actually used at this time as well as later on,¹ and here and there a reaction towards heathenism must have set in; but on the whole the Mosaic school proved its command of the sympathies of the people, for in spite of the unfavorable turn which affairs had taken it retained its supremacy.

Thus did the first four years of Jehoiakim's reign go by. The king built palaces; and the people murmured but dared not rebel against the tyrant whom Necho supported, and the prophets for the most part held their peace in perplexity. But then an event occurred which gave an entirely new aspect to affairs.

The king of Egypt, to whom Judah amongst other countries was now tributary, had been established four years in Syria in undisputed supremacy when his power was suddenly extinguished by a severe defeat sustained at Carchemish, or Circesium, on the Euphrates. His victor was Nebuchadnezzar (always called Nebuchadnezzar in the books of Kings and Chronicles), the son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, the conqueror of Nineveh.

His kingdom, the capital of which was Babylon, is generally called that of the Chaldees. Who these Chaldees really were and in what relation they stood to the Babylonians is far from clear. They were probably a warlike northern tribe, whose leader had conquered Babylon and established himself as king. It is enough for us to know that the armies of the king of Babylon are always called Chaldean.

Necho was so utterly routed that he was forced to hasten back to his own land; but, as he passed through the Philis-

¹ Compare Jeremiah xlv. 17-19.

tine territory, he succeeded in gaining possession of Gaza,¹ and was therefore in a position to resist any power which might pursue him, and dispute the approach to the Egyptian frontier, at least for a time. For the moment, however, he was free from apprehension. Nebuchadrezzar conquered several districts of Syria, but a victorious army, laden with booty and delayed every now and then by the resistance of a fortress, cannot keep pace with a flying foe; and, moreover, soon after the victory Nebuchadrezzar was compelled to relinquish the pursuit of the Egyptians by his father's death, which necessitated his immediate return to Babylon for his coronation. It was easy to see, however, that the delay was only momentary, and that the districts conquered by Necho would simply change their master.

Amongst these countries was the kingdom of Jehoiakim; and no Judæan who took a sober view of the situation could feel any great exultation at Necho's fall. The only real question was how the Chaldæan monarch would treat the subject peoples: but, though this question was seriously asked by some, the first impression produced by the tidings of Necho's fall fostered far other thoughts. It is in human nature, especially at a low stage of intellectual development, to obey the dictates of passion and emotion rather than of reason. The Judæans had been defeated by the king of Egypt, and that was quite enough to make them rejoice in the humiliation of their oppressor. Even Jeremiah, though he had probably pointed to Necho as the instrument of Yahweh's judgments upon his people, rejoiced in the defeat of the Egyptians, and cried,² "This is a day for Yahweh of war-hosts; a day of vengeance! This day does Yahweh revenge him on his foes, and the sword devours its fill and is sated with blood; for this slaughter is a sacrifice to the Lord Yahweh of war-hosts, in the northern land, by the Euphrates!" We may fancy, then, what a lofty tone other prophets would take concerning Necho's defeat, and in what wild dreams they would indulge!

But common sense, quickened by fear, gradually resumed its sway in many minds, especially when Nebuchadrezzar, after receiving homage in Babylon, set out again with a numerous army, and the former vassals of Egypt saw that they must soon be brought into contact with him. Many families from the northern districts of Canaan took to flight, and numbers of refugees sought safety in Jerusalem. Extreme

¹ Jeremiah xlvii.

² Jeremiah xli. 10.

fanatics persevered even yet in their tone of defiance, and predicted Nebuchadrezzar's speedy defeat and hopeless fall; but his appearance on the scene made a far different impression upon Jeremiah. If a certain degree of wavering had hitherto characterized his prophecies, if he had now pointed to one enemy and now to another as the vehicle of Yahweh's wrath, henceforth it was his settled conviction that Nebuchadrezzar was the rod of Yahweh's chastisement, and that no one would be able to stand against the Chaldean monarch. Moreover, he had hitherto believed that the door of grace was still in a measure open, but now he thought it was finally closed, and the irrevocable sentence had gone forth, "Judah must fall!" He himself enables us to trace the process by which he arrived at this intense conviction.¹ He had prophesied for three-and-twenty years; and other men of God, who insisted upon repentance, had supported him; but, he says, "The Judæans hearkened not to me. Therefore shall Yahweh deliver them into the hand of the king of Babylon, and they shall serve him seventy years. Nor shall Judah be the only people to bear the yoke of Nebuchadrezzar; for thus says Yahweh, Take from my hand this cup, filled with the wine of wrath, and make all the peoples to whom I send you drink of it, that they may reel and become delirious because of the sword which I shall send to work havoc amongst them. And I," continues Jeremiah, "obeyed. I gave this cup to Judah and Jerusalem first of all, and then to the king of Egypt, and then to his allies and former vassals, — Arabians, Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Phœnicians, nay, the Greeks themselves and the men of Arabia Felix, and the Medes. Whether they will or not they must drink perforce, for Yahweh will utter a fearful roaring; misery to all the world! unburied corpses on all sides! Howl ye shepherds, and shriek ye who tend the flocks! Ye shall not escape, for the wrath of Yahweh is upon you and upon your land!"

Before going any further we must fix our special attention upon one particular expression in this prophecy, and make a remark as to the scope of Jeremiah's work.

We refer to the prediction that Judah should serve Nebuchadrezzar seventy years. When the scribes had succeeded the prophets among the Jews, and pored over the ancient oracles in order to make out how Israel's god had foretold the

¹ Jeremiah xxv.

details of the future, immense value was attached by the believers to this announcement of the seventy years. They took for granted that it had been literally fulfilled, that the land had lain waste for seventy years, that precisely that period had elapsed between the beginning and the end of the captivity.¹ For a long time the Christian interpreters of the Bible were no wiser than the Jews in this matter, and hence it is still common to speak of the seventy years' captivity. But, unfortunately, the calculation comes out wrong, for not quite fifty years elapsed between Jerusalem's devastation (586 B.C.) and the return (538 B.C.). This has been a sad perplexity to the commentators! Various attempts have been made to reconcile the prediction and the event. It has been supposed, for instance, that Jeremiah reckoned the seventy years from the first carrying away of the people, which took place under Jehoiakim, eleven years before the final deportation; but even this gives less than sixty years duration to the captivity. Others reckon from the year in which Jeremiah made the prediction, which was the fourth of Jehoiakim, who reigned eleven years; but even this only gives something less than sixty-seven years before the return. Reckon the seventy years as we will, we cannot make them come out right.

We must utterly relinquish the idea that the details of the future were revealed to a prophet. He no more knew them than any one of us does, however firmly he may have believed he did. In this case, however, Jeremiah had evidently no intention of defining the exact period of Judah's subjection to the Chaldees when he spoke of seventy years. He simply meant to indicate a long period. Several years later, when a portion of the people was already carried away, he used the same expression once more² on an occasion which will presently demand our attention.

There is another remarkable feature in this prophecy; namely, the fact that it deals with foreign peoples.

It will be remembered that Jeremiah, when giving an account of his call,³ describes himself as having been sent especially to the heathens. Now the beginning of his prophetic relations with the surrounding peoples dates from this fourth year of Jehoiakim, in which Nebuchadrezzar began to draw near. Henceforth he constantly spoke of the heathen nations, and sometimes, when their ambassadors were at Jerusalem, even addressed them directly. We still possess some of his discourses addressed to or dealing with the Philistines, Moab-

¹ 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 21.

² Jeremiah xxix. 10.

³ See pp. 323 ff.

ites, Ammonites, Edomites, Syrians, Arabians, and Elamites.¹ These utterances are all of the same character, are all full of threats and predictions of humiliation by Nebuchadrezzar. Accordingly, they all stand in close connection with the one we have given (Jeremiah xxv.) ; and it is remarkable that, in the Greek translation, they are inserted immediately after it, instead of standing, as they do, in the received Hebrew text, at the end of the book. It is not likely that the translator transposed these chapters himself; and we may therefore suppose that he found the arrangement he has adopted in the Hebrew, and that the chapters in question originally stood where he has them. This shows us that the book of Jeremiah's oracles, like so many other books of the Old Testament, did not at once assume the form in which we now have it, but was recast, it may be, several times. In this process modifications of more or less importance would inevitably be made. Some passages would be omitted and others introduced. For instance, the last three chapters of the book of Jeremiah have been added as an appendix, and contain an oracle against Babylon² that was certainly written in the land of captivity by a later hand than Jeremiah's, and an account of the taking of Jerusalem³ identical with the conclusion of the book of Kings.

We may now return to Jeremiah.

Soon after the news of Necho's defeat had reached Judah, when Jeremiah was convinced that Nebuchadrezzar would come and chastise the people of Yahweh, he prepared to give them one more emphatic warning. Accordingly he commanded his faithful follower, Baruch, to write down certain oracles at his dictation that he might read them aloud to the people at the proper time, should he himself be prevented from going to the temple. What he proceeded to dictate was the substance of all his discourses, so far as he could remember them, from the beginning of his ministry. He was grateful to his faithful Baruch, who had gladly complied with his request and promised to read his oracles to the people, but he had little hope of any good result. There is a tone of absolute hopelessness in a short prophecy which he uttered on this occasion:⁴ "Thus says Yahweh, Israel's god, concerning you, O Baruch! Why do you complain that Yahweh still increases your woe and that you find no rest? Say to Baruch ·

¹ Jeremiah xlv. - xlix.

² Chapter lii.

³ Chapters l. li.

⁴ Jeremiah xlv.

I, Yahweh, lay waste all that I once have planted, even the whole land. Why should you expect any good to come? Expect it not. For I will plunge all men into misery, says Yahweh. But wheresoever you go your life shall be spared."

Since Nebuchadrezzar, as we know already, did not march upon Egypt immediately after Necho's defeat, it was some little time before the occasion arose for which Jeremiah had committed his prophecies to writing. Meanwhile he must often have heard the taunting cry: "Where is the word of Yahweh now? When will it be fulfilled?"¹ But in the ninth month (our December) of the following year Nebuchadrezzar at last drew near, subduing all the countries as he went. Terror sank into the heart of the Judæans. A solemn fast was proclaimed, and pilgrims streamed to Jerusalem from every quarter of Judah, to implore Yahweh's pity in the temple.

Then Baruch went, as he had promised, with the roll of Jeremiah's oracles to the sanctuary. One of the priests, Gemariah, the son of the secretary Shaphan, had granted him the use of his chamber in one of the courts of the temple: and there he read all that Jeremiah had dictated to him, to every one who cared to listen.

It appears that Gemariah had not understood that in granting Baruch the use of his room he was taking part in what might cause a great disturbance, for he himself had not thought it necessary to be present as Baruch read his roll, but was in a room in the king's palace in the company of other nobles and courtiers. His son Michaiah, however, was present, and was greatly terrified to hear that Jeremiah had announced the humiliation of Judah, and had even predicted that the sanctuary at Jerusalem would be devastated as the ancient temple at Shiloh had been. Not daring to take the responsibility of what was going on in his father's room, he hastened to inform him of the purport of the oracles which Baruch was reading.

Gemariah and the other princes immediately sent a certain Jehudi to bring Baruch, with his roll, before them. As soon as he came they made him sit down and read it to them also. On hearing the sombre predictions they were greatly alarmed, and all of them felt that the matter was far too serious to be kept a secret from the king; but they looked upon it as so extraordinary that they questioned Baruch very closely as to

¹ Jeremiah xvii. 15.

whether the words he had taken down from Jeremiah's mouth were really what he declared them to have been.

The surprise expressed by these princes seems very extraordinary, for in the first place if the roll contained nothing but what Jeremiah had already proclaimed during his years of public activity, we should have supposed that the princes could hardly have been ignorant of it; and in the next place it was only four years at most since Jeremiah had been brought before the princes of Judah for judgment because he had foretold the fall of Jerusalem. Had this event escaped their knowledge? We can only suppose that the "princes of Judah" were not the same in the two cases, and that hitherto Jeremiah's ministry had seldom or never attracted general attention, so that he was only known in a small circle as a preacher of repentance.

Be this as it may, his words were not neglected now. Gemariah and the other nobles were thrown into consternation. They dared not keep the matter a secret from the king, yet knew him too well not to fear the consequences of revealing it to him. They trembled for the bold prophet and his faithful servant. Accordingly, they told Baruch to seek some place of concealment together with Jeremiah, after which they approached the king, leaving the roll in the room in which they had been sitting.

As soon as Jehoiakim had heard their statement he told Jehudi to go and fetch the roll and read it aloud to him, while all his courtiers stood round. It soon appeared that the princes had had good reason to dread the effect which these oracles would have upon him, for he could not even restrain himself till Jehudi had read the roll through, but as soon as he had listened to three or four pages gave such unmistakable signs of fury that Jehudi in terror slashed the parchment into strips with his knife, and threw it into the fire, while the other courtiers, instead of rending their clothes at this act of sacrilege, concealed their dismay and looked calmly on, except Gemariah and a few more, who did their best to restrain the king, but in vain.

It was well that the princes had advised Baruch to conceal himself, for Jehoiakim, not content with the roll being burned, immediately despatched several of the nobles, including a prince of the blood, to seize Jeremiah and Baruch and throw them into prison. But "Yahweh had hidden them," as Jeremiah afterwards said when he once more dictated the contents of the roll that Jehoiakim had burned. It need

hardly be said that this second collection of oracles contained a fresh denunciation of Jehoiakim for having destroyed the roll in which Yahweh's words were recorded. Woe to him! No descendant of his should ever sit upon the throne of David. His body should be cast out in shame, and should lie exposed to the heat of day and the cold of night. Yahweh would requite his wickedness and the wickedness of his race and of his courtiers; and the evil which he had foretold should come upon all Jerusalem and Judah.

Jeremiah, then, evaded Jehoiakim's wrath; but one of his fellow-workers was less fortunate. A certain Urijah of Kirjath-Jearim had adopted Jeremiah's language, and had prophesied against the city and the country; but no sooner had it come to the king's ears than he planned the prophet's death. Not even his flight to Egypt saved him, for he was seized in that country by Jehoiakim's emissaries and brought back to Jerusalem, where he was put to death, and even the honors of decent burial refused to his corpse.¹

Doubtless Jehoiakim could have laid his hands upon Jeremiah also had he really wished it; but Jeremiah was a member of the powerful priesthood, and could rely upon the protection of his kindred and the princes of Judah not only as a prophet, but also as a Levite. The king, therefore, when his passion had cooled a little, would shrink from openly seeking his life. Jeremiah, then, was still allowed to live, and even to preach; but he could find no credence for his message.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST DEPORTATION TO BABYLON.

2 KINGS XXIV. 1-17; ² ZECHARIAH XII-XIV.; JEREMIAH XXXV.;
HABAKKUK; PSALMS XLII., XLIII.

JEHOIAKIM, who was not the man to risk his crown in the unequal conflict with Nebuchadrezzar, unless compelled to do so, submitted on his approach. His neighbors did the same, and all the countries up to the borders of Egypt were soon tributary to the Chaldean monarch. Nebuchadrezzar, therefore, turned his arms elsewhere, and Judah could take breath again, having simply changed her master.

¹ Jeremiah xxvi. 20-23.

² 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 6-10.

All this gave the king but little uneasiness, though most of the prophets were full of indignation. The fanatical enthusiasm which only five years ago had urged Josiah rashly to measure his strength against Necho's, had been by no means quenched by all the disastrous consequences of so ill-advised a measure, but in many quarters was hotter than ever. A specimen of the language sometimes held during this period is furnished by the oracle preserved in Zechariah xii.-xiv. Unfortunately there are so many obscure passages in these chapters that at present it seems impossible to determine exactly when they were uttered, and in explaining some of the details we are driven to pure conjectures; but we may regard it as certain that the author was a contemporary of Jeremiah. It appears that he did not live in Jerusalem, and, like Micah of Moresheth before him,¹ had many accusations to urge against the capital. What raised his special indignation was a murder that had been committed in Jerusalem, and which, as he declared, would be bitterly rued one day, especially by the king and his household, together with the priests.² He was probably thinking of Urijah of Kirjath-Jearim, whom the king had destroyed at the instigation of the priests.³ He anticipated a judgment upon Jerusalem, and especially upon the prophets, who would be covered with shame and would be put to death by their own parents, because they had prophesied lies in Yahweh's name.⁴ But in spite of all this, Jerusalem would not only be rescued from the hand of her enemies, but would become "a cup of intoxication to all the peoples who come up against her, a heavy stone which all nations shall strain themselves vainly to lift. All the horses of her foes, says Yahweh, will I strike with blindness, and all their riders with bewilderment. Judah's princes shall be amongst the nations as fire cast into the midst of fuel, and shall burn up all things, while Jerusalem abides. Yahweh will defend the dwellers in Jerusalem and make David's house like a god, like Yahweh's angel that goes out before him, and all heathens who come against Jerusalem shall perish."⁵ In another passage the prophet appears to anticipate a partial devastation of the city;⁶ but in the end Jerusalem will be saved, all the foes of Yahweh will be woefully chastised and spoiled, so that the remnant will honor Yahweh, and year by year will come to celebrate the feast of Tabernacles at

¹ See pp. 276-278.

² See p. 363.

³ Zechariah xii. 1-9.

⁴ Zechariah xii. 10-14.

⁵ Zechariah xiii. 1-6.

⁶ Zechariah xiii. 7-xiv. 8.

Jerusalem. Should any of them neglect to do so, they will be punished by lack of rain.¹

The seer appears to have wavered in his conception of Jerusalem's probable fate, and to have expected a judgment upon her more confidently at one time than another. But in one thing he never wavered, namely, in the certainty with which he cried woe upon all the heathens who dared to attack the city in which every thing was to be consecrated to Yahweh.² These thoughts found only too congenial a soil in the minds of the men of Jerusalem. The city of Yahweh could not be devastated by the heathens; he who "stretched out the heavens, established the earth, and formed the spirit of man within him,"³ would never suffer it. Judah was therefore unconquerable, and must not yield an inch to the heathens.

Now Jehoiakim himself was by no means inclined to act upon such principles as these, but in the long run he was unable to resist the stream of public opinion guided by the fanatics, and after paying tribute to Nebuchadrezzar for three years, he finally renounced his allegiance, probably hoping for support from Egypt.

The Chaldean monarch was just then detained elsewhere, and was not in a position to come with an army and chastise the audacity of Judah in person. For the present he was obliged to hand over the task to the garrisons which he had left in some of the cities of the surrounding countries and to the vassal princes of Syria, Moab, and Ammon, who had not followed Jehoiakim's example, but had remained faithful to Nebuchadrezzar. These forces inflicted considerable sufferings upon Judah, in which the writer of Kings traced the hand of Yahweh chastising Judah for Manasseh's sins. At last, after three years, Nebuchadrezzar himself appeared upon the scene. Then terror sank into the hearts of the northern Israelites, who seem to have made common cause with Judah. Many families preferred flight to the risk of outrage at the hands of the Chaldeans, and many sought a refuge in Jerusalem, the only city that could stand a siege.

We can easily guess the tone Jeremiah took. He pointed ominously towards the north, whence the foe was advancing, and cried woe upon Judah! "Yahweh told me," he once declared,⁴ "to buy a linen girdle, to put it on, and to pre-

¹ Zechariah xiv. 6-19.

² Zechariah xii. 1.

³ Zechariah xiv. 20, 21.

⁴ Jeremiah xlii. 1-11.

serve it from the damp. Afterwards he told me to hide this girdle amongst the stones in the bed of the Euphrates. Many days afterwards he told me to go and fetch it again, but when I came there it was all spoilt and marred. Then said Yahweh to me: Thus will I mar the bravery of Judah and the pride of Jerusalem; for as a girdle surrounds a man's loins, so would I have had my people surround me; but they would not hearken to me!" After all that we have said about the fictitious visions of the prophets,¹ there is nothing in this curious allegory that need surprise us. Of course Jeremiah did not really make these repeated journeys to the Euphrates, but simply selected this form under which to convey his denunciations.

But whenever the form he had chosen to embody the certainty of Yahweh's judgment was such as would readily lend itself to a visible presentation, he gladly availed himself of the fact. Once, for instance, he roused the curiosity of the men of Jerusalem by passing through the streets of the city attended by certain outlandish-looking strangers.² They were the Rechabites, so called after the founder of their clan, Rechab, the father of king Jehu's friend Jonadab.³ Jeremiah accompanied by the Rechabite chief, Jaazaniah, and some of his followers, entered one of the buildings that surrounded the temple, and went into a room, the use of which he had obtained. A number of people had followed him, and the room was soon full. Upon this he placed some cups of wine before the Rechabites and invited them to drink. But they declined, alleging that their ancestor Jonadab had forbidden them to drink wine, to build houses, to cultivate the land, or to plant vineyards, and had commanded them to dwell in tents in the country districts through which they wandered. They declared that they had always observed these precepts, and had only sought refuge in Jerusalem now out of terror for Nebuchadrezzar.

Jeremiah had reckoned upon their refusal, and immediately turned to the spectators with the words: "O men of Judah and Jerusalem, will you always be deaf to my words? says Yahweh. See how these men obey the precepts of their ancestor, while you . . . ! I never cease to send you prophets, but you hearken not to me. Therefore will I bring upon Judah and Jerusalem all the disasters of which I have spoken; but Rechab's posterity shall abide for ever!"

Jeremiah was still in constant danger of being called to a

¹ See pp. 226-228.

² Jeremiah xxxv.

³ See p. 126.

heavy account for his boldness. Once he went with certain distinguished men of Jerusalem, whom he had summoned for the purpose, by one of the southern gates of the city towards the valley of the son of Hinnom. He had an earthen vessel in his hands. When they were near the Tophet, the thunder of prophetic denunciation rolled from Jeremiah's lips; he rehearsed the sinful past of Judah, reminded his hearers of the infant sacrifices that had been offered there and all the other forms of their idolatry, linking the most dire threats to these shameful reminiscences. Last of all he dashed the vessel to fragments upon the ground with the words: "Thus says Yahweh of war-hosts: I will shatter the people that dwell in this city as one shatters an earthen vessel that cannot be pieced together again." Then he returned to Jerusalem with the nobles and repeated his denunciations in the court of the temple; but the priest Pashur, the chief of the temple police,¹ brought him to an abrupt conclusion by ordering him to be scourged and put into the stocks. The next day, however, he was set at liberty, and burst at once into the fiercest invectives against Pashur: "Yahweh no longer calls you Pashur, but *Terror-upon-every-side*; for you shall be in terror for yourself and all your friends in terror for you. Yet they, too, shall perish before your eyes, and I will deliver all Judah into the hand of the king of Babylon. And you, Pashur, shall be taken captive to Babylon and shall die there, with all the friends to whom you have uttered false predictions!"²

While Jeremiah was uttering his terrible threats, and the majority of the prophets were giving currency to the wildest hopes and announcing the discomfiture of the foe and the glory of Yahweh's people in the immediate future, there were some who took up a position between the two extremes. We know of at least one prophet who was profoundly conscious of the depth of Judah's sin and the terrible punishment she merited, but nevertheless predicted victory to Yahweh's people and defeat to the Chaldees. It is Habakkuk.

His whole prophecy sounds like an echo of Jeremiah's predictions. He takes up just the same attitude towards his people, and begins by bitter lamentations and by sternly accusing his countrymen of forsaking Yahweh's law and perverting justice. The misery inflicted by the Chaldeans was only what the Judæans had deserved by their abandoned lives. And yet the seer pleaded for his people. However

¹ See pp. 178, 179.

² Jeremiah xix.-xx. 6.

deeply they were corrupted their enemies were more godless yet; for they deified their very weapons, vainly imagining that they were invincible. Would Yahweh suffer them to root out men who were more righteous than they? Surely he would not. The prophet had received a command from Yahweh to write down quickly what he saw, for soon his wrath would burst upon all the people's oppressors and he would root out all the workers of iniquity, while the righteous would be saved alive by trust in Yahweh. At the end of this short book of prophecies Habakkuk gives the rein to his imagination. He beholds Yahweh coming from the south with the pestilence before him and the lightnings under his feet, advancing to trample down the people's foes and deliver his anointed. Let every man rejoice in Yahweh, for he it is who gives the victory!

In their main conceptions, then, Jeremiah and Habakkuk are at one. They are both of them fully alive to the sins of their people; both of them trace the avenging hand of God in the misery brought upon Judah by the Chaldeans, and both of them believe that Yahweh's people is imperishable. But while Jeremiah lays such stress upon his people's sins that the glorious future almost sinks out of sight, Habakkuk believes that the punishment has now been sufficiently accomplished, and that it is high time for Yahweh to reveal his saving power. It need hardly be said that this latter view found more favor with the people than the other.

King Jehoiakim was no longer in the land of the living when Nebuchadrezzar took Jerusalem. He had sown the seed, but the harvest was reaped by his son.

The Chronicler, however, tells us that as early as the third year of his reign Jehoiakim himself was taken captive by Nebuchadrezzar¹ and thrown into chains of brass, to be carried away to Babylon; and also that the enemy plundered the temple at the same time. Did he find it impossible to believe that so wicked a man as Jehoiakim should have come to so good an end? Be this as it may, his narrative has nothing to commend it, and Jehoiakim certainly "slept with his fathers" and was succeeded by his son.

Jeremiah, who had repeatedly predicted that Jehoiakim would lie unburied like an ass, and would not be succeeded by his son,² was not at all disconcerted by the non-fulfilment of his prophecy and the accession of Jehoiakim's son Jehoia-

¹ Compare Daniel i. 1, 2.

² Jeremiah xli. 18, 19, xxxvi. 30.

kin in the teeth of all his curses. The fact is that though the prophets really believed that they could foretell the details of the future, they never forgot that their pictures of events to come were nothing more than deductions from the great religious truths to which their hearts bore witness; namely, Yahweh's pleasure in the pious man and his condemnation of the godless. No sooner had Jehoiakin, also called Coniah, ascended the throne than Jeremiah transferred to him the threats he had previously uttered against Jehoiakin. "As sure as I live, says Yahweh, though thou, Coniah, son of Jehoiakim, wert to cling to me as a ring clings to the hand that wears it, I would pluck thee off and deliver thee into Nebuchadrezzar's hand. Thou shalt go with thy mother into captivity, and shalt die in the strange land. Is Coniah a contemptible idol, or a vessel in which none takes pleasure, that he and his race must be cast out and hurled into an unknown land? O land, land, land! listen to the word of Yahweh. Thus he says: Write down this man as childless and unfortunate; for none of his posterity shall sit upon David's throne or rule over Judah."¹

The writers of Kings and Chronicles employ the stock phrase with regard to Jehoiakin, and say that he did what was evil in Yahweh's eyes; but Jeremiah evidently supposed him to be punished for his father's sake, and not for any sins of his own. And, indeed, he was still quite young (according to Kings, eighteen; according to Chronicles, only eight), was completely under his mother's influence, and only remained three months upon the throne.

Nebuchadrezzar was now at the gates of Jerusalem. Was the people's enthusiasm suddenly cooled by his appearance? Probably not; but, though a host of prophets urged the men of Jerusalem to offer a vigorous resistance and confidently promised Yahweh's help in overthrowing the Chaldeans, they had little influence in the palace, and the court was altogether disinclined to run any fatal risks. Jehoiakin, with his mother and chief officers, threw themselves upon the mercy of the conqueror, and surrendered the city at discretion.

The Chaldeans treated conquered lands upon the principles followed by the Assyrians. They carried off the most prominent citizens as captives. Such was the fate of Judah. Thousands of its inhabitants were transported to Babylou. The book of Kings says ten thousand; and since this must be understood of heads of families, the total would be forty

¹ Jeremiah xxii. 24-30.

or fifty thousand. Jehoiakin and his courtiers were carried off amongst the rest.

It is difficult to exaggerate the terrors which exile must have had for the pious Israelite. Canaan, especially Jerusalem, was endeared to him by his faith, as well as by all other ties that bind men to their own countries. Even though he had risen to the thought that Yahweh was present everywhere and could make his power felt in every place, still Canaan was "Yahweh's holy mountain," "the glory of all the earth." Zion was his dwelling-place; and there the praise of his worshippers was more acceptable than in any other spot. Many of Israel's songs are instinct with a deep attachment to the city of the temple, which the lapse of ages only served to strengthen. Let me give, as an example, a poem which was certainly not written before the time of Jehoiakin, and may be subsequent to the second or third deportation. I give it here because it reflects so perfectly the sorrow which consumed the pious exiles in a foreign land. It is contained in Psalms xlii. and xliii., which have come down to us as two poems, though they evidently made up a single whole originally:—

As the hart pants for the water brooks,
 So pants my soul after thee, O Yahweh!¹
 My soul is athirst for Yahweh, the living god.
 When shall I come and appear before him?
 My tears are my food day and night,
 For they cry to me daily: "Where is your god?"
 I think of old times, and give memory rein,
 How I went with the throng to the house of Yahweh,
 A festive host with song and praise.
 Why art thou cast down, O my soul! why art thou disquieted in me?
 Hope thou in Yahweh, for I shall yet praise him;
 He is my saviour and my god.
 My soul is cast down. I remember thee, far from the land of Jordan,
 Far from Mount Hermon and the little hills.
 Flood breaks upon flood, mid the roar of thy billows;
 All thy waves and thy breakers pass over me.
 Yahweh ordains his favor by day;
 By night I sing in his praise,
 A prayer to the living god.
 I will ask of the god, my rock: "Why dost thou forget me?
 Why must I always be clad in mourning because of my enemies' oppression?"
 They stab me to the heart with their taunts,
 With their daily questionings: "Where is your god?"
 Why art thou cast down, O my soul! why art thou disquieted in me?
 Hope thou in Yahweh, for I shall yet praise him;
 He is my saviour and my god.

Uphold my cause, O Yahweh! against a pitiless people,
 Help me against deceivers and liars,

¹ Compare p. 190.

For thou art the god that helps me; why dost thou forget me?
 Why am I clad in black because of the oppression of my enemy!
 Send thy light and thy faithfulness to lead me,
 And to bring me to thy holy hill and thy dwelling-place;
 That I may come to the altar of Yahweh, the god of my joy,
 And praise thee, O Yahweh, my god, with the harp.
 Why art thou cast down, O my soul! why art thou disquieted in me:
 Hope thou in Yahweh, for I shall yet praise him;
 He is my saviour and my god.

CHAPTER V.

THE FANATICS IN JERUSALEM.

JEREMIAH XXVII.-XXIX., XXXIV.; 2 KINGS, XXIV. 18-XXV. 1.¹

HAD the Judæans been guided by calm reflection, the fearful castigation they had just received would have shown them that they could not measure their strength against Nebuchadrezzar's, and would have kept them quiet for the future. But fanaticism is fatal to common sense, and the fanatics were ever gaining the ear of the Judæans more and more completely, not only amongst those still left at home, but amongst the exiles also. Many of the latter dwelt on the banks of the Chebar or Chaboras, a river of Mesopotamia, and there, too, as well as at Jerusalem, prophets arose, whom Ezekiel, one of their opponents, graphically describes as seducing the people by crying Peace! peace! when there was no peace; while some of them threw up a wall of clay, and others plastered it with untempered mortar! Ezekiel, like Jeremiah, predicted that hail and whirlwind would overthrow this wall and destroy the plastering.²

Jeremiah, who was left behind in Jerusalem, thought far more highly of the exiles than of those who remained. He once saw in his mind's eye — such at least was the form in which he clothed his thoughts³ — two baskets of figs standing before the temple; the fruit in one was ripe and good, but that in the other was so bad as to be uneatable. These good figs represented the exiles. Yahweh would look upon them with favor, would bring them back to their own land and save them, and would give them a heart to know him, so that they

¹ 2 Chronicles, xxxvi. 11-13. ² Ezekiel xiii. 1-16. ³ Jeremiah xxiv.

should be his people and he should be their god. But the uneatable figs represented those left behind, with their king and their princes. Yahweh would destroy them.

The prophet's favorable estimate of the exiles did not rest upon anything he had ascertained as to their conduct or disposition. The fact was that he had no sufficient grounds as yet for saying anything about them, and was completely mistaken, as we shall soon see, in his account of them. His language was based on a mere supposition. He had long believed with equal certainty that a judgment would come upon Judah, and that Yahweh's people was, nevertheless, imperishable; and since the exiles had already received their punishment, he thought that Yahweh would deliver them, and make them his people, whereas the punishment of those still left behind was yet to come.

The Chebar was far away from Jerusalem; but the intercourse between Judah and the Euphrates was sufficiently close to ensure the occasional arrival of news from the exiles at Jerusalem. It was soon known that the banished Judeans, far from losing all courage, cherished the certain hope of a return to their fatherland, and confided in the assurances of such prophets as Zedekiah and Ahab that this consummation was close at hand. As soon as this came to the ears of Jeremiah, he wrote a letter to the exiles, in which he exhorted them to patience. They were to build houses and plant gardens, were to marry, and to pray for the peace of the city to which they had been transported. They who foretold a speedy return were false prophets, and all of them liars. The exiles would indeed return, but not till seventy years had gone.¹ Woe to the false prophets, Zedekiah and Ahab, adulterers and liars! Their fate would be so wretched that a saying would arise, "May Yahweh make you as miserable as Zedekiah and Ahab!"

This letter, while it failed to sober the exiles, raised the intensest anger of the zealots, whom it denounced as liars. A certain Shemaiah, therefore, wrote a letter to the priest Zephaniah, who may have been a brother of the prophet Zedekiah, since both are described as sons of Maaseiah, informing him of the message that Jeremiah had written to the exiles, and begging him to put him into the stocks for it. But Zephaniah was very favorably disposed to Jeremiah and read the letter to him, upon which the prophet, as we may well believe, lost no time in writing another letter to Babylon containing dire

¹ Compare pp. 358, 359.

threats against Shemaiah : When Yahweh blessed his people neither he nor any of his family should see it !

When Nebuchadrezzar carried Jehoiakin to Babylon as a captive, he placed his uncle Mattaniah, a son of Josiah, upon the throne, changing his name to Zedekiah. The author of Kings again employs the stock phrase, "he did what was evil in Yahweh's eyes," with respect to Zedekiah. He seems to have been what is commonly called "not a bad sort of man," that is to say, well-intentioned and kindly, but weak. Such a man would probably have become the tool of others, and shown his incapacity to rule under any circumstances ; but at any rate in Judah, in the 597 B.C., the year of his accession to the throne, he was utterly out of place. Even if his subjects had been peaceably disposed, it would have needed rare wisdom successfully to govern the helpless, feeble, devastated country. But, as a fact, the Judæans, so far from patiently enduring their fate, at one moment burst into passionate lamentations and cries of despair ; and, at another, lent an ear to the prophets who declared that Yahweh's people was invincible, and urged them to fly to arms. It is impossible, therefore, to exaggerate the energy and firmness which it would have needed to govern them well. "Can an Ethiopian change his skin, or a leopard his spots ? Then can you also do good, having once learned to do evil !" Such was Jeremiah's opinion of his contemporaries ;¹ and, as far as their love of freedom was concerned, the comparison was certainly just. They were utterly untractable.

Hardly four years after Jehoiakin had been taken captive and the temple plundered, great schemes of revolt against the Chaldæan king were once more on the stocks ! The princes of Edom, Moab, Ammon, and the Phœnician cities sent ambassadors to Jerusalem to conclude an alliance with Zedekiah.² The Judæan prophets gave the most confident assurances of success. Within two years all the utensils of the temple which Nebuchadrezzar had taken to Babylon would be brought back, and Jehoiakin would return, for the yoke of the king of Babylon would be broken.

Foremost amongst the prophets who uttered these oracles in the court of the temple was a certain Hananiah. Priests and people listened greedily to his words and surrendered

¹ Jeremiah xlii. 23.

² Jeremiah xxvii., xxviii. In xxvii. 1, read *Zedekiah for Jehoiakin*. See vs 3 12, and xxviii. 1.

themselves to his influence. But Jeremiah did not shrink from challenging his words, and foretold that the remnant of the people would be carried away captive, the temple and the palace spoiled anew, and all manner of misery brought upon the land. He who truly loved his country must bow submissively beneath the yoke of the Chaldeans, and shut his ears against these lying prophets. Alas! if they had been true men of God, they would have prayed Yahweh not to suffer the remaining treasures of Jerusalem to be carried away, instead of vainly promising that those already gone should come back again. But since they were so wedded to their folly, even the remnant of the treasures should be taken to Babylon.

On one occasion, Jeremiah and Hananiah came into public collision with each other. Jeremiah had sent wooden yokes to all the ambassadors of the surrounding peoples, with the command from Yahweh to give them to their respective princes, as a symbol of the course they would adopt if they were wise—the course of submission to Nebuchadnezzar. The prophet himself went through the streets of Jerusalem with a yoke upon his neck, as a visible sign to his people that they must bear the enemy's yoke in patience. Now once on a time, when Hananiah was again delivering his propitious oracles in the temple court, and the people were eagerly drinking in the welcome sound of his stirring words, Jeremiah suddenly appeared before him, with the yoke still upon his neck, and cried, in mockery, "Amen! No doubt Yahweh will confirm your words, and bring back all the temple treasures that have been carried away, together with all the exiles. But nevertheless," and here the prophet's manner suddenly changed, "I have a word to say to you in the hearing of all these people. We have had many predecessors, from ancient times till now, who have prophesied concerning great countries and mighty kingdoms, and have foretold misery and pestilence. But if a man of God foretold prosperity, he was never held a true messenger of Yahweh until his prediction was fulfilled." Maddened by this renewed imputation of prophesying lies, Hananiah leapt upon his opponent, tore the yoke from his shoulders and broke it to pieces, crying, "Thus says Yahweh, Even so will I break the yoke of the king of Babylon from off the necks of all the peoples within two years!" We may well suppose that such animating words, uttered in a tone of triumphant confidence and illustrated by so striking a symbolic action, were greeted by the people with

vociferous applause. Even Jeremiah was silenced. He had no reply, and was driven off the field.

It was not till afterwards that it occurred to him, or as he put it that Yahweh told him, what he ought to have said. If he had thought of it at the time, it might have made a very great impression upon the people. "The yokes you have broken were made of wood, but yokes of iron shall take their place; for thus says Yahweh: I lay upon the necks of all these peoples a yoke of iron, and they shall serve Nebuchadrezzar. Nay, the wild beasts themselves shall be subject to him. And as for you, Hananiah, Yahweh has not sent you, and you have inspired this people with idle confidence. Therefore Yahweh will drive you out of this land, and within this year you shall die." When Jeremiah subsequently recorded these words, he added that in the seventh month of that same year Hananiah died.

In reading the passage we are naturally tempted to ask how Jeremiah could foresee the event, or if its agreement with his prediction was a mere coincidence, how he could hazard so definite a statement as to Hananiah's fate; but, in the light of our repeated observations of the great freedom with which the prophets used the words "Yahweh said to me," the enigma is by no means insoluble. When Jeremiah had been worsted by Hananiah, and was yet convinced that this prophet was a liar, who breathed an idle confidence into the people, he doubtless launched his denunciations against him without stint. Whether he really foretold that he would die within the year we may regard as exceedingly doubtful. The conjecture forces itself upon us that two months afterwards, when Hananiah died, Jeremiah traced the avenging hand of Yahweh in his fate, and since his own presentiment that the prophet of lies would come to an evil end was now fulfilled, involuntarily gave it a more definite shape.

Hananiah's and Jeremiah's hearers would have to suspend their judgment as to the truth of both utterances alike for some time to come, for neither of the predictions was as yet accomplished. The temple treasures were not restored, but neither were those still left in Jerusalem carried off to Babylon. The fact was that the whole scheme of the revolt fell to pieces, perhaps because the king of Egypt, Psammetichus II., refused to join the confederacy, and the other princes, with all their desire for independence, shrank from defying Nebuchadrezzar without his support. The fanatical prophets

might lament their people's want of faith, but they were forced to bide their time. Sooner or later they would be sure to have their way, for fanaticism is wonderfully infectious.

Five years afterwards, when Hophra (or Apries) succeeded Psammetichus II., and at once showed signs of a hostile disposition towards Nebuchadrezzar, the Judæans could no longer be restrained. The prophets sounded the note of triumph loud and clear. The king of Babylon, they declared, would not so much as dare to advance against Judah.¹ Jeremiah could not get a hearing. The war party steadily rose in influence at court. At last the feeble Zedekiah, though himself unwilling to try the fortune of war, was driven on by his nobles and by public opinion till he sent an embassy to Egypt to ask for help, broke his oath of allegiance, and rebelled against Nebuchadrezzar.²

Full soon would he repent of his rashness! The Chaldæan monarch was not the man to look on passively while his subjects unfurled the banner of revolt. That very year he set out to reduce Judah to submission. It appears that the surrounding peoples left Israel to its fate, for we do not find that Nebuchadrezzar made war upon them, and the Israelites complain that their neighbors, especially the Phœnicians and Edomites, made common cause with the Chaldæans. Judah could not hold out against the foe. A city here and there, such as Lachish or Azekah, might still offer some resistance, but could not hinder Nebuchadrezzar from laying siege to Jerusalem. In the tenth day of the tenth month the city was invested.

We may well believe that when it had come to this the courage of many a Judæan failed him! Desertions to the enemy were far from rare; and Jeremiah's word of doom rang with terrific emphasis, "Woe! woe!" says Yahweh; "I give up Zion to be trodden by the heathen under foot." It is true that many Judæans still retained their lofty courage, and the fanatical hope of deliverance by Yahweh's might was still nourished by many of the prophets; but the reality was cruelly against them, and asserted its force in many a heart, including that of the poor vacillating king himself. Zedekiah excites our deep commiseration. He stands at the head of a people determined to defend itself to the last gasp, but is himself without either hope or courage. He sent two men to Jeremiah in his distress. One of them we know already as the prophet's friend, Zephaniah the priest.³ The other was a

¹ Jeremiah xxxvii. 19.

² Ezekiel xvii. 11-20.

³ See p. 372.

certain Pashur, son of Malkiah. They were commissioned to entreat Jeremiah to consult Yahweh; perhaps at the intercession of the prophet he might work a miracle to rescue Jerusalem. Jeremiah had cold comfort for them! Nothing short of utter ruin was at their doors, he said. The king and his subjects had but one means of escape, unconditional surrender to the Chaldeans. All who remained in the city would perish.¹

That a man of Zedekiah's character should await the event in passive helplessness rather than obey Jeremiah's advice is only what we should expect. Indeed, nothing short of a very firm and definite conviction on his part could have led him to surrender, since the great majority of the prophets were still loud in their promises of triumph even when Nebuchadrezzar was actually approaching.

But the most reckless of the zealots were troubled by one uneasy doubt. Was it possible that Israel had incurred the wrath of Yahweh by its sins? There was certainly much wickedness amongst the people. Under such circumstances a century earlier the king might probably have been moved to sacrifice his first-born son in order to appease the offended deity. But such an act could not be even contemplated in Zedekiah's time, and some other sacrifice must be discovered. Now it was written in the law of Yahweh that all Israelitish slaves, whether male or female, must be restored to liberty after six years' service;² but the commandment had been a dead letter with most of the Judæans. The king and his nobles, however, now determined to carry out this precept, and a solemn fast-day was proclaimed, at which they confirmed their resolution with an oath. The priests cut an ox into two, and laid the bleeding halves in the temple court. Then Zedekiah and his courtiers passed between the pieces to ratify their pledge;³ and, having thus secured the help of Yahweh, awaited the attack of the Chaldeans.⁴

It seemed as though this measure had been crowned with the desired result, for hardly had Nebuchadrezzar laid siege to Jerusalem, when an Egyptian army advanced to its relief and the Chaldeans set out to meet it. The men of Jerusalem could breathe more freely now that their enemies were out of sight, and all went on as before. Jeremiah had to submit once more to the taunting cry of those whom he had threatened with destruction: "What has become of your word of

¹ Jeremiah xxi.

² Exodus xxi. 2-6; Deuteronomy xv. 12-18.

³ Compare vol. i. p. 123.

⁴ Jeremiah xxxiv. 8-22.

Yahweh now?" The prophets uttered their confident predictions of success more boldly than ever. Yahweh, they said, was helping them already. The people firmly expected that Nebuchadrezzar would be defeated by the Egyptians.

Meanwhile Jeremiah held to his threatening predictions, and the conduct he was now forced to witness on the part of the Judæan nobles raised his indignation to a pitch which could only speak in the sternest denunciations. For the fact was that no sooner had the besieging army retired than the nobles began to grudge the cost of their obedience to Yahweh's law, broke their vow, refused to give their slaves the promised liberty, and even revoked the freedom they had already conferred upon some of them. Jeremiah could not stand by tamely. "I commanded you to let your slaves go free, says Yahweh; and since you refuse, and break your word, I will let loose sword and pestilence and famine upon you. All the perjured ones shall perish, and Zedekiah himself shall fall into the hands of the Chaldeans when they return."

"When they return!" cried the delinquents in mockery. "Yes! but they never will return. Yahweh is roaring from Zion and consuming his people's foes!"

The fanatics were supreme in Jerusalem.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FALL OF JERUSALEM.

2 KINGS XXV. 2-21; ¹ JEREMIAH XXXII., XXXVII.-XXXIX. 10.

SUCH a man as Jeremiah was naturally regarded with no friendly eye by the popular leaders. Well-founded reports were current that, when Zedekiah had sent certain messengers to him to implore him to intercede for the people with Yahweh, he had answered that the Egyptian army would inevitably return to its own land, and the Chaldeans would again lay siege to Jerusalem. "Let no man soothe himself with idle hopes," he had said; "for though the Judæans were to smite the Chaldeans till only wounded men were left, yet even they would take the field again and burn down Jerusa-

¹ 2 Chronicles xxxv. 14-21.

lem. So irrevocably is the fall of the sinful city decreed." Was it not monstrous to allow this Jeremiah to utter such fearful predictions? What good could possibly come of it? And what confidence could be placed in a man who openly declared that the only escape from death was instant surrender?

Even before Nebuchadrezzar returned, Jeremiah discovered the profound suspicion with which he was regarded; for once when he was going out of the city by the gate that led towards the land of Benjamin, perhaps on his way to Anathoth, the captain of the guard, a grandson of Hananiah, retained him in custody, and accused him of intending to desert to the enemy. The prophet's denial was not accepted, and he was brought before the princes. They were bitterly incensed against the suspected traitor to Yahweh's people; appearances were strongly against him, and they sentenced him to be scourged and then thrown into prison, into a terrible dungeon, the horrors of which would endanger his very life should he remain there long.

In a few days, however, Nebuchadrezzar's army once more appeared before the gates of Jerusalem, for the Egyptians had retreated in terror; and now the prophet was brought out of his cell, at the king's command, to tender his counsel. If Zedekiah hoped for a more favorable oracle than before he was disappointed, for the prophet answered again that the king would fall into the power of the enemy; and his words borrowed a deeper significance from the question he could now add. "What has become of all those prophets who declared that Nebuchadrezzar would return no more?" Jeremiah took this occasion to entreat the king not to send him back to that fearful dungeon, for he was guilty of no wrong to king or people. Zedekiah granted his request and transferred him to another prison, where his sustenance was amply provided for, and he was even allowed to see his friends.

In the course of the siege Jeremiah uttered a remarkable prediction as to the fate of Zedekiah.¹ He told the king that he, too, would fall into the enemy's hand when Jerusalem was sacked and burned down; that he would see the king of Babylon with his own eyes, would speak to him, and would be carried away to his capital. But in spite of this he would not fall by the sword, but would die in peace and would have the funeral of a king. This prophecy is very

¹ Jeremiah xxxiv. 1-5.

remarkable for the light it throws upon the secret impulses of a seer's heart, and the influences that affected his oracles. In the first place it is by no means easy to form a distinct idea of what Jeremiah supposed would really be the monarch's fate. He would be carried to Babylon as a prisoner, and yet would be buried with the honors of a king like his predecessors. Would he be restored to the throne? We can hardly believe that this was really Jeremiah's meaning; and yet it seems to have been so, for in another prophecy, or another version of the same,¹ he foretells that the king will go to Babylon and live there "until Yahweh visits him." The only explanation of Jeremiah's favorable anticipations with regard to Zedekiah appears to be found in his own opinion of the king. He thought he was not as bad as others — his nobles, for instance — and would therefore not be so heavily chastised.

Was Jeremiah right in placing Zedekiah above the reckless leaders of the people? I think not. They were honest fanatics; while he, though well-intentioned and comparatively sober-minded, was utterly weak. Surely this is no reason for preferring him to them. On the contrary; they knew no better, while he pursued with hesitating steps the course he knew to be wrong. They were true to their faith, such as it was, whilst he simply obeyed the dictates of his own trembling heart. If they had seen their error they might have had the courage to confess it and to change their conduct: but what could be expected of a man without either courage or principle? But we need not wonder that Jeremiah judged otherwise: for while the fanatics persecuted him and sought his very life, Zedekiah defended him. The king's personal regard for the prophet secured his favor in return, and prevented his foretelling too cruel a fate for him. Even prophets were sometimes guided by their own personal preferences.

The Chaldeans, then, had laid siege to Jerusalem! The city was too great to be completely surrounded, but the enemy could easily cut off its supplies. On three sides, indeed, this was all they could do, for the approach was so precipitous as to be almost impracticable, or, at any rate, to admit of adequate defence by a very small force. It was only from the north that a besieging army could attack the city with any hope of success, and even there it was fortified by a strong

¹ Jeremiah xxxii. 1-5.

wall with lofty turrets, within which a second wall defended the upper city, where the temple and the palace stood. This position might still be held even if the lower city were taken. Against this outer wall the first attack was directed; but the art of siege was still in its infancy, and it needed a vast expenditure of time and labor to effect a breach in a wall of any thickness. The besiegers attempted to undermine the walls and crush them with battering-rams, or to construct movable towers to rise above the parapet, and enable the soldiers in them to drive off the defenders of the walls with stones and arrows, and then take possession of them themselves. Sometimes they would attempt to storm the place by scaling the wall with ladders. If a city were strongly fortified and manned by a determined garrison, a siege was a very long affair, and the place was generally reduced at last by hunger rather than by the sword. Samaria, for instance, stood a siege of three years before Shalmaneser succeeded in taking it.

Jerusalem was very strongly fortified and the garrison was brave; but the city was so full of fugitives and apparently so ill-provisioned that the direst want soon reigned. Scenes of horror became familiar. Children cried in vain for bread, and fell down exhausted in the streets. Rich men died of hunger. Young and old lay gasping for life. There were even mothers who devoured the very children at their breasts.¹

Under these circumstances Jeremiah might account himself fortunate in sitting quietly in prison and receiving his daily rations of bread by favor of the king. But the boldness with which he still foretold the fall of Jerusalem was once again to bring his life into the utmost danger.² We can really hardly blame the princes of Judah for being driven almost to madness, when they heard Jeremiah declare in so many words to all who would listen that there were two ways open to them, one of which led to death and the other to life; the former being to remain in the city and die by sword, by famine, or by pestilence, and the latter to go over to the Chaldeans and live! What this came to was neither more nor less than publicly recommending desertion. The leaders of the people were straining all their powers to keep up the courage of their soldiers, and how could they suffer an influential man deliberately to discourage them? They were depressed and hungry enough already. Unless Jeremiah's

¹ Lamentations ii. 11, 19-21, iv. 4-10.

² Jeremiah xxxviii.

mouth could be stopped, the fall of the city was inevitable. Accordingly, they accused him before the king, and clamored for his execution. Zedekiah was not the man to resist their demands, and though personally well disposed towards Jeremiah, he gave them leave to put him to death, upon which they immediately threw him into a well. There was no water in it; but if he were not choked by the mud he would inevitably die of hunger.

Jeremiah's firmness in not shrinking even from death shows his integrity, courage, and faith, and gives him a title to our respect. But in other regards his conduct during the siege is anything but pleasing. If, in spite of his firm conviction that Jerusalem must fall, he had prayed in the ardor of his love for his poor, misguided people, we should have felt far greater sympathy with him than we do now, as he terrifies his cowed and starving countrymen with ceaseless prophecies of ruin and misery.

Jeremiah, however, was still to have the opportunity not only of repeating his threats, but of testifying to his firm belief in the restoration of Judah, for he was again rescued from the pit. His deadliest foes had indeed lost all reverence for the preacher of Yahweh's word in hatred of the man whose utterances produced such disastrous results, but there were others whose respect for God's word outweighed all other considerations. Jeremiah found an advocate with the king in a certain Ethiopian, named Ebedmelech. Hardly had this man heard of the prophet's fate when he hastened to the king, whom he found at the scene of hostilities by the Benjamite gate, and reminded him what a terrible sin it was to murder a prophet. Zedekiah, who was always easy to talk over—especially in this case, since he really esteemed Jeremiah—countermanded his former orders, and sent Ebedmelech with three¹ men to draw Jeremiah out of the pit and restore him to his former place of confinement. Upon this the prophet rewarded his deliverer by predicting that when Jerusalem fell he would be spared, because he had trusted in Yahweh.²

Shortly after this, Zedekiah privately summoned the prophet to another consultation. Were it not so melancholy to see a man devoid of principle and courage tossed backwards and forwards like a reed in the wind, there would be something almost ludicrous in this interview between the prophet and the king. "I have a question to ask you," said the

¹ In v. 10 *thirty* is a mistake for *three*.

² Jeremiah xxxix. 15-18.

prince; "hold nothing back from me." The seer knew his drift, and answered: "Will you not destroy me, if I tell you the truth? And, after all, what will my advice avail? You will not obey it." Then Zedekiah swore that he would not put him into the power of his enemies, and Jeremiah, trusting to this feeble pledge, repeated his former oracle. If the king surrendered voluntarily to Nebuchadrezzar the city would not be burned, and he and his would be spared; otherwise there was no escape for him. The craven monarch urged his dread that he might be given up to the Judæan deserters in the camp of the Chaldæans if he surrendered, and be maltreated and mocked by them. Jeremiah reassured him on this point, and repeated his advice. Would Zedekiah obey it? If the prophet had for a moment cherished such a hope, he was soon disabused by a request which stamps the king once for all as a craven. "Let nobody know what we have been speaking of! Should the princes hear that we have seen each other, and should they promise you your life if you tell them all that we have said, then answer that you only begged me not to have you thrown into the well again." Jeremiah promised, and when the princes actually questioned him on the matter, he lent himself to the king's unmanly deception.

Truly, the last king of David's house was a pitiable creature!

The siege ran the ordinary course. The Chaldæans attempted to effect a breach, the Judæans to disable their battering-rams. In front of the walls there were constant skirmishes, and behind them famine raged, with pestilence in her train.

Jeremiah in his prison, where he had many visitors, saw suspense and terror written upon every countenance, and had neither the power nor the will to cheer the hearts of his countrymen. On the contrary, he was still impelled to proclaim the certainty of Jerusalem's fall, though at the same time he cherished and repeatedly proclaimed the deep conviction that the people of Yahweh could not perish for ever.

For instance,¹ his cousin Hanameel came to him one day and offered to sell him his estate at Anathoth. The prophet, who afterwards declared that Yahweh had given him notice of Hanameel's visit, accepted the offer, and took advantage of the purchase to testify in a striking manner to his faith in Judah's restoration. He commanded his faithful

¹ Jeremiah xxxii

Baruch to inclose the deed in an earthen vessel, in the presence of his cousin and two witnesses, and so keep it safe; for Yahweh testified by that action of his servant that the time should come again when houses, fields, and vineyards should be bought and sold in Canaan.

He made this declaration in a tone of unwavering conviction; but when he had concluded the whole transaction, he himself was seized by that sense of doubt and oppression which not unfrequently tortures the heralds of truth, especially when in a state of spiritual exaltation, and led on by their own most sacred convictions, they have for a moment transcended even themselves: "O Lord!" cried the seer in prayer, "what dread things shall come to pass! The Chaldeans, as thou hast said, shall take the city! And yet thou hast bidden me buy this land." But his courage was restored when Yahweh's answer echoed through his soul: "The Chaldeans shall indeed destroy the city, because my people was guilty. But in days to come I will collect them once more, that they may be my people and I their god. Then shall they all be of one mind towards me, and shall so fear me as never again to renounce my service. As surely as Jerusalem shall be taken by the Chaldeans, so surely shall fields and houses be legally bought and sold by those who return from exile to this land in days to come."

We possess several other oracles in which Jeremiah foretells the return from the captivity and Judah's restoration not only to her former splendor, but to far greater glory yet. Probably the main contents of these oracles date from the last year of Zedekiah's reign;¹ but we cannot be at all sure that they were actually uttered in the form in which we now have them. For in the first place the prophet did not commit them to writing until after the fall of Jerusalem, when all that he had subsequently seen and felt must have colored his account of his former utterances, even without his intending it. And in the second place these special prophecies were diligently studied and freely applied by the Judeans of a later age, especially after the return from the captivity, and occasional additions were made without any scruple, so long as they were supposed to accord with Jeremiah's spirit.

Now one of these discourses, which contains a description of Israel's religious condition in the Messianic age, which was to follow close upon the accomplishment of the divine

¹ Jeremiah xxx., xxxi., xxxiii.

judgment, takes a loftier flight than almost anything else that ever passed the lips of a prophet. It runs as follows: ¹ "Behold, the time comes, says Yahweh, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Judah and with the house of Israel; not such as the covenant which I made with them when I redeemed them out of Egypt, and which they have broken; but this is the covenant I will make with them after the days of misery: I will write my law in their hearts and will be their god, and they shall be my people, and they shall no longer exhort one another and say 'know Yahweh!' for they shall all of them know me, from the least to the greatest, for I will forgive their iniquity and remember their sins no more. Thus says Yahweh, who makes the sun for a light by day, the moon and the stars to shine by night, who troubles the sea till its waves roar, whose name is Yahweh of war-hosts: 'When all these cease to obey me, then shall Israel's seed cease to be my people.' Even thus speaks Yahweh. 'If the heaven can be measured above and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, then will I reject the whole race of Israel because of its sins.'"

For an after generation it was consoling to study the oracles of the one prophet of Zedekiah's time who had foretold Jerusalem's fall and subsequent restoration, but the impression made by the man of God upon his hearers, with the dread reality before their very eyes, was as far from consoling as it well could be. We can almost see Jeremiah in his prison, or rather in the open prison-court, generally accompanied by Baruch and some few other of his faithful friends or relatives! From time to time, as the day wears on, certain men of Jerusalem and other Judæans come to consult him. How scared and squalid they look, pinched by famine and pursued by fear! Their relatives have fallen a prey to want, or pestilence, or the sword of the enemy, and the future is full of terror. They are talking together of the ghastly details of the day's occurrences. Then from time to time the prophet raises his head, especially when he hears how the fanatics still promise deliverance, or when the battle-cry of the assaulting Chaldæans and the crash of the blocks of stone hurled from their catapults penetrates to his prison. The sombre fire gleams in his eyes as bitter reproaches and terrific threats stream from his lips once more. His hearers are crushed with terror! One bursts into wild lamentations, another breathes a prayer to Yahweh for deliverance, others seek

¹ Jeremiah xxxi. 31-37.

relief from their depression by rushing to the post of battle and murmur, "May Yahweh frustrate all these fearful words!" Sometimes a fierce glance falls upon the prophet from some enthusiast who has come to hear with his own ears whether the man of God whom the king's favor protects can really dare to utter words which are like a consuming fire for Israel. But the greater number are simply plunged into terror and despair by his predictions. Then why do they return the following day? Perhaps because, when stricken with fear, we find a sort of fascination in multiplying images of terror, or because Jeremiah's hearers found his words in harmony with their own convictions. And this was the very reason why his influence sapped the courage of his hearers so fatally, and sent them away more spiritless and depressed than ever. Even when he looked on, past the fall of Jerusalem, into the future, and spoke of the days of joy which the restored and converted Israel should taste when it had once more become Yahweh's own people and he its god, even then for one here or there who felt the consolation there were many who did not in the least understand him, and were unmoved by all he said. The immediate future was all they cared about.

At last, after standing a siege of a year and a half, Jerusalem fell. In vain had the besieged broken down their very houses and palaces to stop the breaches in the walls with the stones.¹ In the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign, on the ninth day of the fourth month, the lower city was taken by storm. The inner wall still opposed the progress of the foe, and the upper city might have held out for some time. The fanatical prophets were doubtless ready to declare as loudly as ever that Yahweh would at least defend his sanctuary from pollution by the heathen. But Zedekiah and his nobles gave up the conflict, and, accompanied by most of the men under arms, fled from the city under cover of night; but they found no safety in flight, for they were pursued and captured. The city was now defenceless, and Nebuchadrezzar's generals took possession of it while he himself was at Riblah in Syria.

For a whole month Jerusalem was given up to the soldiery, who endeavored to compensate themselves for the privations they had suffered during the siege. The treasures of the temple and the palace, including the great laver and the pillars Boaz and Jachin, were carried away. The two chief priests, the principal generals, five distinguished officers of the court, the minister of war, and sixty nobles who were taken

¹ Jeremiah xxxiii. 4.

as the representatives of the people, were carried off to Riblah and there put to death. Three thousand and twenty-three families of Judah had already undergone the sentence of exile before the city was taken, and eight hundred and thirty-two were now added from Jerusalem.¹ A fearful lot was reserved for Zedekiah. His sons were put to death in his sight; then his eyes were put out, and he was covered with chains and carried off to Babylon, where he died in a dungeon. Jeremiah's prediction that Yahweh would visit him again, and that he would have an honorable burial, was never fulfilled.

Such was the fall of Jerusalem in the year 586 B.C.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REMNANT IN JUDÆA.

2 KINGS XXV. 22-26; JEREMIAH XL.-XLIII. 7a.

THE population of Judah had been woefully thinned by famine, pestilence, and war. Cities and villages were in ruins. Fields lay untilled for want of labor. Commerce was at a stand-still. The country was rendered unsafe by bands of marauding Judæans, who had been driven from house and home. Most men of any distinction or ability were in exile. There was imminent danger of total anarchy. The Chaldæan king, however, did his best to save the country from this fate; for otherwise he would never have been able to secure the tribute he expected from it. Accordingly, he appointed Gedaliah, a Judæan of noble family, as governor. This was the man whose father, Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, had played a prominent part in Josiah's reformation, and had protected Jeremiah against the rage of the prophets.² The choice was a very happy one. Gedaliah was a man of peace, and seems to have inspired such remarkable confidence by his personal character, that several bands of outlaws voluntarily submitted to him and dispersed. He found means of persuading many who had taken up a wandering life to settle down again in the cities and get in the remnants of the grape

¹ Jeremiah lii. 28, 29. In v. 28, *seventh* should be *seventeenth*.

² 2 Kings xxii. 12-14; Jeremiah xxvi. 24.

and olive harvest. Many of the Judæans, who had already left the country, perceiving that Nebuchadrezzar had still left something that might be called a people of Judah, and that Gedaliah was established as the governor, now returned to their country.

At Mizpah, the residence of the governor, Jeremiah also settled. There are two traditions as to his fate after the taking of Jerusalem, both of which are preserved in the book that bears his name. According to one account,¹ he was kept a prisoner for a month after the capture of the city, until Nebuchadrezzar himself arrived, and was then set at liberty. According to the other,² which is far more probable, he was carried off with other prisoners to Ramah, where his chains were struck off at the command of Nebuzar-adan, the king's plenipotentiary. In any case, he was treated by the Chaldeans with great distinction. This was very natural. His exhortations to peace and submission had very nearly cost him his life in Jerusalem at the hands of the zealots; but now they secured him no little consideration with the enemy, who had doubtless heard of him from the deserters.

The captain of the life-guard accordingly signified to the man of God, with marks of profound respect, that he entirely agreed with his teaching. It was just as he had said; Yahweh had punished Judah for its sins. In the king's name he now gave the prophet his choice; if he liked to go with them to Babylon, he should be well cared for there, and should live in wealth and honor. If he preferred to stay in his own land, he might go to Gedaliah or settle wherever he liked. Jeremiah chose to stay, as we should have expected from his deep love for his people. The sacrifice he made was great, for the favor of Nebuchadrezzar entitled him to expect an easier life in Babylon than he could ever hope for in his own defenceless land, and his people had certainly put him under no obligations to them. But the man who had braved his people's hatred rather than be faithless to his god was proof against the seductions of rest and honor, and determined to stay and comfort those whom he had hitherto been compelled to reprove and threaten almost without ceasing.

And the miserable remnant was in sore need of comfort!

The first four elegies in the book of Lamentations reveal the emotions of many a heart after the fall of Jerusalem. An ancient though mistaken tradition ascribes these alphabetical poems to Jeremiah. But they constantly speak of the fall of

¹ Jeremiah xxxix. 11-14.

² Jeremiah xl. 1.

Jerusalem in a tone of bitter surprise, which would be more than strange in one who had long predicted the event. Jeremiah would hardly have prayed, as the author of the first elegy does,¹ that all the foes of Judah might be punished for their conduct towards Yahweh's people; or reproached Egypt, as the author of the fourth song does,² for not having supported the Judeans. Least of all would he have joined in the lamentation, raised by the writer of the second elegy,³ that the prophets had no more visions. For he himself was not without a vision, and he can only have rejoiced to see the others hold their peace in confusion. Doubtless Jeremiah, with his sensitive and tender disposition, grieved deeply over his people's misery; but his opinions as to its causes on the one hand, and its fruits on the other, caused him to use very different language on the subject from that of others who did not share his views. The five poems in the book of Lamentations all differ, the first four as well as the fifth, in authorship and even in date.

It was natural enough that the devastation of Jerusalem should be the subject of numerous elegies. "How deserted is the city that once was full of people! She that was great amongst peoples is now like a widow. She who was a princess amongst the provinces is now a vassal. The city that was called the perfection of beauty, the joy of all the earth, is covered now with scorn. The travellers that see her ruins shake their heads upon her. Yahweh, in his wrath, has covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud, cast down the glory of Israel from heaven to earth, and thought not of the footstool of his feet in the day of his anger."⁴ Before their eyes the poets saw the appalling fact that the king, "the breath of their nostrils, Yahweh's anointed, the man in whose shadow they had hoped to find rest," was taken captive; that Judah's princes, who had once been "purer than snow and whiter than milk, ruddier in body than rubies and more shining than sapphires," were now "blackened and shrivelled in skin," while priests and prophets had been murdered in the sanctuary and public worship had come to an end.⁵ And besides all this the misery of the thought that it was all their own fault, coupled with the contempt of their enemies,⁶ rendered the memory of their glorious past a torture to them. And yet they must thank Yahweh for not having utterly destroyed

¹ Lamentations i. 21, 22.

² Lamentations ii. 9.

³ Lamentations i. 4, ii. 20, iv. 7, 8, 20.

⁴ Lamentations iv. 17.

⁵ Lamentations i. 1, ii. 1, 15.

⁶ Lamentations i. 5, 14, iv. 12, 13.

them,¹ and for having left them the hope that he might some day think of his people in mercy once more.

Of course the Judæans entertained anything but friendly feelings towards the Chaldæans; but they were more bitter yet against their own neighbors and relatives the Edomites, who had not only yielded to the overpowering forces of the Chaldæans and made common cause with them, but had even exulted in the sight of Jerusalem's fall. It was probably soon after this event that a certain prophet, otherwise unknown to us, of the name of Obadiah, uttered the oracle against the Edomites which is preserved in the little book that bears his name. He inveighs against them vehemently, and reproaches them with having taken a part in the devastation of Jerusalem, with having shared the feelings of the Chaldæans on the day of its fall, and even with having destroyed the fugitives. In revenge he threatens them with destruction on the day when Yahweh reveals the greatness of his might.

Jeremiah mourned in common with all the rest; for he loved his people passionately, and his heart was torn with anguish by the misery into which they were plunged. At Ramah he had seen the troops of captives led away to a distant land amidst heart-rending lamentations, and when he thought of that sad scene he cried,² with a reference to Rachel's tomb which stood at Ramah, "Thus says Yahweh, A voice goes up from Ramah, of bitter weeping and lamentation. Rachel is mourning over her sons and refuses to be comforted, because they are no more. But thus says Yahweh, Weep not nor wail so bitterly, for the blessed fruits of your suffering shall surely come, and your children shall return from the land of the enemy. There is hope for your posterity, and your sons shall come back to their land." Even before the fall of Jerusalem he had been permitted to reveal the prospect of Judah's restoration and the establishment of Yahweh's kingdom, and now his god commanded him to write down all that he had then uttered in the hearing of some few only. He had been compelled formerly to provide against any risk of misunderstanding by accompanying every joyful prophecy with the emphatic declaration that the immediate future was dark beyond measure, but now that the night had come he need qualify his words of comfort no longer. "The time will come, says Yahweh, when I shall raise up a righteous scion of the house of David, who shall reign in prosperity and shall maintain justice in the land.

¹ Lamentations iii. 22.

² Jeremiah xxxi. 15-17.

Then shall Israel and Judah be redeemed and dwell in safety ; and he shall be called by this name, ' Yahweh-our-righteousness ! ' In those days they shall no more swear by Yahweh who brought Israel out of Egypt, but by Yahweh who brought Israel back from all the countries of the earth to his own land." ¹

What a joy it must have been to Jeremiah, after denouncing his people for some forty years, to be permitted at last to console them ! Hitherto he had always destroyed, but now he was building up. Hitherto he had seen nothing but faces of terror or indignation as he spoke, now he could wake his people's dying hopes and trace reviving courage in the looks of those he cheered. How we long to see him spending the rest of his days in peace as his people's comforter, and departing in the joyous expectation that Jerusalem would be rebuilt !

But alas ! the days of peace which Judah now enjoyed were few.

Four or five years had passed since the devastation of Jerusalem, when some officers, amongst whom was a certain Johanan, came to Gedaliah and told him that the king of Ammon had incited Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah, a descendant of the ex-royal family of Judah, to murder him. Johanan recommended him to make away with Ishmael secretly, and so avoid more serious mischief. But Gedaliah put no faith in the accusation.

He soon learned to his cost that he had been too unsuspecting. Johanan was right. Ishmael was indeed plotting against the governor's life. What his motive may have been we cannot tell. Did his own royal blood make him resent Gedaliah's appointment as governor ? Was he urged on by the dream of Yahweh's redeeming Israel by his hand, and restoring the kingdom of his forefather David ? To us such an expectation seems monstrous, and so indeed it was. But fanaticism is blind ; and the prophet Ezekiel teaches us ² that there really were inhabitants of the desolated Judah who had strung themselves up to the belief reflected in their cry : " If Abraham, who was but one, inherited this land, why should not we, who are so many, receive it likewise ? " And the prophet's only answer was : " Do you think to receive the land as an inheritance while you eat food with the blood in it and serve idols, while you pour out blood and practise vio-

¹ Jeremiah xxiii. 5, 6-8.

² Ezekiel xxxiii. 24-29.

lence, and commit adultery? Of a truth Yahweh will smite the inhabitants with the sword, or give them up to the beasts of prey, and slay those who hide themselves in caves by the pestilence, till the land is bereft of its people and all men know that Yahweh, and none other, has laid it waste, because of all the sins of the people." These words of the prophet are but another proof of the very small influence exercised upon a seer's anticipations for the future by considerations of ordinary prudence and common-sense, and show how completely all else was dominated by his conception of the religious conditions of the problem. Ezekiel does not say that it would be the height of folly to rise against a foe that would be as a hundred to one, but simply that the inhabitants of Judæa are too wicked to deserve the land as a possession. It was not at all out of the question, therefore, for these people themselves, who were not conscious of being so utterly godless, to anticipate success in a rebellion.

But whatever may have moved this Ishmael to his conspiracy, its effect was simply to plunge the country into misery; nor did he himself reap any fruits from it. In the seventh month—we are not told the year—perhaps on occasion of the Feast of Tabernacles, Ishmael came with ten officers to visit Gedaliah at Mizpah. He met with a hospitable reception, and in return he murdered the unsuspecting governor, together with his adherents and the Chaldean garrison. Then he closed the city gates to keep the affair secret, enticed a caravan of eighty pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem from northern Israel within the walls, and slew them all except ten, who bought their lives by disclosing certain pits filled with provisions. At last he fled to the land of the Ammonites, taking with him the princesses and other distinguished Jews from Mizpah. But meanwhile the news had spread in spite of Ishmael's precautions; Johanan pursued him, he was almost completely deserted, and finally escaped with only eight companions.

So the fruits of his crime eluded him, while the mischief he had done his country was irreparable. Johanan and his followers, together with all the people of Mizpah whom they had rescued from the power of Ishmael, were afraid of remaining in the country after what had happened, for they feared the Chaldeans would inflict a fierce revenge upon the innocent, since the guilty were no longer to be found. So they set out at once for Egypt.

But when they came to Bethlehem they paused. It was so

nard to leave their fatherland! The chiefs came to Jeremiah, who had doubtless been one of those carried off by Ishmael, and besought him to pray for them and consult Yahweh. Jeremiah consented, and promised to tell them faithfully all that Yahweh should reveal; while they, on their side, solemnly promised to obey the word of Yahweh, whether with or against their own desires.

Ten whole days Jeremiah waited for a revelation from his god. This is far from unnatural. It was a matter of extreme difficulty to decide upon the wisest course; and though Jeremiah was firmly persuaded that he was waiting for a direct revelation from Yahweh, what he really had to do was to form a decided opinion of his own. This time of suspense and indecision must have been extremely painful to him. He was doubtless in deep depression. His hopes for the immediate future had been dashed to the ground at a single stroke. Gedaliah's mournful end, which he had foreseen as little as any one, was a heavy blow to him. What was to be done now? There was but too good cause to fear the Chaldæans; but, on the other hand, the prophet cherished the profound conviction that Yahweh would protect the innocent.

This latter consideration finally prevailed. Jeremiah had recovered from the shock and was himself again. He called Johanan and the rest before him, and commanded them, in Yahweh's name, to remain in the land and not to flee to Egypt. Yahweh, he said, would take pity on them and defend them against the wrath of the king of Babylon. He further declared, with vehement emphasis, that if they disobeyed Yahweh and fled to Egypt, famine and pestilence would pursue them there, and they would be plunged into a sea of misery.

The stress which he laid upon this portion of his oracle makes us suspect that he had reason to know how strongly his advice was opposed to the wishes of his comrades, who had of course been considering the matter themselves during all these days. The answer they gave to Jeremiah revealed at once how widely their conclusion differed from his. They denounced him as a liar, and said he had invented the oracle himself, at the instigation of his friend Baruch, who was a traitor, and intended to put them all into the power of the Chaldæans.

Baruch had in all probability given them good grounds for suspecting his influence in the production of Jeremiah's oracle. He had always been true to Jeremiah in every trial and

danger, and there can be no question that he was a man of lofty character and deep and earnest faith. We may also infer that he was not of a passionate and impulsive nature, for he does not appear to have been susceptible of the prophetic furor. Such a man would probably be less completely crushed by what had happened, and would retain more even self-possession than the fiery Jeremiah. His faith in Yahweh's protecting care did not desert him. We may take for granted that during these ten days he frequently conversed with Jeremiah, and strove to dispel his master's gloom and depression. The oracle which finally resulted from Jeremiah's deliberations was therefore really, to some extent, the work of Baruch; and since the latter had no doubt already expressed himself in the same sense to others, his influence was naturally recognized in Jeremiah's response. Now in those days people could hardly understand that different men might hold exactly opposite convictions in equally good faith; so they denounced Jeremiah as a forger of lies and Baruch as a traitor.

Jeremiah was pronounced a lying prophet, but nevertheless his companions thought it a matter of great importance to have him with them still, and accordingly they carried him off to Egypt, where we shall soon meet him again.

Jeremiah had spoken in faith when he said, "Yahweh will protect you if you remain in the land;" but the result proved the conduct of his terrified countrymen in rejecting his counsel and seeking refuge abroad to be quite as sensible as his own advice, for we learn that five years after the devastation of Jerusalem Nebuchadrezzar again carried off many hundred Judæans into captivity.¹ That he did so because of Gedaliah's murder is not certain, since the month only and not the year of that event is given,² and we cannot therefore compare the dates; but it is highly probable that the deportation was the consequence of the murder. It might have been foreseen; for the king of Babylon could never allow his governor and the garrison he commanded to be murdered unavenged. Such a deed amounted to rebellion, and it was quite in the spirit of the times to hold the people in general, many of whom had doubtless conspired with Ishmael, responsible for what had occurred, and to inflict a corresponding punishment.

Judæa was accordingly chastised once more. The most distinguished and able inhabitants were carried away, and thus the exaggerated statement of the book of Kings,³ made with

¹ Jeremiah lii. 30. ² Jeremiah xli. 1; 2 Kings xxv. 25. ³ 2 Kings xxv. 12.

reference to an earlier occasion, that none but the poorest of the people had been left to till the fields and vineyards, was gradually fulfilled almost to the letter. The land was nearly depopulated. Beasts of prey began to multiply. The border districts were seized by the neighboring peoples. The Edomites in particular appropriated a great part of the territory of Judah. To rebuild Jerusalem was out of the question. There were so few inhabitants in the district now that the very altar of the temple was left in fragments, and jackals dwelt amongst the ruins of the former capital.¹

We must not think of Judæa, however, as an absolutely desolated wilderness. There were men still left in it who not only worked for their bread, but cherished their own thoughts, hopes, and fears, and still honored Yahweh. Indeed, we possess a poem which may be attributed with high probability to one of those still left behind after the third deportation. It is the fifth elegy in the book of Lamentations. The poet mourns over the long continuance of Judah's misery: "Why shouldst thou utterly forget us, O Yahweh, and forsake us for so long time?"² and complains of being oppressed by "servants,"³ which can hardly be a reference to Gedaliah. All this appears to indicate a date after the third and final chastisement. The whole poem is a bitter lamentation over the mournful condition of the land and all its inhabitants, and closes with the prayer,⁴—

Bring us back to thyself and restore us, O Yahweh!
Renew our days as of old.
For why shouldst thou utterly forsake us,
And be wroth with us beyond measure?

The hope of a restoration to former splendor, which speaks so faintly in this song, found more powerful utterance in the words of other Judæans. Perhaps we still possess an example of this firmer faith in a prophecy contained in the book of Isaiah (chapters xxiv.—xxvii.), the writer of which most likely lived in Judæa after the final deportation. Unfortunately this discourse is very obscure, and we must admit that we cannot determine with certainty the time or place of its delivery, or rather of its composition.

The prophecy contains one verse, however, which we must not pass over in silence, since it has excited a great deal of interest and attention. It seems to indicate that the man of God who wrote it looked forward to a resurrection of the

¹ Lamentations v. 18.

² v. 8.

³ Lamentations v. 20.

⁴ Vs. 21, 22.

dead, though we search in vain elsewhere for any indications of such a hope amongst the Israelites till long after the captivity.¹ The author of this oracle cries in triumph: "Oh that Yahweh's dead might live, that my corpses might arise! Awake and rejoice ye that dwell in the underworld! For your dew is dew of light, and the shades shall walk on the earth!" The prophet here addresses the shades, and especially those of his countrymen whom he calls "his corpses" and "Yahweh's dead." They will live again; for when Yahweh pours out his blessings nothing can be left lifeless. In reading this outpouring, we must bear in mind that the prophet is giving utterance to no general conviction of the age; and, indeed, was himself so far from having attained to any definite conception of a future resurrection, that only a few lines before² he had comforted the Judæans under oppression by the thought that the dead live not again, and the shades arise no more. In his cry, "Oh that the dead might live," we have an outburst of the heart, a momentary longing of the soul. If in the day of his glory Yahweh of war-hosts "would swallow up death for ever, wipe the tears out of every eye, and take away his people's sorrow from all the earth,"³ oh! that he would but raise the dead of his people to life again! Thus understood, the verse is very remarkable as the first instance of a pious Israelite being swept in the fervor of his prophetic utterance into the expression of a longing that the pious dead might rise again.

This oracle predicts the fall of a mighty city that had oppressed Judah, and announces the future glory of Israel; and if, as we have supposed, it was uttered in Judah and during the captivity, it certainly cannot date from the early years of that period, for then the prophets must have held their peace in shame, and the pressure of immediate necessities was too great to admit of such high-wrought expectations.

The remnant of the people, broken and impoverished, were compelled to earn their scant and painful subsistence under foreign governors, and to pay tribute also. But half a century later, when a little prosperity was here and there restored, the stir amongst the Babylonian exiles must have produced an effect in Judah too, and waked a corresponding hope in many a bosom there.

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 528-531.
² v. 14.

³ Isaiah xxvi. 19.
⁴ Isaiah xxv. 8.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EXILES.

JEREMIAH XLIII. 7b-XLIV.; PSALMS CXXXVII., XIV.,¹ XC.

THE Judæans were now scattered in every quarter under heaven. No doubt a considerable number of families had left the country upon Nebuchadrezzar's first approach. Subsequently to the first two deportations some of these fugitives had returned, partly out of love of their fatherland and partly because they were exposed in other countries to the very same dangers they had left Canaan to escape. But now that Gedaliah had been murdered and Judæa depopulated for the third time, we may be sure that there were few who ventured to return. All alike saw the necessity of yielding to fate, though submission must have been fraught with far more suffering to some than to others. And while many settled down in the foreign land and were gradually assimilated by the people of the place, others preserved their nationality.

Concerning some few groups of the voluntary or involuntary exiles we can still recover certain details.

First, let us turn our attention to Egypt, whither, we may be sure, numbers of Judæans had already fled before Jeremiah's terrified companions sought a refuge there on Gedaliah's murder. This latter band of fugitives arrived at Taphanes or Daphne, a city on the borders of Egypt, taking Jeremiah with them, although they had thrown his counsel to the winds and declared him a deceiver. At Daphne the prophet could not refrain from uttering the word of his god once more. He illustrated his oracle by a symbolical action, taking some large stones and burying them in the ground in the open space before the royal palace, and then denouncing Egypt as follows: "Thus says Yahweh, I will bring Nebuchadrezzar to this place, and he shall pitch his tent above these stones, and shall smite Egypt, and shall burn the temples of the idols with fire, and then go back again unscathed."

This was not a very friendly return for the hospitality which he and his companions received; but we need not wonder that the preacher of repentance, carried to Egypt against his will, and more afflicted than any of the others by the idolatry he

¹ Psalms lili.

was forced to witness, indulged in anything but gentle feelings towards the land in which he found himself.

Rather than condemn his harshness, let us admire his invincible determination! He was still resolved to speak. After preaching for nearly half a century he had been denounced by his countrymen as a liar, and carried off to a country in which he was deeply convinced that nothing but misery awaited him. Surely, to go on preaching to these men in the same strain as before must have appeared a hopeless task, if ever there was one; and yet he persevered unhesitatingly in his course, though the chasm between himself and the Judæan refugees was growing wider and wider.

How wide it was appeared especially on occasion of a general conference of Judæans from every part of Egypt. They came not only from the frontier towns of Daphne and Migdol, but from Noph or Memphis, and Pathros, which appears to mean Upper Egypt. They met to consider their common interests, and it appears that the question of going back to Canaan was raised and discussed by them; at any rate, Jeremiah himself mentions their hearty desire to return.¹

This assembly was greeted by Jeremiah with the usual denunciation. He reminded the Judæans of the mournful past, and gave his well-known explanation of it; namely, that Manasseh's idolatries, which had driven Yahweh to the irrevocable decree to chastise his people, were the chief cause of Judah's misery.² If only they had learnt repentance at last! But alas! they were the same as ever, and still served the idols. The prophet attacked the women with more especial energy, for the worship of the Queen of Heaven had been very common amongst them formerly, and was now reviving. He ended his discourse by declaring that so far from returning to Canaan all these godless ones should perish wretchedly.

Hardly had he ceased when he was overwhelmed with a volley of retorts, especially from the women, who pleaded that they had not worshipped the Queen of Heaven without the knowledge of their husbands; so that if there was any harm in it the latter were as guilty as themselves. But they were far from admitting that there was any harm in it. Nay, experience urged them to continue the practice; for as long as Judah had worshipped Astarte there had been peace and plenty in the land, and all their misery dated from the neglect of her service.

¹ Jeremiah xlii. 14.

² Compare p. 306.

So even amongst the Judæans, whose heart still cleaved to the fatherland, the heathen school could raise its head unabashed! No wonder. If the result was really to decide which conception of religion was the best, then the heathenizing party was right; for the triumph of the Mosaic principles had marked the beginning of Judah's woe. But we of course cannot accept this verdict, for we do not regard Judah's disasters as the punishment of either Manasseh's or Josiah's religious practices. On the other hand we respect Jeremiah and those who agreed with him for holding fast by their religion even when the event seemed to disprove its efficacy; for it shows that their faith did not really rest upon an inference from the course of events, but was supported by their hearts and consciences even in the face of the most grievous disappointments. But we need not wonder that the Judæans who had fled to Egypt threw the result of Josiah's reformation in the prophet's teeth, and that he could find no answer that convinced them. He simply repeated his assertions and his threats more vehemently than ever, but without result. We cannot say whether his prophecy, that King Hophra would meet the same fate at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar as had already overtaken Zedekiah, was ever fulfilled or not.

Nor can we tell how long Jeremiah went on working in Egypt. If the last chapter in the book called after him were really from his hand, it would show that he was still living in the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiakin's captivity, and therefore lived at least twenty-two years in Egypt. But since this chapter is not his, we are entirely without means of knowing how long he remained there. He was very old, however, when he came, and we may well suppose that his exile was of short duration, and that he soon laid down his weary head in rest.

One or two of the Ecclesiastical Fathers tell us that he was stoned to death by the Judæans; but a tradition of so late a date affords us no safe basis of belief. In an age when the crown of martyrdom was actually coveted by many Christians, and was regarded by all as a sure pledge of the inheritance of heavenly bliss, it seemed a natural supposition that so great a prophet as Jeremiah must have fallen at the hands of his foes. It is highly improbable, however, that this was really his end. The Jews had so thoroughly learned the art of respecting the preacher and disregarding his preaching, that Jeremiah ran little personal risk. We are safe in picturing him amongst his countrymen and yet almost alone, filled with intensest in-

terest in the fate of the Judæans and yet ever more and more estranged from them, honored as a man of God and yet never obeyed or even really understood. Though he looked at the dark side of everything, and was shocked and grieved by all his surroundings, he did not die at last uncheered by hope. Yahweh would raise up Israel again. He could not reject his people for ever. Even from amongst these wicked Judæans whom he saw around him in Egypt, some, though only few, would return to Canaan, and all would learn that he, Jeremiah, had preached the word of Yahweh in truth.¹

How great a name he had amongst the Jews of a later generation we shall see hereafter, and it is probable that the very men in whose midst he had spent the closing years of his life honored him highly after his death. This respect was doubtless shared by the disciples of the heathen school, for though they refused to relinquish the service of other gods at the command of a prophet of Yahweh, they nevertheless regarded him as a holy man. The adherents of the Mosaic school, however, were numerous in Egypt, for since the reformation of Josiah they had constituted the great majority of the nation; and it was more especially by them that Jeremiah was held in honor. For them his mission had assuredly not been fruitless. Though they only half adopted his gloomy views, and yet had not the strength to believe as he did in Judah's future, still they were faithful to their god, and half a century or more afterwards they doubtless did their part in effecting the restoration of the Jewish State.

Let us now transport ourselves from Egypt to Babylonia, whither on three occasions Nebuchadrezzar had transported bands of Judæans. Of Jehoiakin's companions, but of them alone, we know the destination rather more particularly. We find them settled on the banks of the Chebar or Chaboras,² a river that empties itself into the Euphrates, not far from Ciresium; but when the Chaldæan prince, upon two subsequent occasions, determined to transport thousands of Judæans from their country, he would naturally assign them some other dwelling-place, for if these turbulent vassals had all been settled together, they might soon have endangered the tranquillity of the kingdom. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that though Ezekiel tells us how he received the news of Jerusalem's fall,³ he never mentions the arrival of any fresh bands of exiles. We are therefore left in ignorance of the destina-

¹ Jeremiah xliv. 14, 28.

² Ezekiel i. 1-3.

³ Ezekiel v. xlii. 21.

tion of Zedekiah's fellow-captives, and of those who were carried away after Gedaliah's murder. We are by no means bound to suppose that they were all taken with the booty to Babylon itself, as Zedekiah was. Indeed, this is highly improbable. What should Nebuchadrezzar want with all these malcontents in and about his capital? He had transported others of his subjects besides the Judæans; and since a great proportion of his immeasurable kingdom consisted of provinces which had been conquered after bloody wars, there was no lack of depopulated districts to which he could transfer them.

We must therefore suppose that in three or more portions of the kingdom, perhaps far removed from each other, thinly-populated districts were assigned to the Judæans, just as the territory of Israel itself had formerly been made over by the Assyrian princes to colonies of their subjects transported from elsewhere. The Judæans therefore were not slaves, but were put into a position in which they could earn their bread and even rise to prosperity, if only they could make up their minds to keep quiet; and when we read of a certain prophet named Ahab, "whom the king of Babylon roasted at the fire,"¹ we are safe in supposing that he incurred his fate by his own seditious conduct. But of course the Judæans were subject to Chaldean governors, who were doubtless often guilty of extortion, and treated the exiles with a severity which gave them only too good cause to complain of oppression,² though the weight of these sufferings would vary in different places. In general, the exiles enjoyed as much freedom as they could have expected in their own land after its conquest by Nebuchadrezzar. They were permitted to build houses, cultivate lands, plant vineyards, and engage in commerce, and were left in undisturbed intercourse with each other and the free exercise of their religion. They even had their own elders and nobles, who watched over their common interests and decided their disputes; and it was probably not long before they recognized a common head, who represented them at court. At any rate, we find an arrangement of this kind in full operation at a later date.

The fortunate turn in Jehoiakin's fate³ proves that in some cases captives were treated with marked favor by the Chaldean princes. When Jehoiakin had sighed in captivity for thirty-seven years he was released by king Evil-merodach, and was honored above all the other deposed monarchs who were

¹ Jeremiah xxix. 21, 22.

² Isaiah xlii. 22, xlvii. 6, li. 23

³ 2 Kings xxv. 27-30; Jeremiah lii. 31-34

in the palace at Babylon, for he ate at the king's table till the day of his death. In him, therefore, his former subjects would find an influential advocate in time of need.

The Judæans who found a dwelling-place in Asia were the brethren of those who settled in Egypt, and we cannot wonder to see the heathen school raising its head amongst the former as well as the latter. The same views which led the exiles in Egypt to honor the Queen of Heaven induced those on the banks of the Chebar and elsewhere to sacrifice their children to Molech, to make stone and wooden images of gods, and, in a word, to assimilate their own worship as nearly as possible to that of other peoples. The discourses of Ezekiel place it beyond doubt that none of these practices were rare amongst the exiles.¹

Yet the Mosaic school retained its supremacy here also, and gave triumphant proof of its vital strength. The views of the heathen school concerning the past: "All our misery is due to the neglect of the worship of Astarte, Molech, and Baal," were forced to yield to those of the Mosaic party: "All the people's misery is the result of its desertion of Yahweh, and especially of its worship of strange gods and images." This became the only accepted and orthodox interpretation of Israel's history, and we may still see how its details were worked out in the recast of the old traditions which was made during the captivity, and which we now possess in various historical books of the Old Testament. A word more on this subject.

In speaking of the book of Deuteronomy,² we remarked that the first four chapters and some of the concluding ones formed no part of the book of law discovered by Hilkiah, but were subsequently added to it. Now this introduction and conclusion, which imply the people's misery as a present fact, were written in the early years of the captivity, or perhaps even before the devastation of the city and the temple; and the hand of their author may be constantly traced throughout the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. The question of how these books were put together is a very complicated one, and in many respects is still unsolved; but it is certain, at any rate, as we have frequently observed already,³ that the view they take of the past conforms throughout to that of Deuteronomy. They represent the whole history of

¹ Ezekiel xvi. 20, 21, xx. 30, 31, xxiii. 37-39.

² See p. 330.

³ See vol. i. pp. 341, 342, 350 ff., 421; vol. ii., pp. 75, 83 f., 86, 100 f.

Israel as a succession of departures from Yahweh's law, followed by repentance and conversion. First comes Moses with the law of Deuteronomy, the observance of which is maintained by Joshua; but hardly has the latter closed his eyes when the people desert Yahweh and serve other gods. The consequence is that they are plunged into misery and then repent, but only for a time. Samuel, David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and Josiah are the great names upon which the writer loves to dwell, while he notes with pain that even pious kings like Asa and Jehoshaphat did not remove the *bamahs*.¹ The captivity of northern Israel was due to the sin of Jeroboam, and the fall of Judah to Manasseh's idolatry. The historian pictures all pious men of whatever period as clad in the costume of his own age, and seeks the cause of every disaster in the worship of strange gods and images.

This is a very inadequate view to take, and shows that the writer's knowledge of the past was extremely defective; but it makes us thoroughly acquainted with his own religious ideas. He differs widely from the greatest prophets, who would have given far more prominence to the moral demands of Yahweh. He belongs to the Mosaic school, it is true, but displays the strong priestly tendencies already discernible in Josiah's reformation.

The favorable reception amongst the exiles which has secured the preservation of these books shows that the writer was not alone in his conception of the people's history, but wrote in a spirit shared by many, and found a ready echo for his words.

The Mosaic school, then, survived the shock which the people's sufferings after Josiah's reformation and the fall of the city and temple brought upon it. Its victory over the heathenizing party was decisive.

Had the remnant of Israel gone over to the heathen school it must inevitably have melted into the tribes amongst which it was placed; but since the followers of Moses had succeeded in impressing the stamp of their religious convictions upon the hearts of the exiles, the continued existence of an Israelite nationality was secured, and a restoration of the people rendered possible. But this very circumstance aggravated the sufferings of the exiles. Not only did their religious zeal and their love for everything Israelitish tend to bring them into collision with the authorities, and so expose them to oppression, but they were never able to feel at home in the

¹ 1 Kings xv. 14, xxii. 43.

strange land, and perpetually yearned for their own country ; for however well off they may have been in many respects in the land of their exile, their hearts still clung to Canaan and to Zion, where Yahweh dwelt. This is touchingly expressed in the opening verses of the following poem,¹ which was composed after the return from captivity, and breathes the remembrance of past sufferings, together with a fierce spirit of vengeance upon Israel's foes : —

By the rivers of Babylon we sat down
And wept when we thought of Zion ;
We hanged our harps on the willows.
For our foes required a song from us,
Our tormentors a strain of joy :
" Sing us one of your Zion-songs ! "
How can we sing one of Yahweh's songs in a land of strangers ?
If I forget thee, Jerusalem, may my hand forget every strain of
the harp,²
May my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I remember
thee not,
And exalt not Jerusalem above my supremest joy !
O Yahweh ! remember Edom's sons,
How they cried in the day of Jerusalem's fall :
" Cast it down, cast it down to the very foundations ! "
O daughter of Babylon, thou destroyer !
Blessed be he who requites thee for what thou hast done to us !
Blessed be he who seizes thy little ones and dashes them against
the rocks !

Poets often find inspiration in the extremity of grief, and many poems were doubtless composed amongst the exiles, while some at least were afterwards taken into the collection of Psalms. But since these poems were in many cases worked over afterwards, in order to adapt them to the altered circumstances of the people, or make them suitable for use in the temple service, they are now very difficult to recognize. There are some of our psalms, however, the origin of which may be assigned with considerable probability to the period of the captivity. Such, for example, is a poem which appears twice in our collection, with slight modifications,³ and runs as follows : —

Fools say to themselves that there is no God ;
Their lives are evil and hateful,
Not one of them does well.
Yahweh looks down from heaven upon the children of men,
To see whether no one is wise
And fears God ;
But all are perverse and corrupt together ;
Not one does well,
Not one !

¹ Psalm cxxxvii. ² After an amended version. ³ Psalms xiv. and lxx.

Then have these ill-doers no sense,
 That they devour my people
 And live at ease without calling on Yahweh ! ¹
 They are afterwards filled with terror
 Because God dwells with the righteous.
 The plans of the oppressed you will never frustrate, ²
 For Yahweh is his refuge.
 Oh that Israel's salvation would come forth from Zion,
 That Yahweh would bring back his banished people !
 Then would Jacob rejoice
 And Israel be glad.

When the poet of this song poured out his heart, it was the impiety of others, whether apostate Israelites or heathens, that weighed upon his mind ; but a deep tone of sadness, coupled with a personal sense of guilt, breathes through the following poem, which is described in the superscription as " a prayer of Moses, the man of God : " —

Lord ! thou hast been our refuge for all generations.
 Ere the mountains were born or the earth brought forth,
 From eternity to eternity thou art God.
 Thou bringest back man into nothingness,
 And sayest, " Return, ye children of men ! "
 For a thousand years in thy sight are as yesterday when it passes,
 As a single watch of the night.
 Men are like to a dream, ⁴
 Like the grass of the morning :
 In the morning fresh and blooming,
 In the evening parched and withered ;
 For we are consumed by thine anger,
 And vanish before thy wrath.
 Thou rememberest our trespasses,
 And dost set our secret sins in the sight of thy countenance.
 Our days pass by in thy wrath ;
 We spend our years like a thought.
 The number of our years is three score and ten,
 Or, should it run high, four score.
 And its pride ⁵ is labor and sorrow,
 For it passes swiftly and we flee away !
 Yet we learn not the might of thy wrath,
 Thine anger that should make thee feared.
 Teach us so to number our days
 That we may devote a wise heart to thee.
 Return, O Yahweh ! How long shall it be ?
 Repent that thou hast deserted thy servants !
 Satisfy us in the morning with thy grace,
 Let us rejoice and be glad every day !
 Let thy work appear unto thy servants,
 And thy glory unto their children.
 Let the grace of Yahweh, our god, be upon us !
 Establish the work of our hands for us,
 Yea, establish the work of our hands !

¹ Doubtful translation. ² The translation is very doubtful. ³ Psalm xc

⁴ The translation is very doubtful.

⁵ Doubtful translation.

CHAPTER IX.

EZEKIEL.

EZEKIEL I.-III. 21, XX. 1-44, XXXVII. 1-14, XL.-XLVIII.

WHEN examining the spirit in which Israel's history was studied during the captivity, we perceived that a strong priestly tinge had come over the Mosaic school, and that the worship of strange gods and images excited more indignation than immorality did. We see this priestly tendency taking a still distincter shape in the activity of the prophet Ezekiel.

This man had himself been a Levitical priest in the temple of Jerusalem, and was therefore well acquainted with all the arrangements of the sanctuary and everything that took place in it. When Jehoiakin was taken captive to Babylon by Nebuchadrezzar, Ezekiel was amongst the Judeans compelled to leave their country for the banks of the Chebar. Five years afterwards he felt the prophetic call, but restrained himself for some time. How he supported himself and his family, for he was a married man, we do not know; but he had a house of his own, and was often consulted there by the "elders" of the Judeans about him, when they wanted an oracle.

In many respects he worked upon the lines laid down by Jeremiah, and experienced treatment very similar to his. He was honored and consulted as the messenger of Yahweh, but was never believed; for the exiles lent a more ready ear to the prophets who announced the rescue of Jerusalem and the return of the exiles to their fatherland than to the preacher of repentance who foretold nothing but disaster.

Like every prophet of earlier and later times he had to complain that people often came to hear him out of mere curiosity. His neighbors regarded him "as a minstrel with a beautiful voice and a skilful hand." He was convinced that his preaching was in vain, and could only comfort himself with the thought that one day, when his words were accomplished, these people would confess that a true prophet had been amongst them.¹

Ezekiel did not confine his attention to Israel any more

¹ Ezekiel xxxiii. 31-33.

than Jeremiah did, but fixed his eyes upon every nation with which his people had come into contact, threatening them also with Yahweh's judgments. But Israel's future was always his chief centre of interest.

We learn the general drift of his prophetic efforts, which extended over at least two-and-twenty years,¹ from the book of his oracles; but in his case, far more than in Jeremiah's even, we must be on our guard against accepting the written account of his prophecies as a simple record of what he had actually said. It was not until twenty-five years after his banishment, or twenty years after his prophetic call, that he began to write his book. At that distance of time it would have been impossible for him to reproduce exactly what he had said on every separate occasion, even had he desired to do so; but it is evident from the book itself that he had no such intention; for, though he sometimes mentions the time and occasion of his preaching, it is obvious that the majority of his discourses were never spoken at all, but only written, for his symbolical actions are of such a nature that they can never have been really performed, and his visions are so complex that they cannot have been actually seen!

As a specimen, let us examine the vision of his call.

He tells us that he once perceived a huge mass of clouds borne down from the north amidst the howling of the storm-wind, while flashes of lightning darted from it athwart each other, and the whole was surrounded by light, while the centre glittered like gold. Then, from this mass of clouds came forth a group of four creatures, which looked like men in front, but had four faces each — a man's face in front, a lion's to the right, a bull's to the left, and an eagle's behind. Moreover, they had each four wings, with two of which they covered their bodies, while the points of the other two met above their heads. Their legs were straight, and from under their wings came hands, as of men. When they moved or changed their direction they did not turn round, but went straight forward wherever they would. The creatures themselves shone like fire, and between them was a light like that of a heap of glowing coals. The whole apparition darted hither and thither like a flash of lightning.

And behold! there was a wheel attached to each of these animals. It was so on all four sides. Each wheel was of wondrous form, like a wheel within a wheel, all glittering with light, and the felloes were full of eyes. These wheels went

¹ Compare Ezekiel i. 2 with xxix. 17.

up and down, and backwards and forwards, with the creatures themselves. They were inseparable from each other, for the spirit of the animals was in the wheels also. Now, above the heads of the animals was a canopy that glittered like crystal, the lower surface of which was touched by the wings of the animals. When all was in motion the rush of the wings made a sound like a bursting flood, like the voice of the Almighty, like the shout of war; but when all was still the animals dropped their wings. Above this canopy was something like a throne, sending out beams as from sapphire stones, and upon it sat one in form like a man, shining like gold from the hips upwards, but not so bright below. Round the whole was a shining splendor like a rainbow. Such was the form of Yahweh's glory!

When I saw this sight, says Ezekiel, I fell down upon my face in reverence; and, as I lay there, I heard the words: "Son of man, stand up, and I will speak to you!" Then I took courage to stand up, and I heard these words addressed to me: "Son of man, I send thee to Israel, to that people that rebels against me as did its forefathers, to that intractable generation! Not that they will listen to you and amend their ways, but they must be taught that a prophet is in their midst. Be not afraid of them, O son of man! nor be thou terrified by all their words, for I give thee power to sit upon thorns and to tread upon scorpions. Speak my words to these rebellious ones. Hearken, O son of man!" continued Yahweh, "and be not disobedient as Israel is. Open thy mouth and eat up this!" And behold there was a book-roll in the hand that he stretched out to me, and he unrolled it before me. It was written full on both sides with wailings and lamentations.

In obedience to the divine command I ate this book-roll, with which I was to fill myself, and it was sweet as honey in my mouth. Before he departed from me he said again: "Son of man! I send you not to a people of barbarian tongue, but to Israel. Yet they will not listen to you, for all Israel has a face of brass and a heart of stone. But I will give thee a face of brass like theirs. Be not afraid of them."

Hardly had he spoken when a whirlwind seized me, and I heard behind me the awful thunder that goes with Yahweh on his way, and I heard the sound of those wings which touched each other and of those wheels—a mighty rushing sound!

My heart was bitter when the hand of Yahweh was upon me, and I was borne to the exiles at Tel-abib on the Chebar,

but for seven whole days I could not speak. Then Yahweh's word came to me again: "Son of man! I have appointed you watchman over the house of Israel; receive from my mouth the words with which to exhort them in my name. If I say of the wicked man that he shall die, and you tell him not, then if he dies because of his sin I shall require his blood at your hands. But if you have warned him and he has not repented, you are free from guilt. So too if a good man fall into sin, and I lay a stumbling-block in his way, then if you do not warn him he shall die for his sin; his former virtue shall not save him, and you too shall be reckoned guilty. But if you warn him and he repents, then shall his life be spared and you too shall deliver yourself."

It is clear enough that this representation of "Yahweh riding on the cherubs" is not a vision in the proper sense of the word, for the prophet cannot really have seen such a thing even in a state of spiritual exaltation. It is an artificial piece of symbolism. The meaning of every detail is far from clear. The cherubs were perhaps originally thunder-clouds, and their primitive significance is not forgotten in this vision, though greatly modified and overlaid with other thoughts which push it into the background. The eyes on the felloes of the wheels and the faces of the four animals may safely be taken as representing certain attributes of God—the eyes standing for omniscience, the human face for understanding, the eagle for immortality, the lion for strength, the bull perhaps for productive power. The peculiarity in the whole apparition in never turning, but moving direct towards all the four quarters of heaven, must signify that everything lies open before Yahweh's face at every moment. But after all we are groping about in the twilight with these conjectures, since we cannot tell the sources from which the prophet derived his imagery. The emblematic figures introduced into the temple at Jerusalem by the Phœnicians were no more distinctively Israelitish than the griffins which Ezekiel might probably see in the Babylonian temples.

We learn from this description of Yahweh, enthroned on the cherubs, how powerfully such symbolical representations appealed to the hearts of ancient peoples. In many respects their function was analogous to that now taken in the Christian and other churches by philosophical definitions of the nature of God. People were guided less by thought and argument than by feeling and imagination. Images of bulls, flower-buds, pomegranates, palm trees, heads of eagles

and griffins, worked upon the feelings by means of the imagination.

But whatever may be the meaning of the several features of the apparition described by Ezekiel, its main significance is obvious. Yahweh is an exalted, unapproachable, terrific god. From the thunder-cloud, the lightning-flash, the lurid glow of fire, the only fit comparisons with his countenance are drawn. Accordingly when the prophet saw him he fell down in consternation. We know already how thoroughly consonant all this is with the Israelitish ideal,¹ and Ezekiel evidently felt most profoundly how far the "son of man," as Yahweh generally calls him, was separated from the Holy One. Yet he did not shrink from representing Yahweh in the human form sitting upon a throne, with the upper part of his body shining like gold, and the lower part, doubtless because enveloped in a garment, glowing less brightly.

Elsewhere, too, Ezekiel gives us similar descriptions of Yahweh's glory. Once, he tells us,² as he sat at home in the company of the most distinguished Judæans, a fiery human form appeared to him, took hold of his hair with its hand, and so transported him to the temple of Jerusalem to show him all the heathen abominations which were perpetrated there. At the temple he saw the cherubs again, as on the banks of the Chebar, and Yahweh upon the throne. Yahweh then summoned six angels with weapons of destruction, and one with writing materials. Then he rose from his throne above the cherubs and commanded the angel with the pen to mark the foreheads of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem who sighed over the heathen practices, while the other six were to slaughter all who were not marked. Then Yahweh ascended his throne again and commanded the angel who bore the ink-horn to go in amongst the cherubs and take some burning coals from between them and scatter them over the city. When he drew near, one of the cherubs put out his hand and gave him some of the coals. Finally Yahweh was carried away again on the wings of the animals.

Not only in his descriptions of Yahweh's nature, but in his accounts of the sinful past of the Israelites and his predictions of their future, Ezekiel made such free use of symbolical expressions, representations, and actions that his enemies called him a riddle-maker, greatly to his indignation.³ The fact is that all the prophets made use of these emblems, as was only

¹ Compare, for instance, vol. i. pp. 123 ff.; pp. 318 ff.; vol. ii. pp. 249 ff.

² Ezekiel viii.-x.

³ Ezekiel xx. 49.

natural; for the truths they had to preach were very limited in number, and they were always hammering on the same anvil: "Repent! or you will perish." Their only chance of arousing and sustaining the interest of their hearers was to clothe their denunciations in fresh forms. We have already noticed some of Jeremiah's strange actions. But unfortunately Ezekiel's taste was anything but pure, and his images are sometimes highly offensive. For instance when he reminds Samaria and Jerusalem of their past and foretells their future, addressing them respectively as Aholah, *i.e.*, *her (own) tent*, and Aholibah, *i.e.*, *in her is my tent*, his coarseness is quite revolting; and the forms under which he describes Jerusalem's fall and the sufferings of the exiles are often exceedingly gross.

But however rude his mode of preaching, at any rate he was deeply impressed with the principle he so often announced,¹ that a prophet was responsible for the lives of the deluded and sinful ones to whom he was sent. For he warned every one he could reach with reiterated emphasis. The flood of reproaches he pours upon his people is sometimes overwhelming. The earlier prophets imagined that at least in the wilderness and in Joshua's days Israel had feared Yahweh; but Ezekiel dated the people's idolatry from their stay in Egypt itself. Even there they had served the gods of the country and refused to listen to Yahweh's voice. Yet he had redeemed his people that his name might not be profaned amongst the heathen. But things had been no better in the desert, nor in Canaan, generation after generation. Even in captivity this sinful people still trod the same evil path!²

The prophet poured out his special wrath upon Jerusalem before it fell. That city of blood had seen so many children sacrificed and was so utterly polluted by all its abominations and idolatries, by Sabbath-breaking and sacrilege, by theft, murder, adultery, and usury! Its prophets were venal and its priests were sacrilegious. Yahweh would deal with it as with the dross of a smelting furnace, for the whole house of Israel was no better than dross. Yahweh would burn it up in his wrath.³

The judgment was fully deserved and was inevitable, but Yahweh's love of Israel was eternal! This conviction was rooted in Ezekiel's heart, and it urged him to vehement attacks upon the surrounding peoples, such as the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Philistines, Syrians, Sidonians, and

¹ Ezekiel iii. 16-21, xxxiii. 1-9. ² Ezekiel xx. 1-32. ³ Ezekiel xxii.

Egyptians.¹ We must not suppose that he took an interest in the fate of these peoples chiefly on their own account, for he regarded them principally in their relations to Israel. Why were the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and Philistines to be destroyed? Why was the proud Tyre, especially, to fall? Because they had all rejoiced in Jerusalem's fall, and had helped to compass it!² And why must Egypt fall into the hands of the Chaldeans? In the first place, Israel had vainly relied upon Egypt, and Egypt must therefore be humbled, and, even when restored, must be so weak that Israel would never trust to it again.³ Besides — to take the reason given seventeen years afterwards — Nebuchadrezzar had labored so hard and suffered so much in the fruitless war against Tyre, which he had undertaken for Yahweh's sake, that he deserved some compensation. Egypt must therefore be his reward.⁴

It need hardly be said that Ezekiel anticipated the return and restoration of the exiles after all these judgments had been executed upon them and upon the heathens. Even before Jerusalem had fallen he cheered his dejected countrymen with these hopes. Israel had always been impious, and yet had always been succored by his god; for he would not suffer the heathen to argue from the desolate condition of his people that he himself was powerless. Would he suffer them to melt away amongst the heathens now? Not so! But his wrath would burn against the exiles; he would tear them with violence out of the lands in which they dwelt, would pronounce sentence upon them in "the desert of the peoples" (probably the Arabian desert), put the contumacious to death, bring back the rest to Canaan and make them prosperous, so that at last they would loath their wickedness and bring acceptable offerings to Yahweh.⁵

Rightly to understand the prophet's conception we must observe that the return of the exiles is not the reward of their penitence, as the captivity was the punishment of their offences; but, on the contrary, their penitence will be the result of their restoration. The prophet, though constantly admonishing his companions, does not in the least reckon upon their flinging away their idols. He builds his hopes solely upon the grace of Yahweh, who cannot desert his people. "Not for your sake," he makes him say,⁶ "not for your sake, O house

¹ Ezekiel xxv.-xxxii., xxxv.

² Ezekiel xxv. 3, 8, 12, 15, xxvi. 2, xxxv. 5, 10, 15, xxxvi. 5.

³ Ezekiel xxix. 1-16.

⁴ Ezekiel xxix. 17-20.

⁵ Ezekiel xx. 32-44.

⁶ Ezekiel xxxvi. 22-28.

of Israel, do I deliver you: but for my holy name's sake, which you never cease to profane. It is only to teach the heathen my might that I gather you together and lead you back. Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you to cleanse you from your wickedness and idolatry. Then will I give you a new heart and a new spirit; I will take away your heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. My spirit will I put within you, and you shall observe my precepts. So shall you dwell in the land that I gave to your fathers; and you shall be my people, and I will be your God."

Israel's restoration, as well as his contumacy and the punishment it involved, was represented by Ezekiel under various forms.

Take the following example: Yahweh brought me to a valley that was full of dead men's bones, and led me right round it. Then I saw that it was covered over with men's bones, and that they were very dry. And he said to me: "Son of man! can these bones live?" Then I answered: "Lord Yahweh! thou knowest." Thereupon he commanded me to prophesy concerning them. I did so, and said: "Dry bones! hearken to the word of Yahweh! Thus says the Lord Yahweh concerning you: Behold I will bring spirit into you and you shall live. I will lay sinews upon you, and make flesh come over you, and will cover you with skin, and pour spirit into you, and you shall live and shall know that I am Yahweh." Hardly had I uttered the words when, hark! there was a sound, and lo! the bones were moving and fitting themselves together. Then sinews came over them, and flesh and skin, but as yet there was no spirit in them. Then he told me to prophesy again, and according to his word I cried: "Spirit! come from the four quarters of heaven and blow upon these slaughtered ones that they may live!" And behold the spirit came into them, and they lived and stood up on their feet, a mighty host. Thereupon Yahweh said to me: "Son of man! the whole house of Israel is like these bones. They say: 'Our bones are dry; our hope is frustrated; we are cut off.' Prophecy, therefore, and say: Thus says Yahweh, I will open your graves and make you come up from them, O my people! and bring you to the land of Israel and make you live, that you may know that I, Yahweh, have foretold all this and brought it to pass."

Ezekiel, as already observed, was more of a writer than a speaker. At any rate when he wrote his book, towards the

end of his life, the time, if there ever was one, in which he yielded to the prophetic inspiration seems to have been passed, for there is much more of the deliberate ingenuity of reflection than the fiery glow of inspiration in his work. Hence the artificial character of his images and visions, to which the simple impressiveness of the one just given forms a favorable exception. Hence, too, the elaborate descriptions of Tyre's grandeur and industry, for example. But nothing shows more conclusively than his description of the Messianic age how completely deliberate composition had taken the place of the prophetic fire when he wrote. His main idea is identical with that of the elder prophets, to whose words he now and then refers.¹ Israel and Judah, united under the rule of a king of David's house, are to inhabit Canaan² and to become a single people devoted to Yahweh's service. But in many respects Ezekiel takes a course of his own. Thus he describes in great detail³ how almost all the peoples of central Asia (the Chaldees alone are omitted) will take the field together against the Israelites that have returned from the captivity. He calls these nations Gog and Magog, and likens them to a waterspout; but declares that Yahweh's might will destroy them in such enormous numbers that it will take the Israelites seven years to bury them, during all which time they will need no firewood except the spear-shafts, arrows, bows, and shields they will pick up.

Our attention, however, is more especially attracted by the concluding chapters of Ezekiel's book,⁴ in which he draws a most elaborate picture of the restored Israel. The foremost place in his new Canaan is taken by the temple, which is described in detail, together with its courts, outbuildings, and kitchens, its gables, doors, ornaments, and furniture. The seer devotes especial care to his description of the great altar of burnt-offerings and the duties of the servants of the temple. With regard to this latter point he departs slightly from the precepts of Deuteronomy, which assigned the priesthood to all the Levites, whereas Ezekiel distinguishes between "the sons of Zadok," who are the only ones he deems worthy of serving the altar and approaching the holy things, and the other Levites whom he only allows to fill subordinate places about the sanctuary because they had formerly been guilty of idolatry.⁵ He insists, above all, that no strangers, no uncircumcised, should do service in the temple, and that the

¹ Ezekiel xxxviii. 17, xxxix. 8.

² Ezekiel xxxvii. 15-28.

³ Ezekiel xxxviii., xxxix.

⁴ Ezekiel xl.-xlviii.

⁵ Compare p. 328

priests should reflect and sustain the sanctity of Yahweh in their dress and their mode of life.

In Ezekiel's ideal State, the city and its suburbs were to surround the temple as before ; but henceforth Jerusalem was to be called "Yahweh-is-there." It was to be enclosed on every side by the possessions of the sons of Zadok and the Levites, which were to be inalienable. Round this consecrated rectangle, in the middle of which the temple would stand, the other tribes were to be ranged in a given order. They were not to have larger or smaller territories according to local and other circumstances, as they had before, for the holy land was to be divided by equi-distant lines into rectangular districts of equal size, one of which was to be assigned to each tribe.

At the head of these tribes the monarch was to stand, the king of the house of David, whose special demesnes would lie between the heritage of Judah and that of Benjamin. The prophet also enumerates the monarch's duties. He must rule in righteousness and practise no extortion, as Israel's nobles had so often done, but must enforce the stated taxes, and insure a uniform system of weights and measures. The prophet instructs him, with especial emphasis, as to the sacrifices he must bring to Yahweh on week-days, on the Sabbath, and on sundry feast days. He also gives a detailed account of what the prince is to do on the Sabbath, which gate he is to stand before with the people while the priests offer his sacrifice by which gate he is to enter, and by which to leave the sanctuary.

All this is very paltry. A thoroughly priestly spirit pervades the nine chapters in which Ezekiel sketches his Israel of the future. Very few verses are devoted to the social interests of the people. It is their religious affairs, or rather all the paltry details of worship, that absorb the seer's attention. His devotion to the temple is curiously illustrated by a passage in which he represents his divine guide as pointing out to him a little stream flowing from under the threshold of the temple at the east side. A thousand cubits further down this stream reached to the ankles of one who crossed it ; a thousand cubits further yet it reached to the knees ; a thousand more and it rose to the loins ; and a thousand further yet it was no longer to be forded. It was a stream the banks of which were well wooded, and the leaves of the trees had healing power and never fell, while the fruits ripened every month and could heal wounds, because the waters by which

the trees grew flowed from the sanctuary. Hence, too, the stream was not only full of fish, but when it flowed into the sea it made its waters wholesome, and it brought life wherever it went. Such is the poetical form under which this priest expresses his conviction that all life springs from the sanctuary. Ezekiel has already taken us a great step nearer to the foundation of a priestly State than the law of Deuteronomy did. Not only is the line between priests and laymen sharply drawn, but different ranks are already established amongst the servants of the temple, and the chief business of the Messianic age is the provision for them and the sanctuary. The seer finds room in his picture for the temple kitchens and their hearths, but does not once tell us whether courts of justice, for instance, will exist in the future Israel; or whether agriculture, cattle-breeding, industry, and commerce will flourish! His references to the political and social life of his people are confined to his prescriptions as to the conduct of the prince, — and he is to devote his chief attention to the temple services.

Ezekiel was indeed a priest to the backbone! But he was a man of firm convictions. In spite of all this priestly trifling, there is something noble about the man that extorts our respect. Living as an exile in a foreign land, in the midst of dejected countrymen who cried, "Our hope is cut off! We are like dry bones!" Ezekiel dared to lay down his plan for the new Canaan, and described how the land of Yahweh's consecrated people must be portioned out, and the temple that now lay in ruins rebuilt. There was nothing to wake the faintest suspicion in an impartial observer that Israel could ever be restored. There was not the smallest assignable ground for such an expectation. But Ezekiel believed in it nevertheless, in the strength of his profound conviction of Yahweh's power and his love for Israel.

However imperfect his ideal may have been, it does him honor that he had a religious ideal at all.

CHAPTER X.

THE SUFFERING SERVANT OF YAHWEH.

JEREMIAH XXXI. 29, 30; EZEKIEL XVIII.; ISAIAH LII. 18-LIII.

"WHY must we suffer all this?" was the question constantly asked by the humbled Judæans — the question that had been constantly asked and variously answered ever since the defeat of Josiah. "The fathers ate sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge," people answered sadly and bitterly. The general opinion was that Israel was paying the penalty of Manasseh's sins. Yahweh, the holy one, visited the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation.¹ But this answer did not satisfy every one, for it seemed to make Yahweh's justice to each individual taken by himself extremely doubtful. Besides, it did not explain why one had so much more to suffer than another. Yahweh seemed capricious and inconsistent. Was Israel's god unjust?

"No! he is absolutely just," replied Ezekiel, "juster than Israel thinks for. Why prate of children's teeth set on edge because their fathers have eaten sour grapes? Never use that proverb more! All lives are mine, says Yahweh. the life of the son and the life of the father; and he who sins shall die himself. If any man is righteous and offers not sacrifice upon the hills nor lifts his eyes to idols, commits not adultery, oppresses none, returns the pledge he has received, and is guilty of no robbery, but feeds the hungry and clothes the naked, exacts no usury or interest, practises no iniquity but deals uprightly, walks after my ordinances and observes my statutes, — such a righteous man shall be surely spared alive.

"And if a good man such as this should have a godless son, who leaves all these good things undone but does the wicked ones, shall he be spared alive? Of a truth he shall not! He shall surely perish, and may his blood be upon his own head! So again if a righteous son have a godless father, he shall not die for his father's sins. His father himself shall die, for it is he that has done the evil. Why talk, then, of a son atoning

¹ Deuteronomy v. 9; Exodus xx. 5, xxxiv. 7; Jeremiah xxxii. 18.

for his father's sins? The man who sins shall die himself, and no one suffers for another's wickedness.

"But if a wicked man repents and lives righteously and observes my statutes, then he shall not perish, but all his former trespasses shall be forgotten, and he shall live in his righteousness. Have I any pleasure in the sinner's death? Nay, but I would have him repent and live! But again, if a righteous man should fall away and walk in the path of the godless man who has rescued his life by repentance, then all the good deeds that he has done shall be remembered no more, and he shall perish for his wickedness.

"Then let not the house of Israel say that my ways are capricious and unequal. My ways are steady and consistent, but yours are not; for many a godless man repents, and many righteous fall away. Of a truth every man is judged by his deeds. Return, then, from your trespasses, that they may not be your ruin, and make yourselves a new heart and a new spirit; for why should you die, O house of Israel! Ah me, I desire not the death of the sinner, says the Lord Yahweh; wherefore repent and live!"¹

Regarded as a solution of the great problem of the connection between the sins of men on the one hand and their prosperity or adversity upon the other, this oracle of Ezekiel has not the smallest value, for it is in glaring contradiction with the facts, and ignores the undeniable effects of the virtue or vice of the parents upon the happiness or misery of the children; but nevertheless it rests upon a clear perception of the great moral truth that no man is rendered guilty by any one's sins except his own. Obvious as this principle seems to us, it was by no means recognized by the ancient Israelites. In common with other peoples of antiquity they held that the guilt of a crime attached not only to the perpetrator, but to all his family as well. Hence the iniquitous custom of punishing a whole household for the offence of one member was firmly established amongst men, and was attributed without scruple to God. But the growth of gentler manners expelled this barbarous custom from human legislation, first in practice and afterwards in theory,² though it still retained its place as a supposed principle of divine retribution. Ezekiel, however, felt that God could not hold a man guilty of a crime he had not committed; and since neither he nor any of his contemporaries had the smallest doubt that every disaster was due to the retributive justice of Yahweh, he was driven to the

¹ Compare Ezekiel xxxlii. 10-20.

² See pp. 176, 177.

conclusion that every one who suffered must himself have been guilty of sin.

To reconcile this doctrine with the facts of life, Ezekiel could only urge that when Yahweh seemed to punish a righteous man it was because he had fallen into sin at last; and when he suffered a sinner to escape, it was because he had repented. Here, again, he falls into grave error in supposing that the present can wash out the past, and in ignoring the testimony of that sense of guilt which is quickened rather than extinguished by true repentance; but at the same time he grasps the vital truth that past virtue is no excuse for present vice, and that the way to repentance is always open to the sinner.

This intimate blending of truth and error in Ezekiel's teaching rises from his combining a new perception of moral truth with the old error that prosperity and adversity are the direct awards of the deity to virtue and vice. In the light of his higher ideas of justice he boldly and consistently works out the old retributive theory, and this leads him to deny that the fate of any man is in the least degree affected by that of his parents, his children, or his country! The theory that led to such glaring contradictions could not stand, and Ezekiel indirectly contributed to its fall by the very consistency with which he preached it. Unintentionally he showed that it must fall to pieces in the face of facts when separated from the false ideas of the nature of guilt with which it was so closely connected.

At the opposite pole from Ezekiel stands a prophet whose work must rank, both in form and substance, amongst the noblest portions of the Old Testament. His name is unknown; and since his work appears in the last twenty-seven chapters of the book called after Isaiah,¹ he is commonly spoken of as the Second, or sometimes the Babylonian Isaiah. It is not certain, however, that all these twenty-seven chapters are from one hand. There appear to be a few, though not many, older passages inserted amongst this prophet's discourses, and it is probable also that a prophecy of later date has here and there been added. The greater part of the oracles, however, seem to be from a single hand, though they vary greatly in tone. The writer probably began his work by comforting and stimulating his people during the last years of the captivity, and subsequently tried to confirm their faith after the return.

¹ Compare p. 248

ing of Christ became current, this prophecy could not fail to become one of the most cherished supports of the whole doctrinal scheme. What could be clearer than that it was enunciated here?

Now, when tradition has once impressed an interpretation such as this upon our minds, it is very difficult to take an unprejudiced view of the prophecy; and the consequence is that people have found all kinds of meanings in it which are not really there.

In the first place the prophet gives such a graphic sketch of the servant of Yahweh that he sometimes appears to be describing an actual man, and certain scholars have inferred, perhaps correctly, that he borrowed a part of his discourse from an older work, which described some pious sufferer for God's sake, such as Jeremiah. But in any case the prophet himself certainly intended to describe an aggregate and not a single person.

To understand the prophet's words we must remember that he is speaking poetically, and therefore not without exaggeration. He paints the woful state of the "servant of Yahweh" in such dark colors that we should suppose all the pious Israelites to have been hopelessly poor, sick, oppressed, and wretched, which of course was far from being the case. Indeed, it was not so much that they groaned under the personal sufferings of slavery or were in any actual need, as that they grieved over the condition of their fatherland and the exile of so many of their people. In the same way it is an exaggeration to call "Yahweh's servant" *righteous* without any qualification, and to say that he has done nothing wrong and that no deceit is found in his mouth. At any rate we must not take these passages literally, but must remember that the prophet himself elsewhere calls the servant of Yahweh deaf and blind.¹ It is true that what he means by this blindness and deafness is not any gross sinfulness, but simply that despondency which from time to time came over the devout Israelites and made them complain that Yahweh had forgotten them, and that they had been zealous for him in vain; ² nevertheless the expression shows that he was far from ascribing perfect righteousness to the servant of Yahweh. Accordingly he makes Yahweh say distinctly ³ to "Israel which shall not be forgotten," "I wash out your trespasses like a mist, and your sins like a cloud. Turn again to me, for I have redeemed

¹ Isaiah xlii. 19.

² Isaiah xl. 27, xlix. 4, 14.

³ Isaiah xliv. 21, 22; compare Jeremiah xlii. 27, 28.

you!" The purity of Yahweh's servant, then, is only relative. In comparison with the many Israelites who practised idolatry or were indifferent to the people's future, the spiritual nucleus of the nation might be called righteous; but the fact that many defects still clung to them could not possibly escape so earnest a man as the Second Isaiah.

If we bear the poetical character of the prophet's discourse steadily in mind, we shall not be tempted to look for more than there really is in his expressions as to the connection between the sufferings of the pious and the sins of the people. The servant of Yahweh does indeed make many righteous by his piety, and makes atonement as a mediator for the trespasses of others, just as a priest teaches the laity, and cleanses them from their sins by his sacrifices and consecrations; but he does not suffer in their stead. His suffering is destined in the first place to establish his own glory. When we are also told that the people are healed by his stripes, we must remember that, according to the Israelites, all sufferings had an atoning power of blotting out offences. When evil had been done, then Yahweh's wrath was heavy on the sinner, on his house and on his country, till the trespass had been expiated by the evil-doer himself, or by his children or his people, unless means had been found of appeasing Yahweh with sacrifices. There was no forgiveness without shedding of blood. There was no deliverance from suffering, which never came upon a man or a people except as the punishment of some sin, until the penalty appointed by Yahweh had been paid. Thus, when the prophet foresaw Israel's return from the captivity, he declared that it had already received in double measure the punishment of all its sins;¹ and Jeremiah in like manner took for granted that the prospects of the captives were brighter than those of the remnant in Jerusalem, because the exiles had suffered the penalty, and would now return and be converted, whereas Zedekiah and his companions had still to undergo their fate.² So when the prophet says that the punishment which brings peace to the people falls upon Yahweh's servant, and that Yahweh has laid upon him the sins of them all, he means that the pious Israelites suffered with their people, and this suffering was the penalty for Israel's transgressions. Indeed, the devouter exiles suffered more than the rest, for they gave greater offence to the heathens, and were at the same time dissatisfied with their countrymen, from whom accordingly they had

¹ Isaiah xl. 2.

² See p. 371.

sometimes much to bear. Moreover they felt the melancholy state of things more keenly than others did. Thus, by suffering for the trespasses of others, they helped to appease Yahweh and restore the Israelitish State. For their sakes Yahweh would rescue Israel, just as he would have spared Sodom and Gomorrah if there had been but five righteous men in them;¹ just as he had forgiven Israel in the wilderness at the intercession of Moses,² and would have been ready to forgive it again after Josiah's time at the prayer of a Moses or a Samuel, had not its sins been of too black a dye.³

In sharp distinction from Ezekiel and others, our prophet was profoundly conscious of the bond that united all the sons of Israel to each other. The whole people suffered, and each member must therefore suffer—the devoutest most. And when these last were restored to honor, the blessings they had earned would be shared by all. The piety of Yahweh's servant not only secured a glorious future for Israel, but also made it righteous, and fitted it to become a light for the heathen. This was a thought rich in salutary consequences. The sufferings of Yahweh's servant for God's sake had a moral goal. This idea is often expressed by the Second Isaiah, but nowhere, perhaps, more beautifully than in the following passage:⁴ "Behold my servant whom I uphold, my chosen in whom I delight. I put my spirit upon him that he may teach the heathens the way they should go; not by crying or shouting or lifting up his voice in the street, for a bruised reed he shall not break, and a smoking wick he shall not quench, but shall faithfully teach their duty to men. He shall not be discouraged or wearied till he has established right upon the earth, and distant peoples long for his judgment. Thus says god Yahweh, who created the heavens and stretched them forth, who spread out the earth and all that it bears, who gives breath to the people upon it and spirit to them that dwell on it: 'I, Yahweh, have called you to salvation and taken you by the hand, have made you a link between the people and Yahweh, a light for the heathen, to open the eyes of the blind, to bring out the captives from prison, and those that sit in darkness from bondage.'"

Strictly speaking, these descriptions of the "suffering servant of Yahweh" cannot be said to embody the true and beautiful conception that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." This is only true because the patient

¹ Genesis xviii. 23 ff.

² Jeremiah xv. 1.

³ Exodus xxxii. 9-14, 30-34; Psalm cvi. 33.

⁴ Isaiah xlii. 1-7, compare xlix. 1-7.

faith of the martyrs shows how deeply rooted their conviction is in their own and generally in many kindred hearts, and produces a deep impression upon both friends and foes; but this conception cannot be traced in the mind of our prophet, who shares with antiquity generally the belief that temporal disaster is the punishment for sin, and therefore reveals the wrath of God. Nevertheless, he has struck upon the deep and touching truth that the sufferings of the faithful may be the means of securing to mankind the truest spiritual blessings

CHAPTER XI.

REVIVING HOPES.

ISAIAH XIV. 4-21, XXXV., XL.

AFTER a brilliant reign of forty-three years king Nebuchadrezzar died (561 B.C.), and left his son a mighty kingdom that stretched from the Tigris to the Mediterranean Sea, and divided the whole of Asia Minor with two others still greater than itself,—that of the Medes in the north, and that of the Lydians west of the Halys. The pride of the kingdom was its magnificent capital. There stood the temple of Bel,¹ restored and beautified though not actually built by Nebuchadrezzar himself. Stupendous walls, upon which two four-horse chariots could meet and pass with ease, encircled the city. The river walls, not yet completed, girt the two banks of the Euphrates as it flowed through the city, and were terminated by the brazen river-gates. There, too, the great artificial lake might be seen, which served the same purpose as that of king Moeris in Egypt;² and there stood the royal palace, the so-called hanging gardens of which were reckoned by the Greeks amongst the seven wonders of the world. All this magnificence bore witness to the fact that in Nebuchadrezzar the world had lost one of those princes whose enterprise and energy hold peoples in subjection, and call colossal works into existence—a demigod upon the earth, who might have stood upon the ramparts of his palace, as a later Jewish writer represents him doing,³ and exclaimed with ample reason: “This is the mighty Babylon that I have built for my royal

¹ Compare vol. i. p. 89.

² Compare vol. i. p. 233.

³ Daniel iv. 30.

residence, by the power of my strong arm and as a monument to my glory!"

But the history of the kingdom after his death shows how soon all this power might be broken and all this splendor dimmed; for Nebuchadrezzar had been dead but three-and-twenty years when the whole of Babylonia was swallowed up in the kingdom of the Persians. His three immediate successors, the first of whom, Evil-merodach, we know already as the patron of the captive monarch Jehoiakin,¹ were men of little mark. The next and last, Nabonedus, did his very utmost to defend his throne, — but who could stand against Cyrus?

This Cyrus, or Koresh as the Jews called him, was a Persian chief, and, as such, a subject of the Medes. In the year 558 B.C. he saw his chance of unfurling the banner of revolt against King Astyages, and was so successful as not only to gain the freedom of his own country, but eventually, after a desperate struggle, to subdue the kingdom of the Medes itself. Now that he was king of the Persians and Medes, he turned his weapons against Crœsus, the wealthy king of the Lydians, and conquered his land also. Then came the turn of Babylon. Nabonedus had foreseen this, and had made enormous preparations for war, though his chief reliance was probably on the strength of his capital; which Cyrus soon besieged, having previously inflicted a severe defeat upon the Babylonians in its neighborhood. The king threw himself into Borsippa, and entrusted the defence of Babylon to his son. The city seemed to be impregnable, and all the usual arts of war were tried upon it in vain. The walls were too thick to be battered down by the rams, too lofty and too well commanded by turrets to be scaled; and the place was so well provisioned that the besiegers were more likely to suffer want than the besieged. But Cyrus had recourse to a stratagem. He deepened and extended the artificial lake which Nebuchadrezzar had made to regulate the height of the water in the Euphrates, till it was capable of receiving the whole volume of the stream; at the same time he widened the canal that carried the water into it, and then dammed up the river just below. The numbers of his army enabled him to complete this gigantic operation with great rapidity, and it proved entirely successful. As soon as the troops who had remained in front of the city perceived that the water had sunk low enough for their purpose, they rushed in by the river bed and scaled the not very

¹ See p. 401.

lofty walls that ran through the city by the river side. The inhabitants were celebrating a great feast at the time, and the city was so enormous and was taken so completely by surprise that the majority of its inhabitants knew nothing of the matter till the following day. Upon this Nabonedus gave himself up as a prisoner. The kingdom of the Chaldees had fallen, and Cyrus reigned over them also. (538 B.C.)

We may well believe that the Jewish exiles looked upon these events with intensest interest, and that their hopes of a return to the fatherland were successively quickened by the appearance of Cyrus, by his growing power, by the defeat of Nabonedus, and at last by the fall of Babylon. Though only eight-and-twenty years had elapsed between the taking of Jerusalem and the revolt of the Persians against the Medes, yet a quarter of a century is ample time to quell the spirit of a people in hopeless slavery and to quench the fire of prophecy. Both the captives and the remnant in Palestine were doubtless more wont to complain that Yahweh had forgotten them than to express their trust that he would deliver them. But the rise of Cyrus gave them a ray of hope at once; and as he gradually showed his invincible power, as Media bowed to him first and Lydia next, as Babylon's army was defeated and the capital itself besieged, these hopes grew ever stronger, till at last the prophetic fire burst out anew under their influence. Though we have no direct accounts of what was going on amongst the Israelites, yet the prophetic discourses uttered or written at the time bear witness to their thoughts, their beliefs, their hopes, and their fears.

Thus one of the exiles composed an elaborate oracle on the humiliation which the Chaldean gods and Babylon itself would endure, because Nebuchadrezzar had shattered Israel. At the same time he exhorted the Jews to flee from the land of exile, that they might not share its terror and distress. The writer put this prediction into the mouth of Jeremiah, and declared that this man of God wrote it down in the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign, and gave it to Seraiah, the head of a Jewish embassy to Nebuchadrezzar, telling him to read it in Babylon to the Jews, and then tie the roll to a stone and throw it into the Euphrates, as an emblematic declaration that Babylon itself should in like manner sink for ever.¹

Others spoke or wrote in their own names, or anonymously. Amongst them was a prophet who pointed to the Medes as

¹ Jeremiah l., li.

the instruments of Yahweh's judgment upon Babylon, in his terrible day of vengeance.¹ His work has excited attention principally on account of the following song of triumph over the king of Babylon, which he puts upon the lips of the Israelites in preparation for the time of their deliverance: "How still has the tyrant grown, and his raging sunk into quiet! Yahweh has broken the staff of the wicked one, broken the rod of the oppressor, which smote the peoples in fury, smote them with a continual stroke, trod down the nations with pitiless tread. All the world is at rest and peace, and breaks into cries of joy. The cypresses rejoice in thy fall, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying, 'Since thou art laid low no one comes here to fell us!' The shadow-land is stirred below, and comes forth to meet thee. It rouses its shades for thee; all the rulers of the earth rise up from their thrones, all the princes of the heathens. With one mouth they cry to thee, 'Thou, too, art an empty shadow as we; thou art now become like unto us!' Thy pomp has gone down to the shadow-land with the melody of thy lutes; thy bed beneath is corruption, thy covering above is worms. How art thou fallen from heaven, O morning star, son of the dawning! How art thou stretched on the ground, thou trampler upon nations! Thou didst say in thy heart, 'I will rise up to heaven, exalt my throne above the stars of God, seat me on the mountain of gods in the north, ascend above the masses of cloud, and be like unto the Most High!' Nay, thou art brought down to the underworld. They that see shall gaze and look narrowly at thee. 'Is this the man that made the earth tremble and shook the kingdoms; that made the earth a wilderness, that destroyed its cities, and suffered not his captives to return?' All the kings of the heathens rest in honor, each in his dwelling; but thou art cast out of thy grave as a worthless log of wood. Girt with the slain whom the sword has pierced, thou art thrust down into the earth,² a carcass trodden under foot! Thou art not buried amongst the kings, for thou hast destroyed thy land and slain thy people. The seed of the wicked is no more mentioned for ever. Make ready a place of slaughter for his sons, because of the wickedness of their fathers, that they may never rise and take possession of the land and fill its face once more with cities."

A third writer in the exile bids his "thrashed and down-trodden people" take comfort from the approach of Elam or Persia and Media, who will bring Babylon to its fall and will

¹ Isaiah xiii.-xiv. 23.

² Translation uncertain.

grind her idols to pieces ;¹ while a fourth describes the return of the exiles in the strains that follow² : —

The wilderness and barren land shall be glad ;
 The desert shall rejoice and be green like the after-grass,
 All shall be blossoms and shouting and dancing for joy ;
 The glory of Lebanon shall be given her,
 The beauty of Carmel and Sharon ;
 They see the majesty of Yahweh, the glory of our God.
 Strengthen the weak hands,
 Confirm the feeble knees.
 Say to the fearful, " Be strong, fear not !
 Behold your god ! Vengeance is coming, the vengeance of God !
 He comes to deliver you."
 Then shall the eyes of the blind be opened,
 The ears of the deaf unstopped ;
 Then shall the lame man leap as a hart,
 And the tongue of the dumb shall shout for joy.
 In the desert shall water-courses be scooped,
 And streams in the thirsty land.
 The mirage shall turn to a pool,
 And the thirsty land to a stream of water.
 In the place where jackals couched and dwelt
 The grass shall grow up into reeds and rushes.
 And a path shall be there and a way ;
 Men shall call it a " holy way."
 The unclean shall not tread it ; it belongs to the holy ;
 The simplest wayfarer need not stray.³
 No lion shall be there,
 No beast of prey shall walk it.
 No hurtful thing shall be found there,⁴
 But the redeemed shall tread this path.
 Yahweh's ransomed shall return
 And enter Zion with shouts of joy.
 Everlasting joy shall be upon their heads ;
 Joy and gladness they shall obtain,
 And sorrow and sadness shall flee away.

The same tone of high-wrought expectation meets us throughout the Second Isaiah's oracles. We may take the first chapter as a specimen⁴ : —

" Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, says your God. Speak gently to Jerusalem, and cry to her that her service is finished, her iniquity pardoned, for she has received at Yahweh's hand a twofold punishment for all her sins. Hark ! there is a cry : ' Make ready a way for Yahweh in the desert, level a path for our God in the wilderness ! All the valleys shall be filled up and the mountains and hills cut down ; the uneven land shall be levelled and the rough places shall be made plane ; Yah-

¹ Isaiah xxi. 1-10.

² Doubtful translation.

³ Isaiah xxxv.

⁴ Isaiah xl.

weh's glory shall be revealed, and all mankind shall see his blessings,¹ for it is he who has ordered this !'

"A voice cries, 'Announce !' and I answered, 'What shall I announce?' All flesh is as grass, and all its glory like a flower of the field. The grass withers, the flower fades, but the word of our god shall stand for ever.

"Go up into a lofty mountain, thou messenger of Zion's joy ! Lift up a mighty voice, thou bearer of glad news to Jerusalem ! Cry without fear to Judah's cities, 'Behold your god !' See the Lord Yahweh comes in his might, with dominion upon his arm. See, he brings with him salvation and his reward goes out before him. He pastures his flock like a shepherd, who gathers the lambs in his arms, carries them in his bosom, and gently leads the mothers.

"Who can measure the waters in the hollow of his hand, and mete out the heavens with a span ? Who can comprehend the dust of the earth in a measure, weigh the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance ? Who has understood the spirit of Yahweh and made himself his counsellor ? With whom has he taken counsel and by whom has he been instructed ? Who taught him the way of judgment and knowledge ? Who showed him how to be perfect in insight ? See ! he counts the heathens as a drop of water upon the bucket or a grain of dust on the balance. The islands, to him, are like flying dust. All Lebanon has not wood enough nor beasts for a sacrifice worthy of him.

"Then if all the heathens are as nothing before him, are vanity and things of nought, to whom will ye liken God, and how will ye make an image of him ? The workman makes an image, the goldsmith covers it with gold and fixes silver chains to it ; or, if he is too poor for this, he chooses a good sound piece of wood and makes him an image that will not rot ! But have ye not heard and perceived ? Has it not been told you from of old ? Or did you not comprehend it ? He sits over the circuit of the earth, and its inhabitants are like grasshoppers to him. He stretches out the heaven like a tent to dwell in. He destroys princes and brings judges of the earth to nought. They are scarce planted or sown, their root has scarce struck in the ground, ere he blows upon them and they wither, and are driven in the storm like chaff ! Then how will ye make an image of me that shall be like me, indeed ? says the Holy One. Lift up your eyes on high and see who has made these stars, who brings out their hosts by

¹ After an amended version.

number, calling them by their names till, by his dread might, not one is missing!

“Why sayest thou then, O Jacob, and declarest, O Israel, ‘My way is forgotten by Yahweh and my right is passed over by my God’? Dost thou not know, hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, Yahweh, the creator of all the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary, and that his understanding is unsearchable? He gives power to the weary and strength to the weak. Young men may faint and be weary, and the strong may ever stumble; but they who trust in Yahweh renew their strength, spread out their wings like the eagles, run but are never weary, walk but are never faint.”

Many other examples of the Second Isaiah's preaching might be added, but we must put some limits to our citations from him. In describing the return of the exiles, however, we shall give a few passages which he probably wrote to celebrate that event rather than at an earlier period. But of course it is difficult to fix the exact date of the various oracles, especially as we do not know how far they were simply written, and how far they were actually spoken.

We must now make a few remarks as to the attitude taken up by the prophet. First of all we must observe that he is emphatically monotheistic. He does not dream of recognizing the existence of any other god than Yahweh: “Ye are my witnesses, says Yahweh, and my servant whom I have chosen,¹ that ye may perceive it and believe in me, understanding that I am he. Before me was no god created, nor shall be after me. I, I am Yahweh, and beside me there is none that saves. I have announced and delivered and foretold, when there was no strange [god] amongst you. Ye are my witnesses, says Yahweh, and I am God. Yea! from of old I am he, and none can deliver from my hand. I accomplish it and who shall hinder?”² Thus says Yahweh, Israel's king and redeemer, Yahweh of hosts: “I am the first and I the last. There is no god beside me.”³

Even in earlier times many Israelites had treated the worship of other gods than Yahweh as identical with the worship of images,⁴ and since our prophet, like all the ancients, was incapable of appreciating the religious rites and conceptions of those from whom he differed, it was inevitable that his emphatic preaching of monotheism should be coupled with the most violent attacks upon the images which he saw in

¹ Compare p. 420.

² Isaiah xlv. 6, and elsewhere.

³ Isaiah xliii. 10-12.

⁴ See p. 317.

"the land of idols."¹ He assails them with biting sarcasm. We have already heard him scoffing at the heathens who, if rich, made idols of metal and, if poor, of wood; and elsewhere² he describes in greater detail how all kinds of workmen are employed in preparing these images; how a man fells a tree and makes a god out of one half of the trunk, and burns the other half for firewood to warm himself or to roast his meat. Of what avail was such a god, that could neither hear nor see? Those who put their trust in these images would all be covered with shame! Bel collapsed, and Nebo was laid low. Men might carry them where they chose, for they could not move themselves or give any answer to those that worshipped them. But Israel would be glorified, for his god was Yahweh, who had predicted from of old what was now fulfilled, who had called an eagle [Cyrus] from the east, and whose pleasure was accomplished in all things. He would give salvation to Zion.³

That Yahweh had known beforehand and had foretold by his servants all that would happen to his people was a point of extreme importance in the mind of the Second Isaiah, and he returns to it with corresponding frequency. If we ask how far he was justified in doing so, there can be but one reply. The earlier men of God had enjoyed no supernatural insight into the future, and were no more enlightened beforehand about Cyrus and his Persians than about the duration of the exile or the wretched subsequent condition of the people. But many of them had so emphatically announced the judgments which Yahweh would bring upon Israel, declaring at the same time that the people could never perish and would inherit a glorious future, that when the exiles who believed in Yahweh's might regained their courage, they would naturally find in their present experiences the fulfilment of the words of the ancient prophets. The effect was heightened by a few spurious prophecies, such as that which Isaiah was said to have uttered to Hezekiah when the latter had displayed his treasures to the king of Babylon,⁴ and Jeremiah's supposed prediction of the fall of Babylon said to have been thrown into the Euphrates tied to a stone.⁵

The Second Isaiah put the following challenge to the idols into Yahweh's mouth:⁶ "Come, let us vie with each other! Bring out your proofs, and tell us what shall come to pass! Tell us the contents of former predictions, and prophesy what

¹ Jeremiah l. 38.

⁴ Isaiah xxxix.

² Isaiah xlv. 10-20.

⁵ Jeremiah l. li.

³ Isaiah xlv.

⁶ Isaiah xli. 21-27.

is still to come, that we may know that you are gods. Do something, whether good or bad! See! you are less than nothing, and your deeds are nothing. He that chooses you is an abomination. It was I who called him [Cyrus] from the North, and he came; called him who invokes my name from the East, that he might tread upon governors like mud, like a potter pounding his clay. Who has foretold all this from the first, that we may know it? from ancient times, that we may say, 'It was true!' None has done it but I! I was the first to say unto Zion, 'See! they are there!' and to give the glad tidings to Jerusalem."

It is very strange that in the foregoing passage the prophet should make Yahweh describe Cyrus as "him who invokes my name," since the Persian monarch was no servant of Yahweh, but worshipped another god; and elsewhere the prophet himself makes Yahweh say to Cyrus, "I called thee by thy name and spoke to thee, though thou didst not know me."¹ Indeed, it is so strange as to make us half suspect that we have not the words really uttered by the prophet. Or is it possible that he had already heard of the Persians having no idols, and that this fact secured them his sympathy? Or did he on this one occasion call Cyrus a servant of Yahweh by a slip, because he respected him as the instrument of Yahweh's will? At any rate he habitually regards him as Yahweh's instrument and minister. Cyrus is to him "Yahweh's shepherd, who accomplishes his counsel and says to Jerusalem, 'Be thou built!' and to the temple, 'Be thou established!'"² or Yahweh's anointed, whom he takes by the hand and crowns with victory in order that he may acknowledge the name of Yahweh.³

Koresh, the instrument of Yahweh, the minister of Israel's god! What enormous consequences this involves! Nothing less than the belief that the fates of all Asia were guided with a view to Israel's requirements. Why did Yahweh summon the Persian monarch? Why did he make the peoples one after another fall before his arms? Simply and solely for the sake of Israel.⁴ In order that the chosen people of the Lord might recover their freedom the Chaldean kingdom must be brought low and must perish for ever, for its monarchs had sinned in devastating the land and the temple of Yahweh, and oppressing his people.

And why would Yahweh rescue Israel and restore it to its ancient splendor? Because of the people's goodness? Far

¹ Isaiah xlv. 4. ² Isaiah xlv. 28. ³ Isaiah xlv. 1-3. ⁴ Isaiah xlv. 4.

indeed from that! Israel relied upon the glory of his god, it is true, but forgot the precepts of truth and righteousness; and that was the very reason why Yahweh had revealed all that was now taking place by his messengers beforehand; for he knew that the people was obstinate and of a brazen countenance, and that if he had not expressly foretold it all, they might perhaps have ascribed their deliverance to the power of their idols! They were a faithless race, "trespassers from their very birth," and their god only delivered them for his name's sake, that he might win the glory of the deed. "Alas!" cried Yahweh to them, "would that ye had hearkened to my messengers! Then should your peace have been like a river, your salvation like the waves of the sea, your posterity countless and imperishable."¹ Yahweh loved Israel. "Zion said, 'Yahweh has forsaken me and the Lord has forgotten me!' Does a woman forget her sucking child, and take no pity on the babe at her breast? Though she should forget, I forget not you! I have graven you on the palms of my hands; and your walls are ever before my mind."²

The very boldness of the conception — "Yahweh, the universal ruler, guides all things for the good of Israel, his beloved though rebellious people" — precludes the supposition that it found a place in the hearts of all the Israelites. It would be too much to expect. The Second Isaiah may have commanded a certain amount of sympathy, but the mass of the Jews, who could never take so lofty a flight as his, revealed their love of Yahweh chiefly by their hatred of the Chaldeans. But yet such inspired words, such sublime conceptions, cannot have failed to exercise an enlivening power that quickened still further the rising hopes of the people.

So when Cyrus defeated the Babylonians, the Judæans were in a state of strained expectation; and when Babylon fell, many of them cherished the deep conviction: "The time of deliverance is at hand. Cyrus is our destined deliverer!"

¹ Isaiah xlviii. 1-19; compare xliii. 22-24.

² Isaiah xlix. 14-16.

CHAPTER XII.

THE RETURN UNDER ZERUBBABEL.

EZRA I.—III. 6; ISAIAH LIV., LV., LXI.

“**Y**AHWEH, the god of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and commanded me to build him a house at Jerusalem, in Judæa. As for them who belong to his people, may their god be with them! Let them return to Jerusalem, and build up the temple of Israel's god, who dwells there! And let the people of the places where they now sojourn give them all kinds of goods, and assist them also with free contributions for the rebuilding of Yahweh's temple.”—Such was the purport, according to the book of Ezra, of an edict which Cyrus, king of the Persians, issued in the first year of his reign over Chaldæa. The very first words of the edict, however, show that it is not authentic, for Ahuramazda, and not Yahweh, was the name which Cyrus gave to his Most High. The edict was probably composed by the writer of the book of Ezra himself. He lived in the third century B.C., and compiled the two books of Chronicles, as well as the work which is now split into two and called the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. This latter work contains memoirs written by Ezra and Nehemiah themselves, together with other matter of a much less trustworthy character.

The main provision of this spurious edict, however, was really made. Cyrus gave the Jews permission to return to their fatherland. His motives in doing so are obvious. In Babylonia the Jews were discontented subjects, who cherished an implacable hatred against the ruler who held them captive; whereas, if they returned by his permission to their own land, gratitude would attach them to himself and his house, and they would be the faithful guardians of his kingdom on the Egyptian frontier. It is quite possible also that, with a Persian's hatred of image worship, he felt kindly disposed towards the Jews, who were so entirely at one with him in this respect, as against the Chaldeans. But doubtless political considerations weighed most heavily with the conqueror. It was distinctly to his interest to secure the loyalty of this section of his subjects by gratifying their love of their country.

Nor was he content with simply granting them permission to return and rebuild the temple. He gave back to their leader all the consecrated utensils that Nebuchadrezzar had brought from Jerusalem and deposited in the temples and royal treasure houses: in all there were five thousand four hundred gold and silver bowls, cups, and platters. All this leads us to suspect that Cyrus may have been under some obligations to the Jews; nor does anything seem more probable than that some of them, roused by the words of the prophets who recognized in Cyrus the chosen instrument of Yahweh's will, should take the earliest opportunity of joining his side and fighting against the Chaldeans under his banner.

It was not a question of the return of a few hundred souls to find an abode as best they could; but of many thousands, who must be fairly established in possession of their ancient land; and accordingly Cyrus, no doubt in compliance with the wishes of the Jews themselves, placed at their head a recognized governor of the province they were to repopulate. The title "Sheshbazzar" or "the Tirshatha" is given him in the Authorized Version. This man was a descendant of king Jehoiakin,¹ and bore the significant name of "Zerubbabel," that is, *born in Babylon*.

The great question now was whether the exiles as a body would avail themselves of the opportunity given them, and quit the land of the stranger. We may well imagine how confidently the prophets who had foretold the fall of Babylon now urged their hesitating fellow-believers, and sought to breathe their own courage into the hearts of the timorous. It is possible that we still possess some passages from the oracles delivered at this time, but it is impossible confidently to assign the date and occasion of each of the prophecies of this period.

Even before permission to return had been granted, a prophet might exclaim:² "Up! ye that are athirst, come to the waters! Come, buy and eat, ye that have no money! Buy without money, buy wine and milk without price! Why weigh out your silver for what is not bread, and toil for what satisfies not? If ye hearken to me ye shall eat precious food, and your soul shall be refreshed with richness. Incline your ear and come unto me; hearken, that ye may live. I strike an eternal covenant with you, and give the unerring signs of favor which I have promised to David. Behold, I have made my servant Israel a witness amongst the peoples,

¹ 1 Chronicles iii. 16 ff.

² Isaiah lv.

a prince and ruler over the nations. Ye shall summon a people ye know not; a nation that knows not you shall run to you because of Yahweh your god, because of Israel's Holy One, for he shall glorify you.

"Seek ye Yahweh while he may be found; call upon him while he is near! Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts; let them return unto Yahweh that he may have pity, — to our god, for he will abundantly pardon.

"For my counsel is not your counsel, nor are your ways mine, says Yahweh. But as the heaven is higher than the earth, so is my counsel mightier than yours. As surely as the rain and the snow come down from heaven and return not thither, but water the earth and make it fruitful and full of increase, that the husbandman may have seed to sow and bread to eat, so surely my commands and promises shall not be vain, but shall accomplish my pleasure and fulfil my purpose.

"In joy shall you go forth, in peace shall you be led. Mountains and hills shall burst forth before you into cries of joy; all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn-bush the cypress shall grow, instead of the heather the myrtle. It shall be for a token of Yahweh's glory, imperishable for ever."

If Israel had already been reminded in such words as these of the unshaken fidelity of his god, the glorious promises might be repeated with double emphasis now that some of them were already beginning to be fulfilled.

The Second Isaiah could now cry more boldly than ever.¹ "The spirit of Yahweh is upon me, for he has anointed me a prophet to bring glad tidings to the afflicted, to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and opening of the prison to them that are in fetters; to proclaim the year of Yahweh's pleasure, the day of the vengeance of our god; to comfort all who mourn. To Zion's mourners I bring a coronet instead of ashes, the oil of joy instead of mourning, a festal robe instead of depression. They shall be called the oak-trees of justice, planted by Yahweh, and they shall be glorified.

"See! they shall build up the old ruins, and shall rear the places that have long lain waste, and shall rebuild the cities that were destroyed and have lain for generations desolate. Then shall strangers support you and pasture your flocks,

¹ Isaiah lxi.

aliens shall be your ploughmen and vine-dressers, and you shall be named the priests of Yahweh and called the servants of our god. The wealth of the nations you shall consume, and their glory you shall possess. Ay! instead of shame they shall have a double share; in place of being scorned they shall shout for joy. In their land they shall have a double portion, shall inherit eternal joy.

"For I, Yahweh, love justice and hate falsehood and wrong; I faithfully give them their reward, and make an everlasting covenant with them. Thus shall their seed be known among the peoples, their posterity among the nations. All they who see them shall know them for a race whom Yahweh has blessed.

"I will greatly rejoice in Yahweh, my soul shall be glad in my god; for he clothes me in festal garments, he wraps me in the mantle of prosperity, as a bridegroom crowned with a garland, as a bride adorned with her jewels. For as the earth brings forth her produce and a garden makes its plants spring up, so the Lord Yahweh makes salvation break forth and glory in the sight of the heathens."

Many of the Israelites were carried along by this prophetic enthusiasm, and made ready to return with their households to Jerusalem; but the majority were not prepared to make the venture yet. No wonder! It needed no little courage; for many of the exiles had gained possessions, and had taken Jeremiah's advice¹ in building houses and cultivating lands, in contracting marriages and bringing up children, in furthering the welfare of the land of their sojourn, finding their joy in its prosperity, and, in a word, ordering their lives in the foreign land as if it were their home. And now their new fatherland was dear to them, and they shrank from the terrible difficulties of the journey and the settlement in a defenceless land. Considerations of a religious nature might also come into play. It was certain, indeed, that Israel would one day be restored to honor; but had Yahweh's appointed time already come? Was the Messianic kingdom really to be established now? Who could tell? Prophets said so, it was true; but Judah had learned by the bitter experience of the last half-century of her existence how liable the prophets were to error, and it is not surprising that the exiles were slow to place implicit confidence in them now. Jeremiah had, indeed, foretold the fall of the city and the temple; but all his numerous opponents had done exactly the reverse. Then

¹ Jeremiah xxix. 4-7; compare p. 372.

there were many zealous worshippers of Yahweh who believed that Israel must be completely reformed according to the priestly law before they could rely with certainty upon Yahweh's support. Many of the Jews accordingly, while wishing all possible success to their more adventurous brothers, while trying to hope for the best and readily assisting with contributions, were nevertheless unwilling to join the expedition themselves.

The movement was therefore headed for the most part by fiery spirits of the prophetic school. It was religious enthusiasm rather than calm deliberation that presided over their counsels. It was but natural that the priestly order should be strongly represented, for the ministers of the temple at Jerusalem had for some time guided the religious development of Judah. Josiah's reformation was very largely their work, and many of the prophets were little more than their mouth-pieces.¹ Accordingly we find that they made up at least an eighth of the returning exiles. The priests proper were now distinguished for the first time from the Levites, — that is to say, the descendants of the old Levitical priests of the *bamoth*,² — and also from the singers, the porters, the slaves of the sanctuary (*nethinim* or "given," as they were called), and the descendants of the Canaanites, whom Solomon had assigned to the temple as serfs.³ Against four thousand priests, however, but seventy-four Levites were found amongst the returning bands, or, including singers and porters, three hundred and fourteen. This was very natural, for the prospects of the Levites were far less brilliant than those of the priests, and consequently Judæa had not such powerful attractions for them.

Even amongst the devouter exiles worldly considerations were by no means without influence in determining whether they should stay or go, and of course the kernel of real believers was joined by a great number of others whose motives were not in any degree of a religious nature: some of them had never prospered in Babylon, and hoped that a change would be an improvement; others went because their relatives were going, and others, again, were urged by mere love of adventure.

The total number that returned cannot be accurately fixed. It is true that we still have a list headed by the words, "Catalogue of the men who returned to their fatherland, of those whom Nebuchadrezzar carried away;" and this list is given

¹ Compare Jeremiah v. 31.

² See p. 323.

³ See p. 39.

three times over, though with many deviations.¹ But as to its trustworthiness we can only say that it was already in existence a little less than a century after the return. In all probability it includes the names not only of the families which returned under Zerubbabel, but also of those which had been left behind in Judæa, and were found there by the exiles on their return, and even of those which subsequently returned from Babylonia, Egypt, and elsewhere, when Zerubbabel's companions had made the land rather more habitable. The list in question gives a total of forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty heads of families, or about two hundred thousand souls; but for the reasons given above we must reduce this number by at least one-half, and probably by much more.

The returning exiles were for the most part Judæans. Indeed we have no proof that any of them were descendants of the former inhabitants of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. It is probable, of course, that there were certain families of North Israelitish extraction both amongst them and the remnant left in Judæa, for there must have been occasional migrations from Northern into Southern Israel after the fall of Samaria. But be this as it may, the Judæans, amongst whom the Benjamites and Simeonites had been completely sunk, formed such a large majority of the returning exiles that although they were regarded as the representatives of Israel's tribes, to the sacred number of twelve, yet they were henceforth spoken of as *Jews*, or men of Judah.

Let us now accompany these Jews on their return. Our Bible contains no accounts of the journey itself, but in the Apocryphal book called the Third of Esdras, to which we have already referred in a note, sundry details are given, which were very probably borrowed from our book of Ezra in its original form, though they have now fallen out of it.

The first day of the month of Nisan (which would be about the middle of March) was the time for beginning the journey fixed by Zerubbabel and his colleagues, amongst whom Joshua, the chief priest, held a high position. As the day approached the faithful streamed in from every quarter, many of them escorted from their respective villages by music. Rich presents of provisions and beasts of burden were given them, and prayers for their welfare were sent after them. Many of them

¹ In Ezra ii., in Nehemiah vii. 6 ff., and in the Apocryphal book commonly called the Third of Esdras.

also brought contributions towards the rebuilding of the temple received from the fellow-believers they left behind, or even from the heathens themselves.

As the day drew near the concourse at the trysting-place perpetually grew, and stray caravans still continued to arrive and pitch their tents. Crowds of Jews and heathens were attracted by curiosity or interest to the spot. At last there was no one else to wait for, and all reason for deferring the departure was at an end. Then Zerubbabel was solemnly proclaimed governor of Judæa by the representatives of the Persian king, and he on his side took the oath of allegiance, and testified his gratitude for the favors of Cyrus. Then a great shout of joy proclaimed that the apparatus of the temple had been handed over to Zerubbabel and intrusted by him to the priests.

The following day the huge caravan broke up. The air was all astir with waving branches, brothers and sisters sobbed a long farewell, troop after troop followed the lead; and above all the tumult rang out the sacred music of the priests, the rumbling drums, the clanging trumpets, and the triumphant songs of the faithful. In the midst of the procession were the leaders, Zerubbabel and the priests, with the sacred utensils, escorted by a troop of a thousand Persian cavalry commissioned to establish the exiles in the lawful possession of Jerusalem and its territory, and to give their neighbors clearly to understand that it was the king's pleasure to assign the Jews an abode in their ancient country.

Thus was the journey begun, a journey of several, nay, of many months' duration. Eighty years afterwards Ezra, with a much smaller caravan, required four months to reach Jerusalem,¹ and an expedition so much larger must have taken a considerably longer time. What a weary journey! How often the enthusiasm of this or that band of travellers must have sunk away when the burning sand of the desert scorched them, when thirst already tortured, and hunger threatened to destroy them! How bitterly many of them were disappointed! Had not the prophets declared that Yahweh would make a way through the desert for the weary ones? Had he not said,² "Fear not, O Jacob! When you go through the water I will be with you; through rivers, they shall not overflow you. When you go through the fire it shall not burn you, and the flame shall not consume you. For your sake will I do a new thing in the earth. I will make a way through

¹ Ezra vii. 9.

² Isaiah xlii. 1, 2, 19, 30.

the wilderness and make rivers in the desert; and the very jackals and ostriches shall praise me, for I shall make waters flow through the desert to give drink to my chosen, my people"? What had come of all these promises now? Alas! full many a believer, trusting in the power of his god, had entered upon the journey with no proper provision, and now perished miserably. Many a mother must have laid her child under the burning desert sand. And still they went on and on! Poets would try to breathe fresh courage into their comrades' hearts, and would remind them of Israel's past experience of Yahweh's faithfulness:—

When Israel came out of Egypt,
The house of Jacob from a land of foreign tongue,
Then Judah was his sanctuary
And Israel his kingdom.
When the sea saw this it fled;
The Jordan drew aback.
The mountains leaped like rams,
The hills like lambs.
What was it, O sea, that thou shouldst flee,
And Jordan, that thou shouldst draw back?
Why did ye leap like rams, ye mountains,
And like young sheep, ye hills?
Let the earth tremble before Yahweh's face,
Before the face of the god of Jacob;
Who turned the rock to a flood of water,
The flint-stone to a well!¹

The prophets still roused the weary and stirred the enthusiasm of the dejected. In Jerusalem, they said, the salvation of their god, the Messianic kingdom, awaited them. "How beautiful are his feet upon the mountains who brings glad tidings, and theirs who say to Zion, Your god is king! Hark to the voice of thy watchmen crying and shouting aloud, for they see with their very eyes that Yahweh comes back to Zion. Shout for joy, ye ruins of Jerusalem! Yahweh is comforting his people and redeeming Jerusalem. He has made bare his holy arm before all the nations; the whole earth is witness of the triumph of our god."² On, still on, went the travellers. Consoled or despondent, believing or despairing; those who had not turned back within the first few days had now no choice but to go on till they came to Judæa. When once they were there all their misery would be forgotten, and they would rejoice in Yahweh's gracious support.

Of course the exiles found their country in a miserable condition. Cities and villages lay in ruins, the fields were

¹ Psalm cxiv.

² Isaiah lii. 7-10.

for the most part uncultivated, the thickets swarmed with beasts of prey, the scattered population had relapsed almost into savagery, the surrounding tribes were hostile or suspicious. The Edomites were especially bitter. It appears that Nebuchadrezzar had granted their prince a portion of the land of Judah in return for his services at the siege and sack of Jerusalem. At any rate the greater part of Southern Judah, up to Hebron, was occupied by Edomites, and of course they were slow to recognize the rights of any former possessors of the soil. Such was the country to which the wearied exiles returned. As soon as their feet were upon the land of their fathers, they set about discovering the places to which they respectively traced their origin, and since most of them belonged to families of more or less distinction they aimed at recovering their ancestral possessions, and so providing themselves with the means of support.

But when they had devoted a few weeks to these tasks, the seventh month approached, and as many of them as could possibly do so assembled at Jerusalem to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles. The redeemed of Yahweh must join with enthusiasm in the feast, though the sight of the mount of the temple, covered with ruins, might fill them with sadness, and though the perils that surrounded them made them feel now almost more than in Babylon "a worm of Jacob." Under the orders of Joshua the priests had already cleared away the ruins and reared an altar on the spot on which the great altar of burnt-offerings had stood. Though the rebuilding of the temple was not yet begun, though the straitened circumstances of the people forbade their even thinking of the work as yet, still the altar at least was built, and it should not want for victims. Not only was the festive offering laid upon the flames, but as far as possible all the other ancient usages were also revived. The daily sacrifice at morn and evening, the offerings at the new moon, and the free-will offerings to Yahweh were all made. Their god had redeemed them, and they would not forsake him; poor as they were they would yet honor him. And what had they to fear if he were gracious to them?

The golden age, the day of Yahweh's pleasure, would put all fear to flight! "Sing joyously," cried a prophet, likening the devastated and depopulated land to a childless woman,¹ "Sing joyously, thou barren one! Rejoice, O thou who didst never give birth to child! For the children of the desolate

¹ Isaiah liv.

are more than those of the wife, says Yahweh. Make wide your tent, extend the curtains of your dwellings, and stint not. Lengthen the cords and make strong the tent-pegs, for right and left shall ye spread; your posterity shall expel the heathen and reinhabit the devastated cities. Fear not, for thou shalt not be put to shame; thou shalt not blush for confusion, but shalt rather forget the reproach of thy youth, and remember no more the shame of thy widowhood. For thy husband is thy creator: Yahweh of hosts is his name. Thy redeemer is Israel's Holy One, and he shall be invoked as the god of all the earth.

"For Yahweh has called you, as a grieved and deserted woman, as the wife of one's youth that has been forsaken; says your god. A little while did I leave thee, but with great pity do I draw thee to me. In vehement wrath have I hidden my face for a moment; but with eternal love do I pity thee; says Yahweh, thy redeemer. Now shall it be as it was with the waters of Noah; as I swore then that the flood should no more cover the earth, so I swear now to be no more wroth with thee nor threaten thee. For mountains may move and hills be shaken, but my love to thee shall not move, my covenant of peace shall not be shaken; says Yahweh who pities thee.

"O thou afflicted, tossed with the tempest and unconsolated, I will set thy stones in precious cement and found thee upon sapphires. I will make thy battlements rubies, thy gates carbuncles, and all thy district precious stones. All thy sons shall be taught by Yahweh, and great shall be the peace of thy children. Through righteousness shalt thou be established. Be not thou troubled, for thou hast naught to fear; be not in terror, for the evil shall not come nigh thee. Even as the smith blows upon the fire and prepares his tools for work,¹ so do I create the destroyer who works destruction. Every weapon prepared against thee is powerless; every tongue that accuses thee shall be put to shame. Such is the portion of Yahweh's servants, the reward I give them; says Yahweh."

With these expectations the exiles had returned from Babylon, and with these they faced the unknown future.

¹ After an amended version.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

EZRA III. 7-IV. 5, V., VI.; HAGGAI; ZECHARIAH II-IV.; JERL.

THE writer of the book of Ezra represents the exiles as beginning to rebuild the temple immediately after the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, and tells us that the foundations of the sanctuary were laid with solemn rejoicings as early as the second month in the year after their return. But this account is highly improbable. We must remember what was involved in seriously undertaking the task and not merely playing with it. It meant, to begin with, clearing away the heaps of rubbish, hewing a vast number of great blocks of stone, and bringing down thousands of cedar trunks from Lebanon, with the help of the Phœnicians. The Jews could not possibly meet all these expenses in a few months. Besides, the writer of Ezra, who lived two centuries and a half after the events he records, evidently mixed up the accounts he drew from his authorities, and confused different periods together. Thus, he tells us that it was the opposition of the neighboring tribes that prevented the work from going on at once; and, in confirmation of this statement, he cites a letter written not in the reign of Cyrus, but in that of Artaxerxes, one of the successors of Darius!¹ We are therefore quite unable to rely upon his chronology, and shall do better to assume, in accordance with the indications in Haggai and Zechariah, that the foundations of the temple were not laid till the fifteenth year of the return.

Indeed, there was no necessity for haste. Much as the Jews desired a temple, impossible as it was for them to conceive of the Messianic age without a magnificent house of Yahweh, all that was absolutely necessary for the moment was a centre of worship where the daily sacrifices at morn and even might be offered, and all who had made sacred vows might be able to pay them. Now they possessed all this provisionally in the altar of burnt sacrifices that they had raised in the midst of the ruins and had solemnly consecrated. Although there was no temple there was public service of Yahweh; and the truth in the account in Ezra may be taken

¹ Ezra iv. 6 ff.

to be that a few months after the Feast of the Tabernacles this service was regularly instituted at Jerusalem; the priests, the Levites, the singers, and all the other officials of the temple had their tasks assigned them, and, under the direction of Joshua, the high priest, were busily engaged in preparing for the restoration of the temple by clearing away the rubbish and collecting money and building materials.

The priests may have thrown their whole hearts into these preparations; but we cannot wonder that the laity, in spite of all their devotion to Yahweh, found other work more pressing than the rebuilding of the temple. It was doubtless as much as they could do to gain a living; and those who had returned from Babylonia must have been involved in many difficulties and anxieties by their relations with those they had found in possession on their arrival, and especially the Edomites, who had naturally penetrated everywhere after settling in southern Judah. Again, the Jews were sorely tried after the death of Cyrus, when his son and successor, Cambyses, marched upon Egypt and conquered the whole country; for, of course, a province so near the seat of war as Palestine felt the pressure of varied imposts, and had to supply both men and provisions.

For the present, therefore, the building of the temple was postponed. Though the priests lost no opportunity of rebuking the listlessness of their fellow-believers, though zealous voices rose from time to time and insisted on the sacred work being done, yet Zerubbabel was for many years unable to move the people to it. Every one admitted that it must be done — but not yet.

At last, in the year 520 B.C., when Cambyses had died childless and, after a short period of confusion, had been succeeded by Darius the son of Hystaspes, the youthful colony was visited by a cruel famine. The rain had not fallen, the harvest had failed, and everything went ill with the Jews. Then Haggai rose as a prophet, and his words waked an echo when he cried: "It is because the building of the temple is delayed. How can you bear to dwell in well-timbered houses yourselves, while the house of Yahweh lies in ruins? Consider what you have done, and see what it has brought upon you!" So now the work was taken in hand, and was soon sufficiently advanced for the foundations of the sanctuary to be laid.

On the twenty-fourth day of the second month of the second year of the reign of Darius there were great festivities

in Jerusalem. Yahweh's help was solemnly invoked on the sacred work. The spot upon which the new sanctuary was to rise was marked off on the area, from which the rubbish had now been cleared away. A number of beams and blocks of stone were already prepared. The architects and overseers, some of them doubtless priests, were ranged round the altar. It rose in front of the spot where the portico would stand, and was already provided with the necessary washing vats and other apparatus. Then Zerubbabel addressed the people, indicated the site of the future temple, and urged them to strain all their powers in the work. The ramshorn trumpets sounded, the smoke of the sacrifices rose on high, the choir lifted up the song, "Praise Yahweh, for he is gracious and his mercy endures for ever!" cries of enthusiastic joy burst from the people's lips, every sorrow was for the moment forgotten, even the gnawing tooth of hunger was blunted, and men thought not of their scanty clothing. "Praise Yahweh" was echoed from every lip. "He will send his blessing upon us. The temple is rebuilt, the temple rebuilt! The times of David are returning. Israel is Yahweh's people. Hallelujah!" But there were certain men of ancient days, both priests and others, who had seen the former temple that was devastated six-and-sixty years ago. Ah, what a glorious building it was! Those stately rows of pillars that ran round the court; those miniature chapels and temples that filled the court itself and vied with each other in wealth and splendor; those noble obelisks, Jachin and Boaz, that rose before the sanctuary; those magazines and wardrobes, priestly abodes, bakehouses and spice booths, row upon row; that splendid dais for the king and his court; that gallery for the singers; and, above all, the sanctuary itself, with its rich adornments of cherubs and flower-buds, and its countless consecrated gifts! Alas, all this — and their imagination painted it in far more glorious colors yet — all this would not return! It was well to rebuild the temple, and Yahweh would bless his people for it. The golden age would surely come, but meanwhile how wretched was the state of Israel! And at these melancholy thoughts, in the midst of the people's deafening shouts of joy, the old men wept bitterly. But the sounds of woe were drowned.¹ "Praise Yahweh!" rang from every side. "It is the temple of Yahweh, and Israel is his heritage!"

¹ After an amended version.

What is more common than for the pressure of actual life to quench excited feeling? Can we wonder that the people were soon considerably sobered? When they came to think it all over quietly, even those who had never beheld the former temple began to take a less rose-colored view of the future. They were poor and wretched; the work they had undertaken was above their strength; when all was done their sanctuary would fall far short of the old one; — and the Messianic age? In that same year the prophet Haggai repeatedly attempted to rouse the people's courage. What did they mean by lamenting that this second temple would be inferior to the first? "Only be bold, Zerubbabel and Joshua, for Yahweh is with you. Full soon the golden age shall dawn, and Yahweh will then incite all peoples to bring their choicest gifts to his sanctuary. His will has sway over all the gold and silver on the earth, and he will make this temple far surpass the ancient one in splendor." They must not delay the building; for, as a piece of unclean flesh desecrated everything it touched, so this one piece of negligence made all their sacrifices and all their other good works of no avail. Had not Yahweh shown them clearly enough that he was wroth with them for their sloth by sending drought and every kind of misfortune? But now, cried the prophet, as the time of the spring rains drew near, now they might safely sow their corn, for the rain would come and days of glory were at hand. Surely the Messianic age was dawning. "Behold! O Zerubbabel, how all the kingdoms are overturned, how all their might is broken! But thou, my servant, art dear to me, and I will keep thee like a signet ring upon my hand, because I can trust thee, says Yahweh."

In his attempts to keep the zeal of the Jews alive, Haggai found a stout ally in the prophet Zechariah,¹ whose fantastic symbolism pictures the dawn of the Messianic age while he insists upon repentance. In a vision, as he expresses it, he saw a man with a measuring line. "Where are you going?" he cried to him. "To measure out the future Jerusalem," was the reply; "for it shall overflow with inhabitants and shall extend on every side. Rejoice, O daughter of Zion! for Yahweh comes to dwell in thy midst. Return, O ye who are still in exile with the daughter of Babylon! Whoso troubles you brings trouble on himself, as one who should touch the apple of my eye. Be silent, for Yahweh is roused!" I saw,

¹ On the composition of the book that bears his name, see p. 238.

continues the prophet, Joshua the high priest, standing in foul clothes before the face of Yahweh's angel, while Satan stood by him to accuse him and to compass his fall. But Yahweh cursed Satan, clothed Joshua in clean garments, and gave him a holy head-dress. Thus his unrighteousness was removed. Then Yahweh's angel said to him: "Serve Yahweh and he will grant you to abide here for ever, and will make you a living sign, for 'Sprout' (that is the sprout of David, the Messiah) draws near. All unrighteousness shall be done away, and there shall be plenty everywhere." "What see you?" said an angel, waking me from sleep. 'A golden lamp-stand with seven lamps, and a cruse of oil, and two olive trees right and left of the cruse. What is the meaning, O my lord?' 'Do you not understand it?' asked the angel. Then he explained it to me. It was Yahweh's word to Zerubbabel, that the holy work of building the temple should not be accomplished with violence, but by the spirit of Yahweh. At Zerubbabel's command the summit of the temple mount should be levelled and the keystone set. He had begun the work and he should complete it. Who so foolish as to despise the day of small beginnings? 'And who are these two olive trees,' I asked again; 'who are these olive branches in the golden cruses from which there flows out gold?' 'Do you not understand?' he answered. 'They are the two olive branches which stand before the lord of all the earth.'"

This last explanation can hardly have enlightened the prophet's hearers much; but they needed no further hint to understand that, as the oil in the cruse was the symbol of Yahweh's all-inspiring spirit, so these two olive trees represented Zerubbabel and Joshua, whose task it was to prepare for the Messianic kingdom. And assuredly that kingdom was at hand. Fasts were still held, as appointed, year by year; but before long mourning would be replaced by joy. Soon the inhabitants of all the cities of the earth would exhort each other to the zealous service of Yahweh, and all peoples should make pilgrimages to Jerusalem. "Then shall ten men of divers tongues take hold of a Jew by the flap of his garment and say: 'We will go with thee, for God is with thee.'"

The words of the prophets were so far successful that the work was carried on and was completed within four years

¹ Compare Jeremiah xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15, and p. 390.

² Zechariah viii. 19-23.

Within four years! When we remember that Solomon, whose resources were so much ampler than those of Haggai's and Zechariah's contemporaries, required seven years to complete his temple,¹ and that his successors repeatedly enlarged its plan, we can very well believe that the new building presented but a sorry contrast to the former one, and that the old men, who had seen the first temple, often gazed full sadly on the second.

In extent and magnificence the second temple was doubtless insignificant when compared with the first, but it was a far greater work of faith than the edifice of Solomon had been. That ostentatious monarch had given Yahweh a dwelling-place at the expense of his subjects, and had derived nothing but enjoyment and credit from it himself; whereas the second temple was the free and generous gift of a poverty-stricken people, who had borne with privations in their own hovels that they might give their god a palace; nay, they had imperilled their very existence by steadfastly refusing even to be helped in a manner which they thought would displease their god.

Upon this deed of faith we must now fix our attention.

North of the district in which the exiles settled on their return lay the former territory of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. It will be remembered that this district had been to a great extent depopulated two centuries before, and especially, we may suppose, in the neighborhood of Samaria, which would naturally suffer most in the war. Accordingly, one of the kings of Assyria, perhaps Shalmaneser,² but more probably Esar-haddon,³ had repopulated the district by colonies from Cuthah and other Babylonian cities; and the Babylonian colonists had united with the Israelites, and even adopted their religion. These facts are preserved in a highly characteristic narrative in the book of Kings,⁴ which runs as follows: "The colonists did not serve Yahweh; so he sent lions amongst them, and many of them were devoured." This reminded them of their neglect to give his due to the god of the country, and they begged the king of Assyria to give them an Israelitish priest to teach them how to serve this god and deliver themselves from the beasts of prey. Their request was complied with; and ever after they served Yahweh, though they also retained their own religious usages

¹ 1 Kings vi. 38.

³ Ezra iv. 2.

² 2 Kings xvii. 24, compared with *ev.* 3 ff.

⁴ 2 Kings xvii. 24-41.

and their own deities, five of whom are enumerated. Their Yahweh-worship, therefore, was of the heathenish type, for which the historian condemns them severely.

Such is the naïve account in which we are informed that the Babylonian colonists adopted the worship of Yahweh from the Israelites. Since Josiah's reformation was not without its influence in the north,¹ we may be sure that the heathen practices of these immigrants were gradually superseded, and that the sacrifice of children for instance was abolished from amongst them. After the fall of Jerusalem we hear of a band of pilgrims from Shiloh, Shechem, and Samaria,² going in mourning garments to visit the ruins of the sanctuary. Some of them it will be observed came from the territory of the Cuthæans. From a religious point of view, then, there was not much difference between these Babylonians and the northern Israelites on the one hand and the new population of Judæa on the other.

These Cuthæans, or Samaritans as they were afterwards called, seem to have been on unfriendly terms with the northern Israelites. At any rate they did not act in concert with them after the return of the exiles. Probably the Israelites rejected them as strangers, and refused to act in harmony with them. This may have prepared them to some extent for the reception they met when they offered their friendship to the exiles who had returned from Babylonia. Their action in the matter shows their sincerity, for they had no material advantage to reap from permission to join in building Yahweh's temple, which was what they wanted. Their only desire was to be recognized as true worshippers of Yahweh and received into Israel. "Since Esar-haddon's days," they said to the Jewish leaders, "we have served Yahweh, and we desire to do so still. May we not help you in building a house for him?"

To understand the sacrifice which Zerubbabel and Joshua made in refusing this request, we must reflect what great advantages the proffered aid would have brought them. In the first place the task was almost beyond their strength, so that anything that lightened it would be extremely welcome; and in the next place their southern boundary was already exposed to the ceaseless hostility of the Edomites, which made it all the more important to secure the friendship of their northern neighbors, for if they incurred their enmity also they would be lodged between two fires. The Cuthæans, moreover, sepa-

¹ Compare p. 328.

² Jeremiah xli. 5.

rated them from their northern brethren, whose alliance they could not fail to desire, on condition of compliance with their religious laws. There must have been very conclusive reasons, then, to induce the leaders to reject the hand of fellowship extended to them, and doubtless many of the Jews would eagerly have grasped it.

Then why did the majority reject the Samaritans after all? According to the book of Ezra they alleged the pretext that it was only the Jews to whom Cyrus had given permission to build the temple; as if the king had intended to prohibit them from availing themselves of any help they could get in their work! Their true reason, however, may readily be guessed. These Cutheans were not of Israelite extraction, and Israel must not intermarry with strangers. Had not this very offence, according to their books of law and history, been the most fruitful source of misery and apostasy from primeval times? Yahweh would indeed bless his people, but only on condition that they were faithful to him, and entered into no alliance with other peoples.

This refusal on the part of the Jews was a deed of faith, and there is certainly something noble in it. But on the other hand it need hardly be said that their conduct breathes an unhallowed spirit of exclusiveness and national pride. Moreover, it is in palpable contradiction with Zechariah's expectations that the heathens would come and enrich the temple of Yahweh. But it does not follow that Zechariah thought otherwise of the offer of the Samaritans than Zerubabel and Joshua did. Far from it. It was one thing, in the fervor of his discourse, to picture all the heathens coming submissively and reverentially to beseech the help of Yahweh's people when visibly protected and blessed by him; but it was a very different thing to have to admit that Yahweh's people was so poor and downcast as to be glad to purchase the help of heathens by allowing them equal rights with Israel. The one conception was flattering to the national vanity; the other was a deep humiliation.

This refusal produced its natural consequences. The Samaritans were offended by the haughtiness of the Jews, and hated them with an intensity proportioned to the zeal with which they had sought their friendship. Thus a feeling of hostility arose which subsequently caused incalculable injury and pain to Samaritans and Jews alike. It increased with the growth of that spirit of exclusiveness which kept gathering strength amongst the Jews henceforth; it was kept up

with equal bitterness on both sides, and did not end until the two peoples had sunk below each other's horizons.

It appears that the disappointed Samaritans instantly attempted to hinder the Jews from building the temple at all, since they would not let them help. But at first they had no success. The governor of Syria, whose suspicions they aroused, inquired in a hostile spirit into the nature of the work that the Jews were executing in Jerusalem, but they were able to refer to the permission given them by Cyrus. Indeed, according to the book of Ezra, the original edict of the king was found at Ecbatana, in Media; but in any case the work Zerubbabel was doing was of too innocent a character to have called for the interposition of the Persian governor. So the temple, as we have seen, was completed without the help and even in the face of the opposition of the Samaritans, and was then consecrated by Israel with festal sacrifices and cries of joy, while the Passover was celebrated for seven days in gladness of spirit. All this was done by the true "Israel," the people of the twelve tribes; for the Jews considered themselves its representatives. On occasion of the feast of consecration they expressed this thought by dedicating to Yahweh twelve goats as a sin offering, after the number of the tribes.¹

So Israel was again established, with the house of God as its consecrated centre. Would not the Messianic age now dawn at last?

Such was the dream of many a Jew; for there were still enthusiasts who, hoping against hope, still promised Israel the richest blessings and threatened the enemies of the Lord's people with humiliation and destruction. A remarkable example is furnished by the book of Joel. The prophet of this name takes occasion by a plague of locusts, in which he sees an announcement of Yahweh's coming day of judgment, to exhort his countrymen. "In the last days," he exclaims, "In the last days, says Yahweh, I will pour out my spirit upon all mankind, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions; while your very slaves and slave-girls shall receive my spirit. Then will I give signs in heaven and upon earth, blood and fire and pillars of smoke; the sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood, before the great day of Yahweh's judgment comes. But in that day whosoever invokes the name

¹ Ezra vi. 17, viii. 35.

of the Lord shall escape the judgment, for on Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be a refuge for all who cry unto Yahweh. And behold, when Judah and Jerusalem are blessed once more, then will I assemble all the heathens in the valley of Jehoshaphat (that is *Yahweh judges*), where sentence shall be pronounced and executed on them because they have scattered my people and taken them away captive, and parted my land and sold the inhabitants as slaves for a paltry price." Not only Judah's oppressors who had taken the people captive, but her neighbors also, and particularly the Phœnicians, who had sold the Judæans as slaves to the Greeks, should bear a heavy punishment, and should be sold to the Arabians in their turn by the people of Yahweh. The prophet waxes ever hotter in his wrath and cries, "Call the heathen to battle; let their heroes come forth. Beat your spades into swords and your scythes into spears! Let the feeble cry, 'I am mighty,' and assemble all together!—O Yahweh, send thine angel down!—There come the heathens advancing to the valley of Jehoshaphat! But there I sit, says Yahweh, to pronounce my sentence upon them. How they crowd through the valley of judgment! The day of Yahweh is at hand. Sun and moon are darkened, and the stars have lost their sight. Yahweh roars from Zion and thunders from Jerusalem, and heaven and earth tremble. But he is a refuge for his people. Thus shall ye know that I, Yahweh, am your god, who dwell upon Zion and whose sanctuary is Jerusalem, Jerusalem that shall never more be trodden by the stranger's foot. Then shall the mountains all flow with wine and the hills with milk; then shall all Judah's streams be full of water; then shall a fountain spring from the house of Yahweh, and water the region round. Then shall Egypt be devastated and Edom laid waste, because they afflicted Judah; but Judah shall abide for ever, Jerusalem from generation to generation, for Yahweh dwells in Zion!"

These were bold words to utter, and they bear witness to a fervid faith!

But alas! the Messianic age, which was proclaimed with such passionate confidence, did not come. We know very little of the first fifty years after the rebuilding of the temple, but that little is dreary in the extreme. It is true that besides rebuilding the temple the Jews restored the city walls; but we afterwards find them in ruins again, and Jerusalem utterly dismantled. Even Zerubbabel's position

was anything but a brilliant one, for he was only the servant of the Persian king under supervision of the governor of Syria; yet he enjoyed far more consideration than any of his successors did. As the scion of David's house, he represented the glorious past, and was, as it were, the visible pledge of an equally joyous future, and upon him accordingly the eyes of his countrymen were fixed in hope. But this was not the case with his successors. We do not so much as know the names of any of them, and may therefore presume that none of them were men of any note or members of the house of David. The succession of high priests was kept up and their power steadily increased; but much as the Jews were attached to their forms of worship, the magnificence of the high priest was no substitute for the regal splendor of the Messianic age.

We can well suppose what the fate of the Jews would be. When once the Samaritans had called the Syrian governor's attention to the love of freedom which had always marked the inhabitants of Jerusalem, he would look with suspicion upon the rebuilding of the city walls, and would rejoice to see them destroyed in any petty hostilities between the Jews and the Edomites or Samaritans. It is even possible that some kind of Messianic agitation furnished the occasion for building the castle on the mount of the temple, north of the sanctuary, which was at first called Baris, and afterwards Antonia.¹ From time to time a small Persian garrison was stationed in this castle. The taxes were levied with inexorable rigor, and if any one resisted the king's authority, short measures were taken with him; a rafter from his own house served as his gallows, and his home was laid in ruins.² Deputy governors would be expressly selected from amongst the least patriotic Jews, and would sometimes even be strangers.

Thus Judah sank and sank. As to their personal lot the Jews had perhaps not much to complain of, but all whose ideal extended beyond individual prosperity were often smitten with deep grief. The prophet Zechariah had once exclaimed,³ "O Yahweh of war-hosts! wilt thou not take pity on Jerusalem and Judah's cities with which thou hast been wroth these seventy years?" but not one of the "fair words of comfort" in which Yahweh's angel replied⁴ had yet been accomplished. The tension of feeling which had enabled the Jews to rebuild the temple and the city walls, and to refuse

¹ See Map IV.

³ Zechariah i. 12.

² Compare Ezra vi. 11.

⁴ v. 13.

the help of the Samaritans, was now relaxed. Listlessness had taken its place; and those whose religious feelings were deepest often asked in sore perplexity, "Is Yahweh faithless after all?"

The sense of mingled joy in Israel's redemption from captivity, and bitter disappointment at the delay of the Messianic age, is reflected in several psalms which may be assigned with probability to this period. One of them is psalm lxxxv :

O Yahweh, thou hast been gracious to thy land
In bringing back the captives of Jacob;
Thou hast forgiven thy people's iniquity,
And covered all their sins.
Thou hast put all thy wrath aside,
And withdrawn from thy fierce displeasure.

Restore us, then, O god of our salvation!
And remove thine anger from us.
Wilt thou be wroth against us for ever,
And extend thy fury from generation to generation?
Wilt thou not revive us again,
That thy people may rejoice in thee?
O Yahweh, show us thy grace,
And grant us thy salvation!

Let me hear the words of god Yahweh,
For he promises peace to his people, his loved ones,
That they may not return to folly.
Surely his redemption is nigh them that fear him,
That glory may come to our land.
Then shall mercy and faithfulness meet together;
Righteousness and peace shall kiss one another.
Faithfulness shall spring up from the earth,
And righteousness shall look down from heaven.
Yahweh shall prosper us,
And our land shall bring forth increase.
May righteousness go out before him,
And follow in his footsteps!

So sang the poet, hoping against hope. His sweet words might soothe and strengthen his hearers for a time; but the stern reality soon reasserted itself, plunging them into deeper despondency than ever, and adding strength to their distracting doubts.

CHAPTER XIV.

IS NOT YAHWEH RIGHTEOUS?

THE BOOK OF JOB.

THE believer has no more precious treasure than his faith.

As long as he retains it he can bear all things; but if he loses it the world soon grows too hard for him. And this is why the devout Israelites, as we have already seen,¹ had felt such agony of soul ever since the mournful reality had come so sharply into contrast with their faith. Yahweh, the god of gods, nay, the one living and almighty God, had chosen Israel for his heritage, and was able and willing to protect and bless his people. Such was their faith; but ever since Josiah, the zealous worshipper of Yahweh, had purified his people's religion from the stain of heathenism, and had then fallen, a few years afterwards, in battle; ever since Judah, though turning to Yahweh and renouncing the service of all other gods, had been reduced to slavery, — one mystery had followed another. There was Judah's continued dependence upon the stranger, though the Chaldean power had followed the Egyptian, and the Persian the Chaldean; there was the fall of Jerusalem in spite of the most confident assurances of the prophets that Yahweh would come to the rescue; there was the release of the exiles by the favor of a heathen prince who was simply consulting his own interest in the measure, — for such was the sober view of the event which must have gradually spread amongst the people; there was the return, without the visible tokens of Yahweh's support which the prophets had foretold, but in the midst of privations and at the cost of many a precious life; and, finally, there was the present miserable poverty, dissension, and slavery, with Jerusalem, the holy city, thinly populated and half in ruins, and with enemies on every side. How could the traditional faith in Yahweh stand against all this?

The careless spirit of mockery which had made men cry, in the days of their prosperity, "He never existed, and no harm can come to us,"² now taught them to deny his government, and declare that he never troubled himself about the affairs of men; but more serious minds were racked by doubts as

¹ See p. 344.

² Jeremiah v. 12.

to Yahweh's justice. Then as now and always people in general were shallow enough to be satisfied with superficial answers, but those who followed out their thoughts were tortured by the grievous problems which the facts of life had forced upon their faith.

Many found a kind of satisfaction in the thought that Yahweh was punishing them for the sins of their fathers. In the early years after Josiah's death it was often said that Manasseh's idolatry had stirred the wrath of Yahweh so deeply that not even the people's repentance could appease him. Such was the view of the author of Kings,¹ and indeed of Jeremiah himself, for he did not deny the justice of the proverb current amongst his murmuring contemporaries, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."² In much the same spirit the later prophets also explain the national misery and humiliation as the result of national wickedness. The Second Isaiah, for instance, cries,³ "Who gave Jacob over to spoil, and Israel to the robbers? It was Yahweh, against whom we have sinned, whose commandments we refused to accomplish, whose law we would not hear." So, too, Zechariah⁴ declares that Yahweh commanded his people to be righteous and merciful, to succor widows and orphans, and plot no evil one against another; but when they refused to obey him, and would not listen to the exhortations of the prophets, then his wrath burst over them. They had been deaf to his voice until he, in his turn, was deaf to their entreaties, and swept them away amongst the heathens to unknown lands, while their own lay waste. In harmony with this explanation of the national adversity, we heard Haggai but now ascribing the famine to the delay in rebuilding the temple.

The old answer, then, was still repeated on every hand, "National suffering is the punishment of national sin;" but we need not be surprised at its not satisfying every one; and in itself it is obviously false. No rational connection can be established between the idolatry of Manasseh and the defeat of Josiah, or in general between the sins and the sufferings of Israel. Nor were these national sufferings the only enigma. The private lot of men presented many features that no one could reconcile with the righteous government of God. The ordinary doctrine that the good enjoyed prosperity, while the wicked were overtaken by adversity, was often in glaring

¹ 2 Kings xxi. 10-15, xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3.

² Isaiah xlii. 24.

³ Jeremiah xv. 4, xxxi. 23.

⁴ Zechariah vii. 8 ff.

contradiction with the facts. The great mass of people might hold it as a matter of routine belief; but any one who thought it out was driven into doubt and the recognition of his own ignorance. It was but natural that many of the "sages" should find themselves in this position. Jeremiah tells¹ us that even in his time the sages were ashamed, confounded, and dismayed; but he is content with the ready though shallow explanation that inasmuch as they had rejected Yahweh's word their wisdom must necessarily come to nought. And indeed a prophet and preacher of repentance like Jeremiah was not at all the man to understand and appreciate the sages. The cause of their confusion was not that they had disobeyed the word of Yahweh, but that facts were in contradiction with the current doctrine as to Yahweh's righteousness, and those whose office led them deliberately to examine what they saw and felt, perceived this contradiction sooner than the prophets; for doubt is fatal to the glow of inspiration, and the prophets were therefore instinctively conservative and unwilling to question or reject the traditional faith of their ancestors.

To a sage, who reviewed the great question of God's justice with singular intrepidity, we owe a work which is one of the greatest glories of Israelitish literature; namely, the book of Job. Opinions differ widely as to the date of its composition. Some scholars believe it was written in Manasseh's time; some place it soon after Josiah, whether during the captivity or just before it; others again would bring it down to the first century after the return, and others later still. In placing it here, and treating it before we come to Ezra, I do not mean to say that I am by any means sure that it was written at exactly this period, though there is much to support the opinion that it was; but at any rate the circumstances of the Jews at this time were eminently suited to make thoughtful men consider and discuss the perplexing question that furnishes the subject-matter of the book.

Let us examine its contents.

The first two chapters contain the following story:—

There dwelt in the land of Uz, the wilderness north of Edom, a man of blameless piety whose name was Job. He had great possessions in cattle and slaves, and had seven sons and three daughters. His children led a luxurious life, and feasted from time to time in the houses of each of the brothers in turn; but when the festivities were over, their father would

¹ Jeremiah: viii. 9.

send for them to sanctify them and make sacrifices on behalf of each, for who could tell that they had not committed some offence in the midst of their merry-making? So scrupulous was Job in his piety!

But on a certain day the angels came to present themselves before Yahweh in heaven, and amongst them came Satan, the accuser of men. Then Yahweh asked him whence he came, and he replied that he had wandered over all the earth. He brought many accusations against men; to which Yahweh answered: "But have you considered my servant Job? for no mortal equals him in blameless piety and virtue." Then Satan answered mockingly, "What wonder? Does Job serve God for nothing? You have hedged him round with protection, and you prosper him in all he undertakes! But put out your hand and take away his treasures, and he will deny you to your very face!" But Yahweh would not so soon relinquish the pride he took in his faithful servant, and in the conviction that Job would nobly bear the test, he gave the accuser permission to do whatever he chose with the pious man's possessions; only he must not touch his person. Then Satan went out, intent on compassing the fall of Job.

Blow after blow now fell upon him. Once, as he sat before his house, while his children were feasting with their eldest brother, a messenger rushed into his presence with the news, "Arabs have seized your oxen and asses and put all your slaves to death, and I have escaped alone to tell you!" While he was yet speaking, there came another with the tidings, "Lightning has struck your flocks, and all the sheep and shepherds are dead, and I have escaped alone to tell you!" The words were still on his lips when a third came up and cried, "Marauding Chaldeans have surprised your camels and carried them away and have killed all the slaves, and I have escaped alone to tell you." Finally, a fourth messenger hurried into his presence with the overwhelming tidings, "The house in which your children were feasting has been thrown down by a whirlwind, and every one in it killed, and I have escaped alone to tell you!" Utterly broken down by all these blows Job flung himself upon the ground. With his garments rent and his head shorn, a prey to intensest grief, he burst into the wail: "Naked was I born and naked shall I return," but immediately added the words of acquiescence, "Yahweh gave, Yahweh has taken away; blessed be Yahweh's name!"

Again the angels gathered together before Yahweh, and

Satan was amongst them. Yahweh asked him, as before, whence he came, and again he answered, "From wandering about on the earth." Then Yahweh asked triumphantly, "And what say you now to my servant Job? Has any man such piety as his? He still clings to it, though you moved me to ruin him!" But Satan was not so easily driven off the field. "There is nothing wonderful in his conduct yet," he replied; "for he is afraid of his life, and a man will give anything for that. Only touch him with disease, and he will renounce you to your face." "Go your way," said Yahweh, with unshaken confidence in Job; "do what you will with him, but spare his life."

So the accuser went his way, and smote Job with a loathsome leprosy. Covered with sores from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, tortured by an intolerable itching, and shunned as unclean by all men, he sat alone upon the ash-heap by his house. Then his wife came and added yet another to his woes by her bitter words, "Do you still hold fast to your piety? What can it do for you now? Renounce God and die!" But Job, in all his torture, still replied, "You speak like a senseless woman! Are we to receive good from the hands of God and not to receive evil?" So in spite of all his sufferings not one foolish word escaped the lips of Job.

Now when his friends Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar heard of his adversity, they all came to testify their sympathy and offer their consolations. But when they saw him and could hardly recognize him in his frightful state, they could only rend their clothes, put ashes on their heads, and weep aloud. Then they sat down by him seven whole days, dumb with consternation, because his misery was so crushing.

Such were the sufferings of the pious Job.

The writer probably borrowed some of the features of this narrative from a popular tradition concerning a pious sufferer of the name of Job; for Ezekiel mentions a man of this name, together with Noah and Daniel, as a model of piety,¹ though he does not appear to have been acquainted with our book of Job. It is of no great consequence, however, whether the writer borrowed much or little from tradition, for the character of the story itself shows us that he gave free play to his own imagination. His representation of Job's disasters as resulting from the instigations of Satan, who does not believe in disinterested virtue, was based upon a popular

belief which the poet himself had outgrown. His only purpose in adopting it was to set clearly before the thoughts of his countrymen the great enigma of a pious man's sufferings.

Before going on to trace the main development of the sequel of this work, we must observe that it has not come down to us in its original form. In the first place the Hebrew, as we now have it, is in many passages quite unintelligible; and in the next place various longer or shorter passages, some of which seriously interfere with the right comprehension of the work, have been inserted. The original book of Job probably consisted of chapters i.-xxvii. 10, xxviii.-xxx. 1-6. We must therefore exclude the so-called discourse of Elihu, xxxii.-xxxvii., and the conclusion xlii. 7-17, besides a few passages of less importance (xxvii. 11-23, xli. 13-34). The motives which led to the composition and insertion of these passages we shall discuss presently. Meanwhile, let us confine ourselves to the original work.

In the picturesque and graphic scenes at the beginning of the book the poet sets a great problem before his readers. No thoughtful believer who beheld a good man in adversity could suppress the painful question: "How can we reconcile this with Yahweh's justice? Are Yahweh's doings good?" These are the questions which the poet makes Job and his friends discuss. Job complains of the ways of God; his friends defend the old doctrine as to Yahweh's justice; and, finally, Yahweh himself gives judgment. Job represents the doubter, the censor of God's ways. In his inmost heart indeed he clings to the Almighty, and has far more genuine piety than his friends, but his attitude is anything but that of passive endurance. There is a contradiction, therefore, between the introduction, in which he is represented as eminently patient, and the dialogues that follow, in which he indulges in passionate complaints and accusations of God. This contradiction is so marked as to induce many scholars to reject the introduction as a later addition; and in any case it is a blemish in the book regarded as a work of art, though one which it would have been difficult to avoid, since the writer could hardly lay his doubts upon any other lips than those of the sufferer himself. Let us try to forget this contradiction, then, and gather up the substance of the dialogues.

But before doing so, we must caution our readers against the impression made by simply studying the Authorized Ver-

sion. The translation is so hopelessly incorrect and obscure as almost completely to disguise the real meaning of the poem; and in some passages the sense it gives is exactly the opposite of what stands in the original. As a single example we may give the passage in which Job declares that since God has already determined to kill him, it does not matter what he says. Job's words are, "He will slay me! I have no hope." But the Authorized Version gives them, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust him."¹ With this warning we may now proceed to the dialogues themselves.

After sitting down in silence with his friends for seven days, Job burst at last into a violent imprecation upon the day of his birth. His only longing was for death. What was the value of life when coupled with such misery as his? He had no rest or cessation from agony; torture was ever added to torture. His friends opened their eyes in amazement to hear such words. Who would have thought that a pious man like Job would give way to such bitter complaints? Eliphaz began to answer with the hesitation we always feel in addressing one who is heavily afflicted. It might be painful to Job, he said, to be contradicted; but he could not refrain from opposing a few words to what he had said. He would only repeat what Job himself had always urged upon others in like circumstances, and implore him to seek his own consolation in it now. An innocent man never perished, but evil befell the wicked. Then he demonstrated with ludicrous minuteness, as though it were a startling discovery of his own, that all men were sinful. A spirit had told him so in a fearsome vision by night! Job's only course was to leave the matter with God, who could make the mourners glad, and deliver those that despised not his chastisement. Such was the fruit, he concluded, of their reflections, and he hoped that Job would find consolation in it!

But it seemed that the sufferer was not so easily consoled. On the other hand, the only result of what Eliphaz had said was to stir his anger against his friends. How heartless they were to worry him with these commonplaces, without once sounding the depths of his misery! He was utterly shattered; and what had he done to deserve it all?

Ay! the service man serves upon earth is hard,
 Like a laborer's day is his life.
 As a slave sighs for the shades of even,
 As a hireling waits for his hire,
 So are months of misery measured to me,
 And nights of woe appointed.

¹ Job xiii. 15; compare p. 465.

And then life was so short! That made his sufferings all the harder to bear, for when once he was dead it would all be over with him. Why must God rise up against him? Well might the poet¹ say: "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" God was mindful indeed of man, but only to torture him. Even suppose he had sinned, what harm could that do Him? He might well overlook the trespasses of a poor mortal whose life would pass away so swiftly.

Then the friends perceived that Job's complaint was no mere cry of agony, but was largely due to deliberate doubt as to God's righteousness; and without the least perception of the truth contained in his hard sayings, they girt on their weapons to put this doubt to silence. So Bildad took up the discourse, and began by expressing his lively indignation. It was a shame to utter such words! God pervert the right? Impossible! The fathers had always taught that he was righteous. It was certain, absolutely certain.

When thus referred to the teaching of the fathers, Job retorted that he knew it well enough himself without their telling him, and that he also knew how God was always justified. Of course He was, cried the sufferer with growing bitterness. How could it be otherwise? He could do whatever He chose, and who could resist him? It was of no avail to plead with Him. Even if a man had right on his side against Him, all he could do was to implore His grace, which was much the safest course. But as for him, what did he care for his life? It was worth nothing to him now, so he would say right out what he really felt. And, put into a few words, it came to this: God destroyed the righteous and the wicked alike! And that would matter little if He did but destroy them quickly, instead of taking delight in torturing the innocent! The wicked ruled the earth; and if that was not God's doing, whose doing was it? Nay, why should he not say what he really meant, for he was condemned already? God had made him, and then resolved to lie in wait for him to punish him as soon as He caught him in the smallest trespass. It was ungenerous in God so to torture a poor, weak creature, whose life was short!

Of course, the friends could not allow such language to pass unchallenged. Zophar now took up the discourse: What a flood of words, he cried; what mighty language! Did Job suppose he had a monopoly of wisdom? If God himself were but to speak to him, he would soon see that he had been far

¹ Psalm viii. 4; compare vol. i. p. 41.

too lightly punished as yet. Instead of all this arrogance he had better repent, and all might yet be well; but otherwise the only refuge of the wicked was death.

Since his friends were evidently completely out of sympathy with him, and were quite unable to perceive how enigmatical his sufferings must be pronounced when regarded from the traditional point of view, Job became more and more impatient of their words. Yes, truly, they were the first real sages that had ever lived, and when they died wisdom would die with them! As if he did not know all they had told him! He knew the old story as well as they did. God was wise, was He not, and mighty? Wise and mighty! Yes, indeed, and He turned everything upside down, and so abused his might. But as for him, he would plead against God himself. *They* were bent on keeping the Almighty their friend, and so they simply applauded whatever He did. But God was not served by such lies, and would punish them some day for uttering all this nonsense about Him. But as for himself, he was condemned already, so he would say how things really stood, and say it to God himself. Man was a miserable creature of few days. For a tree, when cut down, might sprout again; but when a man fell, he fell for ever, and dead men rose no more. If a man could return from the realms of death it would be another thing; but that was impossible. And suppose his children after him were prosperous, what good was that to him? All he asked to know was how God could answer for all this.

Job's words sounded more and more blasphemous in the ears of his friends, and they did not cease to tell him so. Five times they tried to bring him to repentance, and each time they laid less stress upon the reward of virtue, and more upon the punishment of sin. But they had nothing fresh to urge; nothing but an appeal to the old doctrine. Of course this failed to satisfy the doubter, and the tone in which he answered these flatterers of God grew constantly more bitter. It was a lie that sin was punished. What countless abominations were committed without God's ever giving them a thought! Indeed, the impious were often highly prosperous, respected all their lives, and honored down to their very death. Did their children gather the bitter fruits of their misdeeds? What harm was that to them? The sinner ought to feel the blow himself, and then God would be just. Amidst all his indignant protests, Job had still one hope—that he might be allowed to speak with God himself. At the bottom of

his heart he still cherished the belief that God could some way justify himself, and at least would take his side as against his friends. Why had not God appointed certain days of judgment upon which to defend himself? As it was, man stood bewildered in the face of all the riddles of the world: and when he said that life was full of riddles, who could give him the lie?

Against his passionate accusations of God, and the indisputable truth of the facts to which he pointed, his friends were powerless. What could be expected of men the sum of whose wisdom was a constant reiteration of the ancient doctrine? They were completely silenced. The last who spoke uttered a few incoherent words about God's fearful power and the sinful state of man, but soon broke off. Job had the last word, and when he had silenced contradiction he poured out his heart once more. He mocked the feebleness of his orthodox friends. What wonderful assistance had they given him! Of whom had they been speaking? Of God? Ay, God was great indeed! Before him the very shades trembled, and it was he that created and sustained all things. "Behold," he cried, after a glowing description of God's omnipotence, "this is but a little fragment of his works. We understand but a whisper of him; and who shall comprehend the thunder of his might?"

So now that his friends were driven off the field, Job once more laid bare his own condition, and with it the riddle that tortured him. As for himself he could not solve it, and did not believe that human insight could compass it. God had real wisdom, and knew the how and the why of things; but as for man, alas! he could find no answer to the hard questions of life, and it seemed he must simply content himself with passive submission and fear of Yahweh. But what a riddle it all was! Once he had been prosperous to the utmost, rich and honored. Now he was poor, deserted by every one, the laughing-stock of vagabonds. To what must he attribute the change? Not to his own evil conduct, for his life had been clean. He would swear that he had hated injustice, had been guiltless of in chastity or adultery, had been innocent of idolatry, had never been inhospitable, and had not so much as turned a lustful eye upon a woman. He did not shrink from calling upon God to answer. If the Almighty would but listen to him he would meet him as proudly as a monarch!

What he had asked was granted to him. Yahweh under

took to answer him, but in no gentle wise! "Who is this," cried the deity from the midst of a thunder-storm, "Who is this that obscures the rule of God with words of no understanding? Come, now, gird thyself up like a man. I will question and thou shalt instruct me? Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Tell me that, if thou knowest it!" Then Yahweh made his accuser feel his greatness, and pointed out to him the mystery and glory of Nature displayed in the wild ass, the unicorn, the ostrich, steed, and hawk, all of which revealed the majesty of their creator. "Then how shall the caviller contend with the Almighty? Let him that accuses God make answer to this!"

Then Yahweh ceased, and Job was humbled by the thought of the greatness of the Lord, and answered: "Behold, I am too feeble. What shall I reply? I lay my hand upon my mouth. Once have I spoken, but I will do it no more; yea, twice, but henceforth I am silent!" Then Yahweh, not yet satisfied with his submission, went on to speak of his creatures, the crocodile and the hippopotamus, as well suited to bring man into a humble attitude towards God. Upon this Job repeated his confession:—

I know that thou canst do all things,
That nought is impossible to thee.
"Who is this that darkens God's rule by words without understanding?" . . .
I spoke without having fathomed,
Of things too wonderful, things that I knew not.
"Listen, and I will speak;
I will question and thou shalt teach!" . . .
I had heard of thee with the ear,
But now has mine eye beheld thee;
Therefore I recant my words,
And do penance in dust and ashes.

Such is the last word of this writer's wisdom, with all his gifts and all his depth of feeling: God is great and we understand Him not.

Man, incapable of comprehending the world! This was likewise the conclusion of Agur, the only "sage" except Solomon whose name we know.¹ "Thus says the man: I have wearied myself about God, I have wearied myself until I can think no more;² for I suppose I am not so wise as others and have no common sense, have learned no wisdom and have no knowledge of the Holy One. Who can go up to

¹ Proverbs xxx. - xxxi. 9.

² After an amended version.

heaven and come down again? Who can gather the wind in his fists and collect the waters in a garment? Who firmly establishes the earth? What is his name? and what his son's name? can'st thou tell?"¹

From Agur's other sayings we may see the dispiriting effect which this recognition of powerlessness exercised upon the sage's reflections, for they consist of very commonplace observations and simple admonitions. Why should any one trouble himself with profound speculations and the eager pursuit of truth, when he had already come to the conclusion that it was completely out of his reach?

"God is so great that we cannot understand him," is a conviction that does not solve a single problem, and fails to remove the doubt which it succeeds in silencing; indeed, it virtually admits that the doubter is right, and that his difficulties cannot be removed. The assertion, "God is so great that his ways are unfathomable," may produce a dumb submission to the will of the Irresistible, but can give rise to no free harmony of will, and therefore to no love.

It is not surprising, then, that the Israelite, after fruitless search for a solution of his problems, finally rested in the only answer that he could find; for doubt, however legitimate, is fraught with danger, and often leads to disbelief. The writer of the book of Job, however, not only recognized the justice of hesitating to ascribe righteousness to Yahweh, but even felt that the heart of the honest doubter covers a far warmer love of God than that of the man who refuses to see the contradiction between his own convictions and the facts of life, but simply argues in support of foregone conclusions, and maintains the old belief against all comers. He therefore places Job, the doubter, far above his orthodox friends, for though he has to recant before God, yet he is right as against them.

Such was the judgment of this writer; and it was sound. But the masses did not accept it. They had not the courage of the author himself; they had not the love of truth which enabled him to pass the most delicate subjects under fearless review without shrinking from any result. Then, as always, the masses of mankind required leading strings, were strongly conservative, and had a horror of "doubt." It is by no means surprising, therefore, that the book of Job has come down to us in an enlarged and by no means improved version. In a certain sense it is very fortunate that it was here and there revised and interpolated, for in its original form it

¹ Proverbs xxx. 1-4.

probably would not have come down to us at all. The scribes of a later generation, who decided what books were to be regarded as holy and what were not, would most likely have rejected it. The contents of the original work would have shocked them deeply, for it exposes the feebleness of the defenders of the old belief. It was this that offended the man who inserted chapters xxxii. - xxxvii. Just at the point when Job has finally silenced his friends and has once more set forth his difficulties, this interpolator defers the answer of Yahweh by bringing a fourth friend upon the stage. His name is Elihu, and he is highly incensed both with Job for uttering such arrogant words, and with the three friends for allowing themselves to be put to silence. Since he was the youngest he had waited till they had done, but now he could not refrain from speaking. What did they mean by saying that God only could answer Job, and that no man could do it? He would show them what he could do!

After such a flourish of trumpets we might expect some thing very wonderful, but Elihu's discourse contains hardly anything fresh. He repeats, for the most part, in a very prolix and wearisome form, what the others had said before. The writer evidently intended to show that Job had not at all disarmed the arguments of his friends, and that the force of the old belief remained unbroken.

This interpolator, then, was perfectly aware of the real intention of the original book; but we cannot say as much for the writer of xxvii. 11-23. He was shocked and perplexed to find so good a man as Job denying God's justice so audaciously. He could not really have meant it! So he puts a few glaring assertions of the opposite doctrine into his mouth to serve as a corrective!

Still less was the book understood by the writer of the last chapter. He tells us that when Yahweh had spoken to Job, He expressed his displeasure with his three friends because they had not spoken rightly concerning Him, as Job had. He told them to go to Job with seven oxen and seven rams, and entreat him to pray for them while they offered their sacrifice, for it would only be at Job's request that he would refrain from punishing their folly. So the three friends, continues the writer, obeyed the command, and Yahweh accepted Job's intercession. Then he made an end of Job's misery, and gave him twice as much as he had had before; upon which all his relatives and friends came to visit him and to comfort him by word and deed for the sufferings

Yahweh had inflicted upon him. So Job's latter years were still more blessed than the former, his possessions were great beyond measure, he had seven sons and three daughters again, and there were no girls in all the land more beautiful than his. He still lived a hundred and forty years, and saw his descendants to the fourth generation. At last he died, satisfied with life.

The main conceptions of this epilogue are in direct contradiction with those of the book itself. Here we are told that Job had said what was right about God; whereas, in the book itself he is constantly reviling God's ways, and has to recant at last. Here he is rewarded for his virtue and restored to his former honor, and the ancient doctrine of the prosperity of the good is still maintained; whereas, according to the original writer, the suffering of the pious is an insoluble enigma, in presence of which we can only say, "God is great, and we comprehend him not!"

Misunderstood and mutilated, the book of Job went down to posterity. The representations of the prologue and epilogue prevailed over those of the poem itself. The book was held in honor as a description of the patient endurance of suffering, instead of the expression of a deep-seated doubt as to the truth of the most fundamental dogma of Israelitish piety, and Job has become, to Jew and Christian, the very type of patience!¹

The conclusion to which the original writer was brought by his reflections was unsatisfying to the last degree. Though life is full of riddles, he thought, though the truth seems to be in conflict with God's justice, yet man must simply bow his head and submit to God's irresistible might. This was the death-blow to the pursuit of "wisdom." If it was impossible to gain any insight into the truth, if the principle upon which happiness and unhappiness were apportioned to men was inaccessible to human knowledge, why should any one weary himself with searching for God? In after times "wise men" did indeed arise, but their school had no future before it, for no further development was conceivable.

Meanwhile the old established doctrine held its own amongst the people. We shall meet with it at every turn. It was constantly laid down as if nothing could be urged against it. An instance may be found in Psalm xxxvii., which is one of the so-called *alphabetical* psalms; that is to say, its first verse begins with the first letter of the alphabet, its second with the

¹ James v. 11.

second, and so on. This artificial style of composition probably dates from after the captivity. In this psalm, as in so many others, the ancient doctrine is laid down with the utmost confidence.

A bout the ungodly fret thyself not,
A nd be not envious of ill-doers.
A s the grass is cut down, so they fall;
A s the green herb, so they wither.
B ut trust in Yahweh, and do right;
B ide in the land, and feed thee with justice;
B lessed be thy soul in Yahweh !
B y Him shall thy heart's desires be given.

Nor had even the poet of Psalm lxxiii.¹ consciously outgrown the same conviction, for he begins by declaring that Yahweh is good to Israel, to the pure of heart, and confessing that his faith was not a little shocked when he observed the prosperity of the wicked. Truly their lot was enviable, and it seemed to be in vain that the pious man had purified his heart and washed his hands in innocence. But no! when we consider the end of the godless, we see that it is destruction. Alas! how foolish he had been when he envied them. There was no blessedness like that of being near to God.

So this poet and many another pious son of Israel found the highest blessedness, the real reward of virtue, in that communion with God, that inner life of the heart, which is fostered by true piety; and if the authors of Job and other pious and thoughtful men could but have clearly seen that the true solution of the great enigma that tortured them lay there, then they would no longer have been driven to that answer of dull submission, "God is great, and we comprehend him not." In ceasing to look for any immediate connection between virtue and prosperity on the one hand, and wickedness and adversity upon the other, they would have found God's blessing, not exclusively indeed, but chiefly, in that wealth of the spirit, that joy in life and strength for death, which is the lot of His obedient children. And then they would have been at peace even amongst life's many mysteries.

But no Israelite ever consciously attained to this conception. They could not shake themselves free from the material ideas of the reward of virtue and the punishment of vice which they had learned from their fathers, and as a matter of avowed belief they continued to the end to trace the avenging hand of God in adversity, and the evidence of his favor in prosperity.

¹ See vol. i. p. 529.

CHAPTER XV.

EZRA THE SCRIBE.

EZRA VII.-X.

EIGHTY years had elapsed since Zerubbabel's return. The glowing promises of the prophets had come to nought. Jerusalem's wall lay in ruins once more. Persian armies on their way to Egypt, or returning after a defeat, were quartered almost every year in Palestine, and increased the burdens of the inhabitants more than ever. The spirit of the Jews was exhausted, and their obedience to the commands of Yahweh grew ever feebler. They were gradually uniting with the surrounding peoples. Many of them, even including members of the high priestly family, had contracted marriages with foreigners. What would become of Israel? Would it melt away amongst the nations and lose its own peculiar character? Such a result appeared more imminent than ever. But the danger was averted just in time by the rise of a great man, who returned from Babylonia at the head of a band of several thousand exiles, and brought fresh blood into the Jewish State. It was Ezra the priest.

We should therefore be entirely mistaken were we to suppose, as we might well have been tempted to do, that all the and submit-tive had quitted Babylonia with Zerubbabel, and now to the pursuit-hearted and indifferent behind. This was sturdy-insight into the There were zealous worshippers of only left the faintest knowledge, hesitated to leave the place of by no means the faintest knowledge, hesitated to leave the place of Yahweh who cherished as conceivable conjectures; but we may and their people, and yet had shed doctrine back. It was by their exile and join in rebuilding with it at every desired them to We have no direct accounts of what is to say, its first exceeded and must therefore be satisfied with what is to say, its first exceeded easily suppose what it was that kept the people, its second war opinion return. Was Israel sufficiently chastised as ing words of many a prophet proclaimed that it Second Isaiah even declared that the punishment on the offence; but there was ample room for another on the subject. Israel was still far from being a holy people.

¹ Isaiah xl. 2.

consecrated to Yahweh, and had by no means obeyed his law so faithfully as to be certain of his favor. And as to the authority of the prophets, we know enough of the opposition they so often had to contend against to feel no surprise at their failing to command the assent of all the Jews in the land of captivity. We can quite understand that many of the exiles gave small credit to their words. Had not Jerusalem fallen in spite of the repeated and emphatic promises of almost all the prophets? The exiles probably never gave themselves a clear account of what they really thought about these men of God, and even continued to regard them as the messengers of Yahweh, but for all that they did not surrender their judgment to them. Then when they heard of the sad condition in which their brethren found themselves on their return, they were of course confirmed in their opinion that it had not yet been Yahweh's hour. Many a zealous Jew from Palestine must have been deeply pained when he came into contact with his Babylonian brothers, by their question, "Is it not just as we always told you?"

Now we shall see from the sequel of the history, and more especially from the character of Ezra's work, that the priestly spirit gained a complete ascendancy amongst the Babylonian Israelites. At first sight this may seem a little strange, for, since they had no access to the temple, the legislation of Deuteronomy precluded them from offering any sacrifices to Yahweh. But the phenomenon is quite explicable. In the first place, ever since Josiah's reformation Israel had obviously been moving in the direction of the systematic piety of the Law, that is to say the excessive estimation of outward forms and ceremonies;¹ and such a movement is not easily diverted by external influences. The temple, it is true, the exiles could not have; but the Law did not stand or fall with the temple, and Yahweh had given other commands besides those that related to sacrifice. Could they not still observe the Sabbath, abstain from everything unclean, and scrupulously conduct themselves as Yahweh's consecrated people, even in the foreign land?

The form under which the Mosaic principles triumphed amongst the exiles was of a strongly priestly character, as we have seen already from the works of their historians,² and above all from Ezekiel;³ and when the prophets and their supporters had gone with Zerubbabel to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, the chief counterpoise to the priestly spirit was

¹ Compare pp. 336 ff.

² See pp. 402 ff.

³ See pp. 414 ff.

removed from among the exiles, and the priests had all the freer play.

The spirit in which the Jewish priests in Babylonia labored may be gathered from the precepts which they gave their people, and which are still preserved in the Pentateuch. We owe to them a work to which we have often alluded already,¹ but which we must now examine more expressly. I mean the Book of Origins. We need not revert to the narratives which the author borrowed from tradition and presented in a shortened and generally greatly modified form; but we must turn our attention to the method of the work, for it seems to have formed a single whole, the several parts of which were well held together by the leading thought. The author's purpose was to present a sketch of Israel's past, especially of the time of Moses and Joshua, which he looked upon as the golden age of Israel, with a view to furnishing a model for his own day. All that preceded Moses had simply served as a preparation for his work, and a distinct development leading gradually up to it might be traced in the divine revelations. From the very creation of the world the Sabbath had been hallowed; the prohibition of food with blood in it dated from the time of Noah; Abraham received from El-shaddai the ordinance of circumcision, though as yet no sacrifices were instituted. To Moses the deity revealed himself under his name of Yahweh, and the Paschal sacrifice was ere long ordained; but it was at Sinai that Israel's worship was first regulated in accordance with Yahweh's precepts, and it is here that the priestly historian describes the people, with the tribe of Levi at its head, subdivided and encamped according to the will of its god. To his will also Israel conformed unconditionally at the conquest of Canaan, for every tribe had its dwelling-place assigned to it by lot. The high priest Eleazar stood by Joshua's side at the head of the people, and as long as these pious leaders lived the religion of Moses was strictly conformed to.

Let us now examine some of the details of this ideal!

The sanctuary and its servants occupy a very prominent place in this work,² as they do in that of the prophet Ezekiel; but inasmuch as our author places his ideal in the time of Moses, when Israel was wandering in the desert, he could not

¹ Vol. i. pp. 237 ff.; compare vol. i. pp. 65 f., 78, 107 f., 151 f., 161, 183, 196, 226, 258 f., 276, 285, 304, 310, 319, 340, 352.

² Exodus xxv.-xxxi. 11, xxxv. 4.-xl.

speak of a temple, and had to content himself with describing a portable sanctuary. But the model from which he drew his picture was the edifice of Solomon. The ancient legends supplied him with the name of "tent of conference,"¹ under which he described a sanctuary of considerable dimensions and great splendor divided into three compartments. First there was the holy of holies where the ark was set, on the lid of which our author placed the cherubs, which really stood on the two sides of it in the temple of Solomon, and covered it with their wings. This holy of holies, into which no ordinary priest, much less a layman, might either go or look, was only to be entered once a year by the high priest. It was not separated from the holy place by doors, as in Solomon's temple, but by a curtain. In the holy place stood the altar of incense, overlaid with gold, and near it a gilt table, with the loaves of so-called shew-bread, which must ever lie before Yahweh's countenance. There was also a lamp-stand of pure gold, with seven arms supporting seven lamps, together with the snuffers and other apparatus. The whole edifice could be taken to pieces and carried about, and the author gives elaborate directions as to the way in which this must be done, and who must do it.² The uprights were all of a certain length, and the sockets were made of silver; the curtains were made of a great variety of materials, and are carefully described, down to the very hooks and eyes. Round the edifice itself a space was marked off by pillars, between which tapestries were suspended, and in this court the altar of burnt-offerings stood, five cubits long, five broad, and three high. It had four horns, and was made of earth, held together by planks covered with brass, and was surrounded with a grating of the same metal.

This "tabernacle" is a pure fiction; and in laying down regulations about its servants, the writer gives free scope to his imagination, surrounding Moses with a regular priesthood, divided into classes, arranged and clothed just as he, the writer, would himself have thought desirable. We have seen that even Ezekiel³ departed from the precepts of Deuteronomy by assigning the priesthood exclusively to the sons of Zadok, and only allowing inferior places to the other Levites; but the author of the Book of Origins goes still further. According to him Aaron stood at the head of the whole priesthood in the time of Moses, and was followed in his sacred office by his eldest son Eleazar, in whose family the high-priestly

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 296 ff. ² Numbers iv. 1-33. ³ See pp. 414, 415.

office remained hereditary. Yahweh himself had filled skilful men with the spirit of wisdom that they might be able to make suitable robes for Aaron. In the first place there was a many-colored cape or *ephod*, fastened with thongs, magnificently wrought, upon which there shone two precious stones with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel graven upon them, that Aaron might always bear them before the face of Yahweh as a remembrance to him. Upon the *ephod*, the breastplate of the judgment was hung by golden chains. It was intended to hold the apparatus for consulting the oracle, the *urim* and *thummim*, and it glowed with twelve precious stones, upon which were the names of the twelve tribes. Over the *ephod* was a sky-blue mantle, fringed with pomegranates of every color, and little golden bells that tinkled whenever the wearer went into Yahweh's presence. A fine linen garment caught by a many-colored girdle hung down to the feet, and in front of the turban a golden plate was fixed with the inscription, "Holy to Yahweh."

Our author describes at length the ceremonies by which the high priest and the priests were consecrated;¹ but he does not lose sight of the other Levites. They had no claim to the priesthood, for it belonged to the sons of Aaron by exclusive birthright, but still they were consecrated to Yahweh. All first-born sons had belonged to Yahweh from the earliest times, but the Levites were substituted for them, and were therefore specially attached to Yahweh's service, to which they were consecrated by sprinkling, by cutting off the hair, and by sacrifice.² The writer, in giving us the numerical strength of all the tribes, calculates that there were twenty-two thousand Levites, and that this fell short by two hundred and seventy-three of the number of first-born Israelites. Five shekels a head had to be paid as redemption-money for this surplus.

A man who ranked the servants of the sanctuary with such care, sharply separating the high priests, priests, and Levites, would not be likely to leave their revenues to the good-will of those who required their services, but would feel impelled to lay down fixed regulations on the subject. The writer of Deuteronomy had made such moderate claims in this direction that he constantly had to commend the Levites to charity in common with widows, orphans, and strangers,³ though he maintained that all of them were entitled to exercise the

¹ Leviticus viii., ix.

² Numbers iii., viii. 5 ff.

³ Deuteronomy xii. 12, 18, 19, and elsewhere.

priestly functions; but our author fixes his claim upon the believers far higher. Since Levi had no heritage in Israel, the whole tribe must be supported by the altar. Accordingly the Aaronites might claim a great portion of the sacrifices in the shape of meat, oil, wine, corn, all the firstlings and first-fruits, and everything that had been smitten by the ban, now no longer consecrated to Yahweh by destruction.¹ But the most important regulation of all was that the Levites were to receive a tithe of all the revenues of the Israelites, and in their turn were to give a tithe of their tithe to the Aaronites.² Moreover special cities were assigned them as residences, eight-and-forty in all, thirteen of which were to be given to the sons of Aaron. Some of these cities were also to be cities of refuge, in which a man who had accidentally killed another might live in safety from the blood-redeemer till the death of the high priest gave him the right of returning to his former dwelling-place.³

According to our author all these regulations were put into force by Moses as far as they were practicable in the wilderness, and in all their fulness by Joshua, or rather by Eleazar and Joshua and the representatives of the people, when they reached Canaan.

In addition to these regulations about the sanctuary and its servants, the Book of Origins also contained a great number of laws as to sacrifices and other usages of worship, and indeed the many chapters of Leviticus and Numbers which refer to these subjects most of them issued from the same circle as the Book of Origins; but they are evidently from various hands, and are here and there in contradiction with each other, while the circumstances of the case make it exceedingly difficult to determine accurately what belongs to the Book of Origins itself and what does not. This question, however, is of minor consequence, for in any case we know the spirit which prevailed amongst the Jews in Babylonia. It was that priestly spirit which we have seen developing in Judah even before the time of Josiah, rising to supremacy after his reformation, and finding an unmistakable reflection in the ideals of Ezekiel. It had always been the aspiration of the devout to make Israel the consecrated people of Yahweh, the holy god; and now the leading minds in Babylonia emphatically taught that the holiness which became the people of Yahweh revealed itself in outward forms, and must be gained by outward means

¹ Compare vol. i. pp. 342 f. ² Numbers xviii.; Leviticus xxvii. 30-33.

³ Numbers xxxv.; compare vol. i. pp. 81 f.

Into the inmost partition of the tent of revelation the high priest alone might enter, and he but once in the year, while the "Holy" might only be trodden by the priests, and the very court itself was accessible to none but members of the chosen people. All this was significant of the immeasurable distance that parted Yahweh, the unapproachably holy, from his worshippers, while it reminded the latter of the necessity of the mediation of the priests, who could draw near to Yahweh, could distinguish between clean and unclean, knew how to make the sacrifices in the way that was acceptable to Yahweh, and could regulate the festivals by which he was glorified.

In describing the spirit of the Book of Origins, we have described the spirit which penetrated Ezra the scribe, who came to raise Judah out of its humiliation and rescue it from the whirlpool of heathendom.

Darius I. (Hystaspes), under whose reign the Jews had rebuilt the temple, had been succeeded by Xerxes I., and he, in the year 465 B.C., by Artaxerxes I. (Long-hand). It was in his reign that Ezra desired the royal permission to set out with several thousands of his countrymen for Judæa.

We know but little of Ezra's descent or circumstances. He is called the son, or descendant, of Seraiah, apparently the chief priest whom Nebuchadrezzar put to death at Riblah after the fall of Jerusalem,¹ but the fact that his genealogy is carried up to Aaron throws a good deal of suspicion upon it altogether. His extraction, however, is of little consequence; and we know, at any rate, that he was "a skilful writer of the law of Moses, which was given by Yahweh, the god of Israel," one "who had set his heart not only upon searching out and studying Yahweh's law, but also upon teaching Israel the course of duty and obligation." It is clear, moreover, that he was held in high regard by his countrymen, amongst whom he had certainly been working for a considerable time, and that he enjoyed the confidence of the king, which was conspicuously manifested when he requested permission to go to Judæa, accompanied by as many of his fellow believers as chose to join him. The prince, who had doubtless political reasons for being glad to gratify the Jews, gave the desired permission. The decree which he issued on this occasion has only come down to us in a mutilated condition, worked over in a Jewish spirit; but since the king desired to attach the Jews to himself and

¹ 2 Kings xxv. 18 ff.



his house, he doubtless showed his favor, as the edict sets forth, by allowing them certain privileges, such as immunity from some of the taxes, apparatus, or adornments for their temple, and rich presents. On the other hand, we cannot believe that he threatened all who refused to submit to Ezra's religious ordinances with heavy punishments extending to death and the extinction of the offender's family. On the contrary, Ezra was clothed with no official power. He was not made governor, as Zerubbabel had been. His power was only moral.

Now, as soon as Ezra had obtained the king's permission, he summoned his fellow believers to leave the land of the strangers, and accompany him to Jerusalem, to help to restore the people of Yahweh. The rendezvous was the river Ahava, but we do not know where it was, or even whether the name is correctly spelt. Many thousands collected at the spot, including two priestly clans and one family of Davidic extraction, in all one thousand nine hundred and ninety-six heads of families. Ezra had, therefore, good reason to be pleased with his initial success; but when he reviewed his company upon the third day, he observed with pain that not a single Levite had enrolled himself in its ranks.¹ There were great numbers of Levites in Babylonia, and Ezra could not bear to leave them all behind; so he sent some of the nobles and teachers to a certain Iddo, who dwelt at Casiphia, the site of which is entirely unknown, in the hope that this man's influence might enable them to induce some of the Levites to join the expedition. The deputation not only succeeded in persuading some of the Levites to come, but secured the help of two hundred and twenty temple slaves.

A solemn fast was now prescribed in order to secure the favor of Yahweh. A long and difficult journey was before the travellers, fraught with danger to themselves, their children, and their possessions, especially as Ezra had been ashamed to ask the king for an escort of cavalry such as had accompanied Zerubbabel's caravan. The fact was, he had said so much about depending entirely upon the mighty help of his god, that he felt his deeds would give his words the lie if he appealed to human protection. Yahweh alone must be Israel's refuge, and he must therefore be invoked with universal supplication. Then Ezra entrusted twelve priests and as many Levites with the rich presents for the temple which he had received from the king, from his courtiers, and from the Jews who stayed be-

¹ Compare p. 440

hind ; after which the caravan set out. The journey occupied about five months, but everything went on so prosperously that Ezra was able to appeal to the result as a proof that the prayer they had offered had earned the favor of Yahweh.

When they reached Jerusalem the travellers rested from the fatigues of the journey three days, and were then solemnly welcomed by the heads of the people. The officiating priests received the consecrated treasure from the holy men in whose keeping it had been lodged during the journey. Numerous sacrifices of oxen and rams were made by the travellers in gratitude to Yahweh for the favor he had shown them. Twelve bullocks, after the number of the tribes, and eight times twelve rams were offered as a burnt sacrifice, and the sacred number of eleven times seven lambs and twelve goats burned as a sin offering. No joyous feast concluded the ceremony. They desired to thank Yahweh for his visible protection, yet it was not so much their gratitude as their sense of guilt that they wished to express. They humbled themselves before the mighty and holy God.

If the travellers had reason to be thankful themselves for the prosperous conclusion of their journey, their arrival was also a signal of joy to others. The priests rejoiced at the arrival of a band of zealous worshippers of Yahweh. The treasure they brought was a welcome acquisition, and a period of renewed splendor seemed about to dawn upon the temple now that so many thousands of fresh worshippers would come to it with their gifts. The zealots for the law of Yahweh had every reason to rejoice in the prospect of the assistance which Ezra the skilful scribe would be sure to give them in their work. And the whole people had cause to praise the goodness of Yahweh ; for the letters which Ezra brought with him produced such manifest good-will on the part of the governors of Judæa and all the surrounding countries, that they supported the Jews in the exercise of their worship and in all things else.

And yet it was not every Jew that rejoiced. There were some who felt small confidence in this troop of zealots — led by a scribe and priest — and anticipated no good to themselves or others from their new fellow-citizens. This was specially the case with such as had married foreign wives ; and under this category came several nobles and even priests. Was Ezra aware of this ? We should hardly have thought it possible for him to be ignorant of it ; but our account of the affair in the book of Ezra is from his own hand, and he speaks of it as

something of which he heard for the first time, and with a frightful shock, at Jerusalem.

A few days after his arrival he was in the court of the temple, when certain nobles approached him to tell him of this abomination. Israel, they said, had not kept free from commingling with the heathens, and even some of the priests and Levites had married or allowed their sons to marry foreign wives, — Canaanites, Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians, and Edomites.¹ As soon as Ezra heard this terrible announcement, he rent his clothes, tore the hair from his head and beard, and sat down dumb with horror, the very picture of despair. Hour after hour passed. A crowd of temple-goers gradually collected round him. From mouth to mouth ran the whisper that explained why the priest so newly arrived was thus overwhelmed with grief. It was Israel's pollution! Then sympathy with Ezra's pain might be read on many a countenance, while here and there a fist was clenched and the sombre fire of fanaticism began to glow in many an eye. Those impious wretches had indeed polluted Israel, and thence came all this misery! Well might the pious priest sit there dismayed. It was indeed a horror, and ought never to have been endured so long! The time of evening sacrifice drew near, and the priests were bringing the lamb to the altar. In another moment this daily gift to Yahweh would be offered. Then Ezra rose, as from a swoon, but only to fall down before Yahweh anew with outstretched hands. Listen! he is praying: "O my God! for shame and confusion I cannot lift up my face to thee, my God! For our sins are heaped up above our heads, and our guilt as high as heaven. From our fathers' days until now we have greatly trespassed. Because of our sins we have been delivered, with our kings and priests, into the power of the princes of the heathen, slain and banished, plundered, and put to shame even to this day. And now, O Yahweh, thou hast once more given us a breathing space, hast once more made us to dwell in the holy land; and though we are slaves of the Persian kings, thou hast made them gracious to us, to suffer us to rebuild our temple and our city. What shall we say then? O our God, we have cast to the winds thy commandments which thy prophets have brought us. They told us that the land into which we came was an unclean land, polluted by the abominations of those that dwelt in it, and that we must not mingle with them. But we, in spite of all that has befallen us and all the mercy thou hast shown, have inter-

¹ After an amended version.

married with the peoples that commit abominations. Ah, be not so wroth with us as to consume us utterly! O Yahweh, god of Israel, we lie down before thee in our guilt, for who could defend himself before thee?"

While Ezra was thus praying, the crowd was still collecting round him. Men, women, and even children pressed together with loud cries of woe. The fervor Ezra had aroused found utterance in mingled imprecations and confessions of guilt, with exhortations to instant action. No sooner had he ceased than a certain Shechaniah said to him, in the name of the rest, "It is but too true; we have sinned against our god. But there is hope for Israel yet. Let us make a solemn vow to Yahweh to send away our foreign wives together with their children, according to the Lord's decree and the will of all who fear the commands of God. Let us do what the Law prescribes! Come now! it lies with you to do this thing, and we will help you. Take heart, and set your hand to the work!" Loud cries of approval rose from every side; but many a heart sank as the scribe's dark glance of deep resolve proclaimed that his stern nature would shrink from nothing in the execution of his god's command. "Do you swear," he cried, "to obey the precepts of Yahweh?" "We swear!" they answered, "as Yahweh lives! May God requite us if we hold not to our word!" It was enough. Ezra withdrew into the chamber of a certain Johanan, and as he went inexorable resolve and unutterable pain might be read upon his features. The people dispersed, triumphant or cast down, full of hope or sick at heart, according to the light in which they regarded Ezra's resolve. In truth, it was no small matter to dismiss all the foreign women and their children. In a moment of excitement the hasty resolve was taken; but how many tears must pay the price of its fulfilment! How tender the ties that it must break! How many women and children must it doom to starvation! And how many powerful neighbors must it render hostile, how many influential Jews offend!

But while motives, some of which were more and some less exalted, shook the resolution of many, Ezra-himself remained firm. He was profoundly grieved and shocked; he spent the whole night without meat or drink in Johanan's chamber,¹ and every Jew might soon perceive that he had taken up the matter in earnest. Messengers were despatched throughout the land to summon all the citizens, in the name of the chiefs and elders, to an assembly on the third day. Woe to him who

¹ After an amended version.

should absent himself! His possessions would be smitten by the ban, which meant in those days confiscation in favor of the priests, and he himself would be thrust out of the community of Yahweh.

The decree must have referred especially to the heads of families, and though even thus it cannot have been literally complied with, yet on the appointed day, the twentieth of the ninth month, which would fall in our December, a numerous assembly met in the court before the temple. The tone of the meeting was anything but tranquil. Every one knew what a serious and far-reaching reformation was to be proposed and carried through. Would any resistance be offered? If so, by whom, and with what result? Would the powerful offenders acquiesce in the sentence? The rain was falling in torrents, and made the body unfit to bear the strain of mental tension; but Ezra, without thinking of that, set before the Jews the magnitude of the sin they had committed, and exhorted them, for the honor of Yahweh, to part from their foreign wives. Hardly had he ceased before his hearers signified their assent. Only a few, whom Ezra mentions by name in his memorials, ventured to resist. Their attempt was vain. The speaker's strong personality prevailed, and it was resolved by an overwhelming majority to purify Israel from the heathen stain. The utmost that could be done was to persuade the fanatical reformer that it was impossible to carry through the new measures on the very spot! The number of the cases was too great to admit of immediate investigation, and the rain made it simply impossible to remain in the open air. The proper course was to appoint a suitable commission to preside over the progress and completion of the measure.

So the assembly dispersed, and a few days afterwards the spiritual tribunal held its first sitting. Whoever had married a foreign wife was summoned before it, and there were so many cases that the hands of the judges were full for two months. Ezra presided over the court, and we may be sure that his presence prevented any concessions from being made upon any pretext. Every one had to submit. The priests who had married foreign wives must promise to dismiss both them and their children, and must also sacrifice a ram as a sin-offering. The names of all the offenders were taken down, and those of a hundred and thirteen householders are preserved in our book of Ezra.

As far as depended on Ezra and his zealous adherents the law was now enforced. Cost what it might, Israel should be

a holy people, cleansed from outlandish pollution; and though many of the culprits broke their word, and when they were no longer under the eye of the spiritual judges shrank from executing their promises, yet many did actually dismiss their wives and in some cases their children with them.

We stand aghast at such fanaticism; and well we may! It is but the worship of Molech in another form. Ezra's Yahweh is not our God.



CHAPTER XVI.

NEHEMIAH.

NEHEMIAH I.-VII., XI., XII.

OUR book of Ezra suddenly breaks off, as we have seen, after stating that the Jews dismissed their foreign wives, and it is thirteen years before we hear of Ezra again. Then we meet him side by side with Nehemiah, in the book which bears the name of the latter. What took place in the interim? Did the zealous scribe sit down with his hands before him? It was not in his nature. Then why did he not carry his great measure through, and complete his other reforms? Why did he actually look on while some of the Jews retained their foreign wives? The Israelitish historians give no direct answer to these questions, but we are not left altogether in the dark.

In the first place we must bear in mind that the measure which Ezra forced upon the Jews could not fail to meet with violent opposition. This opposition would come in the first instance from those who were called upon to break the tenderest domestic ties, but it would not be confined to them. Would not the relatives of the women, who had been dismissed together with their children, take up the cause? Was not the whole measure a gross insult to every member of the surrounding tribes? Who could look with calmness upon such intolerable national arrogance? If none but people of humble position had been affected by the Jewish exclusiveness, the consequences would not have been so serious; but amongst the Jews who had allied themselves with foreigners there were many men of distinguished position who had doubtless been actuated by political motives; and their connections

and influence. Three of them are known to us by name: Geshem the Arab, of whom we know nothing more; Sanballat of Beth-horon, in the district of Samaria; and Tobiah, a royal functionary in the land of the Ammonites. The two last of these were allied with priestly families of Israel, and Tobiah was himself of Israelitish extraction, as we may see from his name, which ends in *yah*, and his son's name (Johanan),¹ which begins with *yo*, both of which are abbreviations of Yahweh. What wonder that these men and others who smarted under the same insult endeavored to make the Jews pay dear for their arrogance? Prompted by them, the governors of the surrounding districts persuaded Artaxerxes to forbid the rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls, which were again in ruins.² We may therefore well suppose that self-interest, if nothing else, would range many of the Jews against Ezra. Even if they had promised in a moment of excitement faithfully to support him, yet when they had cooled down they shrank from facing the enormous difficulties of the measure. Moreover, we shall presently see that some of Ezra's opponents were actuated by nobler motives.

Towards the end of the thirteen years during which we lose sight of Ezra, the condition of the Jews was melancholy in the extreme. Numerous Persian armies, on their way to or from Egypt, kept passing through Palestine; and nine or ten years after Ezra's arrival, Megabyzus, the governor of Syria, revolted against the king. We do not know which side the Jews, whose country was part of his territory, took in the struggle, but in no case can they have escaped the sufferings of war. It has been conjectured that the walls of Jerusalem were again thrown down on this occasion: and, in any case, circumstances were not favorable to carrying out a great reformation to which there was so strong an opposition.

We must further bear in mind that the harmony between Ezra and the stricter party in Jerusalem, which joined him in his crusade against heathen alliances, cannot have been complete. The Babylonian Jews and those who had now been settled in Palestine for eighty years had had their separate histories, and their sympathy on many points must have been very imperfect. Throughout these thirteen years Ezra must often have felt that he was bound hand and foot.

He was now to find a doughty ally in Nehemiah.

Not all the pious worshippers of Yahweh had quitted Baby-

¹ Nehemiah vi. 18

² Ezra iv.

lonia with Zerubbabel, and even Ezra had left behind him many hearts that beat warmly for the temple and the people of Yahweh. In various sections of the great Persian kingdom thousands were still left who did not renounce their Jewish extraction, and were deeply attached to the service of Israel's god. Amongst them was Nehemiah. This man, who is known to us from his own memorials, worked up with later materials in the book that bears his name, occupied the distinguished post of cup-bearer to the king. It was in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (445 B.C.), when the court was in the winter residence at Susa, that Nehemiah received a visit from his brother Hanani and several other Jews, who gave him a most mournful account of the condition of the holy land, in answer to his inquiries. The Jews were again in deep humiliation; disaster upon disaster had swept over the land; the walls of Jerusalem were overturned and her gates burned. This account affected Nehemiah profoundly. Alas for his poor fatherland! He spent the next few days in fasting and prayer. As a member of Yahweh's people now suffering for their sins,—the only possible explanation of this chastisement,—Nehemiah humbled himself before the God of heaven, confessed his trespasses, and begged for pity. He reminded his god that, though he had threatened Israel with dispersion for violating the law of Moses, he had also promised that he would collect the exiles once again if they repented. And, as he fasted and prayed in solitude, the resolution grew within him to ask the king's permission to visit and to help his brethren. He would lay down the honorable post he held and beg for the office—unenviable enough in those days—of deputy-governor of Palestine. But would Artaxerxes give him the post? Would he not take offence at his request? It was not without trepidation that even a high official ventured to make a request of the king; for wealth, honor, and life itself depended on his favor. At the royal court no one ventured even to look sad or mourn.¹ Who could be sad, asked the courtly flatterers, when basking in the light of the king, the sun of the world? And the distrust which revealed itself in every detail of an Oriental court made the least appearance of depression hateful. As long as every one was merry no conspiracy need be feared; but a sad heart might well hatch mischief. It was therefore a bold step to make a request of the king. "O Yahweh!" prayed Nehemiah, "hearken to my supplication and to that of all thy

¹ Compare Esther iv. 2.

servants, and grant that the king may give me what I ask." Strengthened by prayer, he resolved to make the venture.

It was in the month of Nisan (end of March and beginning of April), which was the first in the Jewish year, when Nehemiah once more found himself at his post at the royal feast. There sat the king at the head of the table where hundreds of guests were daily feasted. Next to him, but on a lower bench, was the most favored of his wives, whom for the time at least he had made his queen. To the right and left sat his other distinguished consorts, his ministers, counsellors, courtiers, generals, and guests, all their faces dressed in smiles, for they rejoiced in the presence of majesty! Opposite the king, at the free end of the table, stood the host of inferior wives, whose business it was to grace the feast with music and song. Behind the monarch stood the magnificent charger in which the wine was mixed with water, and out of which the cup-bearer laded it in a little can fixed to a long handle, and then poured it in a glancing stream, without spilling a drop, into the golden cup which he presented on his knee to the king, — having first tasted it himself, however, as a pledge that the sparkling draught was not poisoned.

Nehemiah was in his place as cup-bearer, and though his heart was troubled he assumed an expression of joy¹ suited to the royal presence. But the king, whose eye nothing escaped, perceived his agitation; and half in kindness to his trusted servant, half in anger that any one should be otherwise than joyous in his presence, he exclaimed, "Why are you sad? You are not ill. What have you on your mind?" The cup-bearer, whose inmost heart was thus revealed, fell trembling to the ground before the king, and, covering his mouth that his breath might not desecrate the person of the monarch, he reverently replied, "May the king live for ever! Alas, my lord, how can I help being sad when the city where my forefathers lie buried is laid waste, and its gates burned down?" The prince was evidently in a good temper, and was not indisposed to do something for his servant's fatherland. "What would you have me do?" he asked. This was encouraging enough; but Nehemiah's intended request to be allowed to go to Judæa himself as governor was no trifle! Would it be granted? A silent prayer rose from his heart to the God of heaven. Then he uttered his request in trepidation, but soon read in the gracious expression of

¹ After an amended version, of Nehemiah ii. 1.

the king and queen that his God had given them kindly hearts towards him; and this was placed beyond a doubt when the king asked him how long he wished his leave of absence to be, and on his mentioning the period gave him the permission he desired.

The needful preparations were soon made. Nehemiah was appointed governor of Judæa, and received a passport from the king to secure him against being delayed in any of the districts through which he had to go. He also carried a letter to the ruler of some district, evidently not far from Jerusalem, commanding him to furnish wood for the beams of the temple fortress, the city walls, and Nehemiah's residence. Jerusalem must indeed have been in a pitiful condition if this was the only way to secure the timber needed. When he had provided himself with all he required, Nehemiah set out for his fatherland, accompanied by several officers and a division of cavalry.

What will our new governor bring us? The Jews, especially Ezra and his friends, must have asked this question anxiously enough. Alas, they had not generally much good to expect from the king's representatives; and they were now in such a miserable plight! Was it possible that this Nehemiah would alleviate their sufferings? At first he said nothing. Like a prudent man he determined to begin by ascertaining how things really stood. He knew very well that certain influential men, such as Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem, would have regarded him with most unfriendly eyes, and would have thwarted him by every means in their power had they known that he intended to do his best to refortify Jerusalem. This may seem strange; for, though the men in question were not of pure Israelitish blood, yet inasmuch as they were closely connected with Jewish families, including that of the high priest, and were themselves worshippers of Yahweh, we should not expect them to be jealous of Judah's prosperity. But we must remember that the project of fortifying Jerusalem was closely connected with Messianic expectations, and might therefore really lead to a revolt against the Persian king; for it was impossible to think of the seed of Jacob in the golden age as dependent on the stranger. Nor must we forget that those who were most eager to rebuild the walls were at the same time fanatical advocates of Israel's purity and the maintenance of the laws that forbade intermarriages with the stranger. Nehe-

Amiah was not fair to Sanballat and his party when he said that they could not bear any one to seek the welfare of the Israelites.¹ They sought their welfare themselves, though not in Nehemiah's way, but by bringing them into close alliance with the surrounding tribes; and this they would never succeed in doing if Jerusalem were fortified and furnished a fulcrum to the exclusive party. Nehemiah had, therefore, reasons enough for caution.

Two days after his arrival he had his beast saddled, and, accompanied by a few trusty servants on foot, rode out by the Valley-gate on the west side of the city, round by the Dragon's Well on to the Dung-gate, surveying with a keen eye the ruined walls and fire-burnt gates.² But when he attempted to ride along the southern wall of the city, to the Fountain-gate and on to the king's pool, right on the north-eastern side of the city, his ass could no longer make its way amongst the heaps of rubbish, and he had to pursue his journey on foot, still carefully observing the state of the walls. Sparing no pains, he returned that night by the same difficult way.

Little did they think in Jerusalem that the new governor was surveying with his own eyes the work which he intended to urge his countrymen to undertake. But they were soon to know it. Nehemiah summoned the heads of the people, and exhorted them to set their hands to the work of restoring Jerusalem's walls and gates, that their shame might be removed. To encourage them in the task, he told them how obviously God had helped him with the king and on his journey, and reported the gracious words of Artaxerxes. His words were so cogent that every one felt moved to begin the task with vigor, and the bold resolve was made.

But it was not to be carried through without great opposition. The very first steps were resisted by Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem, who tried to throw suspicion on the undertaking, and openly accused Nehemiah of intending to rebel against the king. But he was not the man to be scared by opposition, and his bold reply at once revealed the spirit in which he worked and the side he would take in the religious contest: "The God of heaven will prosper us. We, his servants, will rise up and build the walls; but as for you, what part have you in Jerusalem? You shall not be enrolled as citizens of hers, and your descendants shall not dwell in her."

¹ Nehemiah ii. 10.

² After an amended version of Nehemiah ii. 13.

He was a bold man, this Nehemiah, courageous and thorough, but narrow in his conceptions and intolerant of those who differed from him. He and Ezra would find each other out, and there would be perfect harmony between them, for they were kindred spirits.

But for the present there was no possibility of either political or ecclesiastical reforms. The book of Nehemiah tells us, indeed, of certain steps in this direction being taken while the walls were being built; but the order of events is not always strictly observed in this book, and we can hardly believe that there was any time for other business during the two-and-fifty days occupied in rebuilding the walls, for this work must have completely engrossed the energies of the very men upon whose help Nehemiah could rely. It is true that the wall was not completely ruined, but was only broken down in certain places by the people's enemies, who thought it unadvisable to let the Jews inhabit a fortified city; and in the same way, although the woodwork of the turrets had collapsed and was charred or burned with fire, yet the turrets themselves were still there. But though the task of Nehemiah and his friends was only to repair these serious damages, yet that was quite enough to tax their powers heavily. They were not disheartened, however, and set to work manfully. We must not suppose that the task was performed at common cost or by common labor. The plan adopted was for wealthy individuals, or companies, to undertake certain specified tasks, such as restoring a turret, or rebuilding a definite portion of the wall at their own expense; those who lived in Jerusalem taking charge, by preference, of the places nearest to their own houses. The book of Nehemiah enumerates forty-two turrets or sections of wall, together with the names of those who restored them.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the opposite party were laying their heads together. A meeting was held in Sanballat's city, at which many distinguished Samaritans were present, as well as Tobiah from the land of the Ammonites. The question discussed was how to thwart Nehemiah's obvious intention of making Jerusalem a fortress once again. Voices were doubtless raised in favor of armed interference; but Sanballat declared himself against this policy, and raised a laugh by throwing ridicule upon the whole affair, and prophesying that it would soon stop of itself. "What can these feeble Jews accomplish? They will leave it all to their god again,¹ and will

¹ After an amended version.

fancy they have come together for a sacrificial feast! Why, it is all to be finished in a day or two! Just look, the stones, all charred as they are, have come to life among the ruins, and are going into their places all of themselves!" Tobiah was not behind him. "Let them build away!" he cried. "The first fox that happens to jump over their wall will throw it all down again!"

When he recorded all this mockery Nehemiah added the prayer, "Listen, O our God! it is thus that we are scoffed at. Let their scorn return upon their own heads, and make them a prey to their enemies in a land of captivity. Cover not their unrighteousness and forget not their sin, for they bitterly taunted the builders!" The vengeful spirit of this prayer is far from surprising in a man to whom the work thus ridiculed was sacred, and in whose ears these taunts were blasphemy.

But unquestionably the Jews themselves had given occasion for such scoffs. They had often, for instance, invoked the help of God with prayer and fast and sacrifice, but without laying a finger to the work themselves. The exhortations to passive faith which the prophets had but too often addressed to their people¹ had been taken more to heart than their moral teachings by those who heard and still more by those who read them. This spirit of passive trust may be traced in the following lines of a psalm, which with all their touching piety would lend themselves but too readily to dangerous abuse²:—

If Yahweh build not the house, the workmen labor in vain;
 If Yahweh preserve not the city, the sentry keeps watch in vain.
 It avails not, O ye who rise early, sit late, and eat bread that is
 earned in toil!
 For He gives the same to his loved ones even while they sleep!

Can we not fancy the joyful emotion with which the Jews, in the days of Jerusalem's humiliation, would listen to the following poem³:—

To thee do I lift up mine eyes,
 To thee, enthroned in the heavens!
 Behold, as slaves look to their master's hand,
 And a maid watches for a gift from her mistress,
 So do we look to Yahweh, our god,
 Till he shall be gracious to us.
 Pity us, then, O Yahweh!
 Pity us! we have had our fill of contempt;
 We have been filled with the scorn of the boastful,
 With the scoffs of the proud!

¹ Compare p. 285, and elsewhere.

² Psalm cxxvii. 1, 2.

³ Psalm cxxiii.

It was a sweet consolation in their misery to rouse one another's courage with the words,¹—

I lift up mine eyes to the mountains,
 From whence my help shall come.
 Help comes from Yahweh,
 Creator of heaven and earth.
 He will not suffer thy foot to stumble;
 He that preserves thee will not slumber.
 Nay, he will neither slumber nor sleep,
 The preserver of Israel.
 Yahweh is thy preserver;
 Yahweh, the shadow from the South.
 The sun shall not smite thee by day,
 Nor the moon by night.
 Yahweh shall keep thee from every trouble;
 Yes, he shall keep thee!
 Yahweh shall protect thy coming and going
 From now to eternity.

This is a truly beautiful poem; but if the faithful allowed their trust in Yahweh's help to supersede their own efforts, the only result must be their social and moral ruin.

There had often been good cause to reproach the Jews with being readier to pray than to work, and the reproach was now repeated by their enemies; but, with Nehemiah at the head of affairs, there was little danger of its being deserved; as the scoffers were soon to see. The work made rapid progress, and before its opponents had time to think, it was half completed. Evidently the workmen were throwing their whole souls into it. So when Sanballat and his friends saw that "these feeble Jews" were really making progress, they came together once more, in greater numbers, to take counsel.

Their plans were soon made. They would rush upon the walls and take the city by surprise. But the plot leaked out, and Nehemiah was not the man to content himself with praying against it! He did indeed implore his god for help, but he also set watch by day and night. The work, however, became very burdensome under all these circumstances, and Nehemiah was constantly hearing complaints from the workers. It was almost too much for them; they were worn out; the heaps of rubbish were so enormous! Terror sank into many a heart, for, in spite of the watch, the enemy might come at any moment. And on ten separate occasions Jews, who were settled near one or other of the hostile tribes, came to warn their relatives or fellow-villagers, while engaged upon the work, that they had better go back home. We may well believe how lit-

¹ Psalm cxxi.

He Nehemiah was disposed to permit such desertions ; but he ordered every one to give up building for a time, armed all the men of military age, made the necessary preparations for repelling an attack, and earnestly exhorted the captains and soldiers to fight bravely for their wives and children.

But it did not come to blows. When the hostile party heard how well Nehemiah and his friends were prepared for them, they relinquished their project and allowed the building to proceed after only a short delay. But Nehemiah did not slacken his precautions. He kept half of his own men under arms day and night, while the chiefs of the people always stayed close by their men with a store of spears, shields, bows, and coats of mail, so that a moment would suffice to put all the work-people under arms. Nay, even when at work they were not wholly unarmed, for the overseers handed up the building materials with one hand while they grasped a spear in the other, and the masons, who had to work with both hands, had their swords girt to their sides. Nehemiah and all his staff neither took off their clothes nor laid down their arms day or night. The governor was always accompanied by a trumpeter, and it was agreed that if the trumpet sounded all the chiefs and people were to rush to Nehemiah and present a common front to the foe. We may well believe that the men from outlying districts, who had come with their retainers to work at the walls, were no longer suffered to slink away by night as they had sometimes done before !

In a word, the task was carried on with the utmost vigor, and Nehemiah was the soul of the undertaking. Sanballat and his friends were well aware of this, and therefore aimed a blow at him. The walls and turrets were now completed, and not a single breach was left. But the gates were not yet restored, and the work was therefore still unfinished. Sanballat and Geshem now pretended to wish to come to some understanding with the governor, and invited him to a conference at Cephira, in the valley of Ono, a few leagues north-west of Jerusalem. Nehemiah suspected them of intending to seize him, and refused to meet them. He could not leave the city, he replied, for it would cause delay in the building. Four times in succession they sent their invitation, but always in vain. Sanballat, however, did not yet despair, but sent a servant with an open letter which said that Geshem had publicly accused Nehemiah of fortifying Jerusalem with the intention of rebelling against the king of Persia, and that he was even reported to have secured certain prophets who were to

proclaim him king in Jerusalem. The letter concluded with a renewed invitation to a conference for the discussion of these matters. Nehemiah's answer was short and sharp: "It is all a lie of your own coining."

Sanballat and Geshem had endeavored to draw Nehemiah out of Jerusalem, but Tobiah tried another way of bringing about his fall. He found means of inducing a certain prophet, Shemaiah, to enter into his scheme. Simulating the prophetic mood, this man summoned Nehemiah and told him in Yahweh's name that plots had been forged against his life, and he must therefore instantly fly with him to the temple and guard himself against surprise in the sanctuary by closing the doors. It was a subtle plot! If Nehemiah had consented, he would have trespassed against the law by entering the temple, from which, as a layman, he was excluded. This would have undermined his influence with the rigidly orthodox party. Nehemiah, undaunted as ever, answered boldly: "You have mistaken me widely if you think I shall take to flight. And how could a layman enter the sanctuary without losing his life? Never!"

Shemaiah was not the only prophet who endeavored to alarm Nehemiah. There were several others, amongst whom he mentions the prophetess Noadiah by name. There were also many of his immediate associates upon whom he could not altogether reckon. Tobiah had many connections and friends amongst the chief men of Jerusalem, and the extraordinary number of letters which passed to and fro showed how actively he was keeping up his relations with them; and, indeed, his praises were constantly sounded in the ears of Nehemiah himself. It was obvious that many of the influential men about him heartily desired to see him come to some better understanding with Tobiah.

Years afterwards, when Nehemiah looked back upon the past and composed his memorials, he could not refrain from uttering a curse upon Sanballat, Tobiah, and the prophets who had resisted him, while he proudly added: "Nevertheless, the walls were finished in two-and-fifty days!"

And in truth the enterprise, perseverance, courage, and zeal which enabled him to sweep everything before him command our admiration. If he cursed his foes in the name of his god, and enacted measures of merciless exclusion against them, at any rate he labored unweariedly and risked his very life in the cause of his country and his God.

About this time a great assembly was held in Jerusalem. Nehemiah inserts his record of it in the middle of the account of the rebuilding of the walls, but it seems far more probable that it was held shortly after the completion of that work than while it was still in progress. The occasion of its being summoned was as follows:—

For some time past the poorer Jews, both in Jerusalem and in the surrounding districts, had complained bitterly of the cruel treatment they experienced from their wealthy countrymen. To secure bare sustenance for themselves and their families many of them had pledged their fields and vineyards; others had been driven to the same step in order to pay the taxes due to the king; nay, some had been actually compelled to sell their sons and daughters as slaves, for bread. It was too fearful! Were they not as good as the rich men? Why should they be forced to sell their children and give up their fields? Such were the complaints that rose, especially from the women, till they reached the ear of Nehemiah. The governor was deeply shocked, and spoke to several of the nobles on the subject. This produced no effect, for one shielded himself behind another in the usual style, till at last Nehemiah took up the affair with the same energy he had already devoted to the rebuilding of the walls, and summoned an assembly of all the heads of families.

Then he delivered an address, in which he pointed out the constant practice of himself and other Jews in Babylonia. As far as was in their power they had always purchased their countrymen in the slave-market from their heathen masters and set them at liberty. What a melancholy contrast was furnished by those who actually sold their brothers! The nobles had nothing to urge against his reproaches; upon which he went on to show that if Israel's shame was ever to be removed, they must walk in the fear of God. He was prepared to set them a good example. He and his relatives, and all the men of his retinue, would cancel all their claims for what they had lent to the poor. He called upon them all to do the same. On the very spot they must return the fields, the vineyards, the olive gardens, and houses they had taken in pledge, and must not demand again the provisions and the money they had lent. Nehemiah's words produced so deep an impression that the rich men promised everything he required. But the governor was not yet content; and fearing that, when his eye was no longer upon them and they came to think the matter over, they might shrink from keeping their word, he

called for certain priests to take an oath from them. He himself endeavored to add terror to the oath by a symbolical action. He raised his garment as high as his breast, so as to make it into a kind of sack, and then performed the gesture of shaking it empty, with the words, "If any one should break his word, may Yahweh shake him out of his house and goods, and make him naked and empty." "Amen! Amen!" cried the people, as they praised Yahweh for setting so strong and merciful a governor over Judah.

When Nehemiah tells us this, and adds that the rich men kept their word, he takes occasion to inform us how unselfish he had always been himself—a fact that is greatly to his credit, but which we should have preferred to hear from some one else. During the twelve years that he was governor he remitted the allowance for his table in order not to increase the burdens of his poor afflicted people, whereas former governors had levied forty silver shekels a day, besides contributions in kind,¹ for this purpose, and had left their followers far too free to practise extortion and usury. He, on the other hand, feared God far too much to do such things. He and his retinue had even helped in building the walls without any compensation; and he generally entertained at his own table a hundred and fifty nobles and many other Jews who had just come from abroad. Every day one ox, six fattened sheep, with poultry and a great quantity of wine, were served; "and all this," says Nehemiah in conclusion, "I did without the allowance for my table which I might have claimed as governor; for the people were sadly burdened. Reward me, O God! for all the good that I have done to this people!"

Against the enthusiasm of such a man as Nehemiah, backed by the material power he could command as the king's governor, hardly anything could stand. He had been able to alleviate the pinching necessity of the poor by force of persuasion; but he was driven to stronger measures to meet another difficulty. Jerusalem's walls indeed were now rebuilt, and had been solemnly consecrated by a procession of the nobles and priests, which marched in two companies, preceded by music, round the renovated walls, and united again in the temple to offer sacrifice. Great had been the rejoicings on that day; men, women, and children had raised a shout that rang far into the distance. Israel's shame was taken away. The people of Yahweh possessed a fortress once more! But,

¹ Translation uncertain.

encouraging as all this was, Jerusalem still was empty and deserted. No wonder! The dimensions of the city were the same as when Nebuchadrezzar took it, but the number of its inhabitants was very much smaller. All Judæa was now more sparsely populated than before, and Jerusalem was one of the least eligible places of abode in the land. The means of subsistence there were very scanty, and the district was so barren that the court and the temple furnished almost the only means of livelihood to the men of Jerusalem. Now at present the people in general were so poor that the temple revenues were not great, and many of the priests into whose hands they flowed for the most part were themselves compelled to live at a distance from the city, doubtless in order to eke out their slender means by agriculture and cattle-feeding. The governor's court did indeed bring some activity to the capital, but not nearly so much as that of the king had done in former times. So the Jews, though loud in their praises of Jerusalem, and exalting it to heaven as the holy city, did not choose it as the place of their abode, and the consequence was that behind the renovated walls lay many streets without inhabitants, and perhaps half covered with ruins.

Nehemiah had a remedy for this also. In the first place he provided for a proper watch being kept over the city. His brother Hanani, the commander of the citadel, was a man on whom he could absolutely rely; and under his superintendence he ordered not only laymen, but priests, singers, and Levites to keep watch at the gates in turn, while he expressly instructed Hanani not to allow the city gates to be opened until some time after sunrise, and at night to close them and secure them well with bolt and bar. Then he called the representatives of the people together, and urged them with his usual zeal and animation to settle in Jerusalem. Many of them, especially the wealthier men, who could do it at no great sacrifice, allowed themselves to be persuaded; but since they were not sufficiently numerous, the governor succeeded in passing an ordinance that one-tenth of the whole population should come and live in the capital, and that if there were not sufficient volunteers, the lot should decide who were to be compelled to migrate to Jerusalem. It was a hard decree! No wonder that those who were earning their bread elsewhere, and did not see how they were to get it in Jerusalem, blessed every one who volunteered to reside there. The rest were selected according to Nehemiah's proposal.

The governor's uncompromising energy had, therefore, secured a sufficient population, voluntary or enforced, to prevent Jerusalem from being an empty waste and a reproach to Yahweh, Israel's god. It was not till after these events that any temple-goer could have expressed his admiration for the holy city in the following words without manifest absurdity : ¹

I am glad when they say, Let us go to the house of Yahweh !
 Our feet are standing within thy gates, O Jerusalem !
 O Jerusalem, rebuilt, thou city compact together,
 To thee do the tribes go up, the tribes of Yahweh !
 The community of Israel, to praise the name of Yahweh.
 There stood the thrones of judgment,
 The seats of David's race.
 Pray for Jerusalem's weal !
 A life of peace to them that love thee !
 Be joy within thy fortresses !
 Thy palaces be blessed !
 For friends and brethren's sake I bless thee,
 For the house of Yahweh our god will I seek thy weal.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE MOSAIC LAW.

NEHEMIAH VIII.-X., XIII. ; MALACHI.

NEHEMIAH was a deeply religious man. Prayer was his refuge in every perplexity, and the fear of God was his strongest motive to action. We have already seen clearly enough to which religious school he belonged. The rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls and all the care bestowed upon the fortification of the City of the Temple were the fruit of the same spirit which had impelled Ezra to maintain Israel's purity by banishing the foreign wives and their children. We cannot wonder, then, that the great scribe, who in spite of all his zeal had been able as yet to do but little towards introducing the law of Yahweh and reforming the people, now felt himself roused to fresh efforts by the support on which he could rely from the governor.

The seventh month drew near. We are not told the year, but the last date that has been given is that of the completion of the walls on the five-and-twentieth day of Elul, the sixth

¹ Psalm cxxii.

to fight another battle the very week after the first victory; and we are therefore inclined to put the events we are about to record in the next year, the second of Nehemiah's governorship, 444 B.C. On the first day of the seventh month, then, a feast-day dear to the Israelites from time of old,¹ the Jews had assembled in more than usual numbers at Jerusalem to bring their wonted offerings and hold their feasts of joy. It was then that certain zealots, who declared that they spoke in the name of the people, requested Ezra to read the law of Yahweh to them. He asked for nothing better. A rostrum was soon erected in the great open space before the Water-gate, one of the entrances to the temple. There Ezra took his place, with the roll of the Law in his hand. Men and women, boys and girls, a great proportion in fact of the visitors and people of Jerusalem who had come to years of discretion, were walking about or standing in knots in the ample space. On Ezra's right and left distinguished citizens were grouped to give emphasis to his words; and when he ascended the rostrum in the sight of all the crowd and opened the roll of the Law, every one stood still in reverence and awaited in solemn silence the words he was about to read. He raised his hands to heaven and uttered a prayer to the glory of Yahweh, the god of Israel's covenant, to whose word his people now desired to hearken. "Amen! Amen!" was heard on every side, and all present bowed down twice to the earth. Then the reading began. After going through a few of the precepts Ezra paused, and a number of Levites, thirteen of whom are specially mentioned by name, standing about amongst the people, explained in greater detail what they had heard.

The denunciations against the disobedient which accompanied Yahweh's commandments made such a deep and painful impression on the hearers that many of them, dreading the divine vengeance, burst into tears; for there were many things in which they had not at all conformed to what they were now informed were Yahweh's commands to Moses. But Nehemiah, Ezra, and the Levitical teachers met these cries of woe by the exhortation not to forget that it was a feast-day, on which they must eat their delicacies and drink their sweet must, and give food to the poor and to all who had nothing of their own. As for the rest, Yahweh would help them. "Hush! hush!" cried the Levites, "this is a holy day, upon

¹ Leviticus xxiii. 23-25; compare p. 111.

which you may not lament!" And the people instantly showed their desire to obey the word of Yahweh by drying up their tears and spending the day in festive mood.

But on the morrow, when most of those who had come up to the feast were at home again, Ezra summoned the heads of families, together with the principal priests and Levites, and bade them read the regulations of the Feast of Tabernacles that must be held on the fifteenth of that same month.¹ It was the ancient harvest feast which had been celebrated for centuries by Israel, but to which a new significance was now given by the Law; for it was made a commemoration of Israel's wandering in the desert, in memory of which the celebrants were to live in booths made of the branches of various trees and to hold festive social gatherings. Accordingly this feast was celebrated eight days long, in harmony with the regulations in the Law, and with unparalleled splendor. Everywhere, on the flat roofs of the houses, in the courts of the temples, and in more than one open space in Jerusalem, these airy abodes were reared; and there, adorned by day and illuminated by night, they testified for seven days to the rejoicings of the Jews, which took the usual form of dance and song. The feast was introduced on the first day by a solemn service in the sanctuary, and was closed on the eighth by a sacrificial ceremony no less numerously attended.

Now Ezra had not allowed these eight days of intense religious feeling to pass by unused. Day after day he had collected the pilgrims round the rostrum, and made them acquainted with the Law. Thus he had made his preparations for the time when he could strike the blow, as he had done thirteen years before, and carry Israel with him in the great reforms he had in view. It was agreed that two days after the time of rejoicing was over, the faithful should return to Jerusalem, not in joy, however, but in mourning garments. Then they might indulge the grief which had seized them three weeks ago, and mourn for Israel's faithlessness.

We may easily guess who they were that assembled in the temple court on that twenty-fourth of Tisri. Certainly not all the Jews were there; but the strictly orthodox, the zealots for Yahweh's law and Israel's purity, were represented in great strength. There were doubtless some present who would rather have been absent, were it not that Nehemiah, the governor, supported Ezra and zealously furthered his schemes; but in any case, those who were connected with foreigners would not

¹ Leviticus xxiii. 33-43.

with all those who felt that Ezra's religion was too exclusive, would be sure to keep in the background. Not many introductory words were needed. All who were present knew what they had come for. They were clad in mourning, had dust upon their heads, and observed the strictest fast. See how they strike their breasts, and how the most zealous have pushed forward to the pulpits of the Levites and are testifying to their emotion by loud cries of guilt! Woe, woe to Israel! They, too, are sinners, as their fathers were before them! How many times has Yahweh smitten his people because of their unrighteousness! And yet they have not repented! Cursed be they who have married with the heathen! Alas for the deserted service of the temple! How often Yahweh's altar is empty, while want pinches his priests! And how the Sabbath is desecrated! Woe, woe upon Israel! O Yahweh, pity thy people! Such were the cries continually uttered with the characteristic passion of the Orientals during the first three hours of the day while the book of Law was being read once more. For the next three hours the penitents continued to utter more and more passionate confessions of guilt and prayers to Yahweh. Then certain Levites came amongst them, and strained their emotion to a yet higher pitch by calling aloud upon Yahweh, their god. When the tension was at its climax, when the multitude, completely broken by the sense of guilt and apprehension, had fallen to the ground, a voice was heard from the rostrum saying, "Stand up and praise Yahweh, your god, for ever!" and some one uttered a long prayer to the Creator of heaven and earth, the god of Israel's covenant, in which his mighty deeds were commemorated, the people's sins deplored, and a promise of improvement made in their name. The Hebrew text does not say that it was Ezra himself who spoke, but the Greek translation does, and there is nothing to prevent our supposing that in this instance it has preserved a correct tradition.

So when the day had thus worn on in fasting and prayer, the great resolve was made. A document had been prepared in advance, which promised that those who signed it would thenceforth observe the Law. It was now read out, received with acclamation, and signed by twenty priests, almost as many Levites, and four-and-forty laymen. The main provisions of the oath thus taken were to avoid all marriages with foreigners, to do no business on the Sabbath, strictly to observe the Sabbatical year, and to pay a poll-tax of a third of a shekel

(about five pence) towards the expenses of the sanctuary. All who signed the document undertook to provide wood for the sanctuary in rotation, as fixed by lot, and they all solemnly promised their firstlings, their first-fruits, and their tithes, the necessary arrangements for the due collection and distribution of which were made. Then the assembly dissolved.

Of course this solemn resolution had not won the game for the stricter Jews. Their opponents were still numerous and many of their supporters half-hearted. A series of ordinances regulating the external conditions of the religious life, or as we should express it a system of ecclesiastical laws, cannot be permanently stamped upon a people's heart in a moment. It long requires support from the strong arm of the secular power, and is long subject to infringement before custom finally succeeds in making it impossible to imagine an earnest man refusing to submit to it. Such was the course of events in Israel also. As long as Ezra and Nehemiah kept their hands on the work, the Law came more and more into honor, the temple offerings were brought with increasing regularity, the strict observance of the Sabbath gained ground, and the line between Israelites and heathens was more and more sharply drawn. But when the governor was compelled to return to the Persian court after twelve years' residence in Palestine, and probably Ezra was dead, many of the Jews threw off the yoke of the Law; so that when Nehemiah obtained permission to return once more to Jerusalem, after the lapse of a considerable time, he found plenty of work to do.

He appears to have come in the capacity of governor on this occasion also. At any rate he had ample power, though not more than he needed, for it was as much as ever he could do to bring the offenders to a sense of their duty or banish them from the land, and to counteract the abuses which had once again crept in. The men who had defied the law of Yahweh stood in no mean position, but were influential and powerful citizens. Foremost amongst them was Eliashib the priest, probably the high priest of that name. He had granted Tobiah, the old opponent of Ezra and Nehemiah, the use of a room in one of the temple magazines, which was previously used as a storehouse for sacrificial implements and incense. Nehemiah took vigorous measures against this abuse. He had Tobiah's furniture thrown out and the chamber purified, after which it was restored to its former uses.

relapsed into decay. Tithes were no longer paid. Many of the Levites and singers had been driven by necessity to settle in the country, where they could support themselves by agriculture. Nehemiah sharply reproved the heads of the people for standing by while the house of God was poor and destitute; and when his repeated exhortations had quickened the flow of gifts to the temple, he rearranged the whole matter on a permanent footing, and entrusted the receipt and disbursement of the temple revenues to properly selected officers. He himself attached so much importance to these measures that in recording them he adds the prayer, "Reward me, O my God! for this deed, and forget not the benefits I have done to the temple and its servants!"

It was a still harder task to compel the people of Jerusalem to observe the Sabbath strictly. The mass of the citizens and their leaders, to the great scandal of the devout, employed the seventh day in work. They pressed their olives and got in their harvest, and there was often such a rush of asses laden with wine, grapes, figs, and what not, that no one would have thought it was the day of Yahweh at all. Nay, there was a regular provision market! In the quarter of the Tyrians especially, which was full of fishmongers, there was a scandalous press of business on the Sabbath. It is true that the heathen traders could not be blamed for this, but their customers were Jews. Nehemiah brought the facts to the attention of the magistrates, and demanded vigorous proceedings against this sacrilege. Had not the neglect of the Sabbath been one of the main causes of Israel's fall? With the assent of the magistrates Nehemiah closed the city gates before the beginning of the Sabbath, and set some of his own retainers to watch them and prevent any wares from being introduced. But even this was not enough; for the traders now spent Saturday and the preceding night just outside the gates, and who could prevent the people of Jerusalem from going out and trading with them there? When this had gone on a few weeks, Nehemiah sent word to the traders that if he ever found them so near the walls on the eve of the Sabbath again, he should expel them by force. This step was successful; and, since he could not permanently spare his own guard to watch the gate, he charged the Levites with the duty of defending the sanctity of the Sabbath henceforth.

But the hardest task of all was to meet the old evil of mixed marriages. In spite of the zeal with which they had

been attacked, they were still frequent. Nehemiah even met with Jews, perhaps in border districts, whose children spoke a language more like Phœnician, Ammonitish, or Moabitish, than Hebrew, which latter they were not able properly to understand. He reproached the parents with words of burning indignation. Had not heathen women been the cause of Solomon's fall? Such conduct could bring nothing but misery upon the country. Away with all these strangers! Nor was he content with mere words; but when some of them hesitated to dismiss their wives and children on the spot, he seized them in a transport of zeal and scourged them and tore out their hair. By fair means or foul he would force them to submit!

In Jerusalem itself severe measures were required: for one of the sons of Jehoiada, the son of the high priest Eliashib, had married a daughter of Sanballat, the Horonite, of whom we have heard before, and he now refused to dismiss her. Nehemiah succeeded in getting him banished. "O God!" he wrote when recording these events, "punish those who have thus desecrated the priesthood!"

This son of Jehoiada cannot have been the only priest who showed small reverence for Yahweh's law; for if the majority of the servants of the temple had been averse to intercourse with strangers, such a marriage would hardly have been contracted by one so high in office, nor would one of the temple buildings have been granted to Tobiah. We could scarcely expect any strictness on such points from men who were careless even in enforcing the ordinances of which they were the special guardians as priests. And that such laxity existed is evident from the fact that they frequently allowed people to sacrifice animals which had some defect, such as lameness or blindness, though this was, of course, prohibited.¹ "A son honors his father, a servant his master. If I am a father, how am I honored! If I am a master, how am I feared?" says Yahweh. "Oh, priests who despise my name, can you still ask in what your contempt appears? You bring unclean offerings to my altar, and then complain yourselves that Yahweh's table is despised. Is it no sin to bring a blind, lame, or sick beast for a sacrifice to me? Only offer such a beast to your governor! Do you think he would grant the request accompanied by such a present? Neither do I," says Yahweh, "take pleasure in you or accept such presents; I, who am

¹ Deuteronomy xv. 21, xvii. 1; Leviticus xxii. 17-25.

honored amongst the heathen, from the East even to the West. A curse upon the miser who brings me a defective victim, though he has a better — me, the great king, honored and dreaded everywhere. Woe to you, priests! If you despise me thus, you are accursed. I would have Levi honor me. Life and blessing have I promised him because he feared me, and my law was upon his lips; for out of the mouth of the priest comes knowledge, and from his lips my commands are received, since he is a messenger of Yahweh of war-hosts. But you depart from the right way, and make many stumble in the observance of the Law; you break the covenant of Levi," says Yahweh.¹

The man who told the priests the truth so roundly was Malachi. He appeared at Jerusalem, rebuking the people for their sins and announcing the day of Yahweh's judgment, probably during Nehemiah's second stay in the city. If he regarded the desecration of the altar by the priests as an abomination, he was no less zealous in denouncing the neglect of worship by the people.² "You weary Yahweh," he exclaimed, "by the words you utter! Do you ask how so? By blasphemously saying, 'Surely, whoever does evil is acceptable to Yahweh,' or, 'Where is the God who judges?' Behold I send my messenger to prepare a way for me. Of a sudden shall the Lord, for whose coming you look, appear in his temple, and the angel of the covenant for whom you long shall approach, says Yahweh of war-hosts. And who shall be able to endure that day, which will be like a burning furnace and like bleaching soap? Then shall he sit in judgment and purify the sons of Levi as gold and silver are purified, that you may henceforth bring good gifts to Yahweh, and that Judah's and Jerusalem's offerings may be acceptable to him as of old. Then shall I come against you in judgment and punish the magicians and adulterers, who swear falsely and hold back the laborer's wages, the oppressors of the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, all who fear not me, says Yahweh. Think not that I have changed, O sons of Jacob! Had I changed, you would have been consumed already; for you have departed from my ordinances since the days of old. Turn again to me; then will I turn again to you. Do you ask how you are to turn to me again? Then do you think a man may steal from God? Do you ask how you steal from him? By holding back his tithes and offerings. Cursed are ye, because ye steal from me! Ay! the whole people steals!

¹ Malachi i. 6-ii. 9.² Malachi ii. 17-iv. 6.

Bring the tithes into my storehouse that there may be food in my house. Only put me to the test and see if I do not open the windows of heaven for you then, and pour out abundant blessings upon you. Then shall I curse the locusts for your sake, that they may not consume your produce; then your vines shall not fail you, and all the heathen shall pronounce you blessed, for your land shall be a joy to look on."

"Your words," cries the prophet again, "are an offence to me, says Yahweh. Do you ask me why? Because you say: 'It is vain to serve God. What does it profit us to observe his commandments and to humble ourselves in sackcloth and ashes for our shortcomings? The arrogant are the truly blessed, and with evil-doers all goes well. They put God to the test, and he does not punish them.' Then they that feared God spoke of these things together and Yahweh observed, and it was written down in the book of remembrance that lies before him for the sake of those that fear him. They shall be mine, said Yahweh, in the day which I shall make arise. Then will I spare them as one spares his son, and you shall discern between the fate of the righteous and of the godless. For behold! the day of Yahweh is coming, burning like a furnace. All the proud and the wicked shall be like stubble set aflame by that day, says Yahweh of hosts, who will leave them neither root nor branch. But for you who fear my name shall the sun of deliverance arise with healing beneath his wings, and your prosperity shall still increase. And you shall tread down the godless like dust beneath your feet, says Yahweh. Think then of the Law of Moses, my servant, which I gave him on Mount Horeb for all Israel, with all its ordinances and institutions. Behold, I send you Elijah, the prophet, before the great and terrible day of Yahweh comes. He shall turn the heart of the fathers back to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers, that I may not smite the land with a curse when I come!"

These words are full of fire, for the glow of Malachi's zeal is as hot as that of the greatest prophets. But in listening to his oracles, we are painfully impressed by the extreme importance which he obviously attaches to everything connected with forms of worship. We ought, in fairness, to note that other and more important matters also engaged his thoughts, and that he discussed the questions connected with foreign marriages, though the hopeless state of the text in this passage¹ prevents our giving any account of it. Again, his

¹ Malachi ii. 10-16.

ful, the cruel, and the sinful generally. But yet he dwells at greatest length on trespasses against the formal laws of worship, and sums up all his exhortations in the words, "Remember the law of Moses, with its precepts and institutions!" Malachi is a prophet, but he is steeped in the priestly spirit. He has, indeed, adopted from the ancient men of God their spirit of national pride. His book begins with the words:¹ "I love you, O Israel, says Yahweh. Do you doubt it? Esau was Jacob's brother, yet I loved Jacob and hated Esau, and laid waste his mountain land. Edom may say, Although we are poor, yet we shall rebuild what has been destroyed; but Yahweh says, Let them but begin and I will break down their work; and men shall call them, Land of godlessness, people against whom Yahweh is wroth for ever. And thou shalt see it and shalt cry, May Yahweh be glorified beyond the boundaries of Israel's land!" But where is the breadth of view of the ancient messengers of Yahweh? Where is the noble conception, Mercy and not sacrifice, which makes Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah heralds of a better time? Not a trace of it in Malachi! Alas, if the priestly spirit had already made its power felt in Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah, in Malachi we see still more clearly that the end of prophecy is drawing near, for it cannot flourish where the Law with its institutions and ordinances is supreme.

And to such supremacy the Law had now attained. Israel had definitely set its foot upon the path which was to make it "the people of the book." Whoever cherished freer conceptions, or refused to bow beneath the yoke of the Law, was banished or silenced. Nehemiah could look back upon his career with the feelings of a conqueror. It had, indeed, been a hard task, but he had compelled his people to accept the "institutions and ordinances." With a strong arm he had supported the great scribe, Ezra, who had introduced the book of Yahweh's law.

As for Ezra himself, it is no wonder that the Jewish teachers of later ages extolled him as a second Moses. He was, in truth, the father of Judaism. It was his work that gave the Jewish people that peculiar character that has since distinguished it from all the peoples, and has kept it in existence to this day in spite of all adversities, in spite of its

¹ Malachi i. 1-5.

dispersion, in spite of century upon century of persecution. We have seen that Ezra created nothing new, but only built on the foundations laid by the fathers; for ever since Josiah's time Israel had been advancing in the direction in which he urged it so decisively, and which he made it pursue with deliberate and conscious purpose. Judaism was no more Ezra's creation than the worship of Yahweh was that of Moses. But the zeal with which he and Nehemiah opposed the progress of freer conceptions which would tend to make Israel melt away amongst the heathens was crowned with success. They were themselves the children of their age, and they bequeathed their spirit to posterity.

We admire their energy and perseverance, but we cannot admire their work. They did much towards petrifying Israel by the worship of forms and the spirit of the Law.

Let us now examine the Law they introduced more narrowly, and illustrate its most important precepts.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MOSAIC LAW.

NUMBERS V. 11-31; LEVITICUS XVI.; NUMBERS VI. 1-21; EXODUS XXXI. 12-17; LEVITICUS XXV.

BE holy, for Yahweh is holy;" such was the principle which the noblest of the prophets had endeavored to stamp on their people's hearts; and such also was the motto inscribed on the banner of the priests who labored in the spirit of Ezra. To make Yahweh's people holy, that it might be worthy of him and separated from the heathen, was their ideal. But what a difference of conception as to holiness between such men as Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah on the one hand and the compilers of these laws, which Yahweh was said to have given to Moses, on the other! The former insisted, in the name of God's holiness, on virtue and purity, on integrity, chastity, temperance, beneficence. The priests, on the other hand, insisted on ceremonial, or, as it is commonly called Levitical, purity. Uncleanliness might be caused by a hundred such things as touching a dead body, a grave, the carcass of an unclean animal, or even of a clean animal that had not been slaughtered according to the law, contact

leprous houses or clothes, with anything connected with the sexual functions of men or women, and finally with forbidden kinds of food.¹ The prophets had preached "mercy and not sacrifice;" but the priests and their supporters insisted upon the mechanical performance of all manner of ceremonies. We see from the examples of Ezra and Nehemiah how they devoted their zeal to the maintenance of Sabbath observances, to the care of the temple, to the celebration of feasts and the offering of sacrifices.

When we contemplate the host of precepts which they gave the faithful, we naturally ask where all these forms and ceremonies came from. Did the priests deliberately invent them to give expression to their religious ideas, or did they borrow them from elsewhere? In the latter case, whence did they obtain them? The answer cannot be the same in every case, for the precepts differ widely in their origin.

We may describe a great many of them as of heathen or ancient Israelitish origin; and those two denominations are nearly equivalent, — for when Moses promulgated the law of the Ten Commandments and introduced the worship of Yahweh, the different tribes had numerous and varied religious usages already, many of which they shared with non-Israelitish peoples. A number of these customs were subsequently branded by the strict Mosaists as heathenish, and we have seen that this fact gave rise to violent religious conflicts, especially under Hezekiah and Josiah.

Now the compilers of the so-called Mosaic law opposed the heathen practices in some respects with the utmost energy, but in some only. In the first place they sternly forbade all worship of foreign gods. The belief that Yahweh was the only God was distinctly premised by the priests who lived in and after the captivity. Again, they absolutely condemn all image worship, together with the use of *massebahs*, *asherahs*, *chammanim*, and *bamahs*, and other practices connected with it. They emphatically support the far-reaching principle of Deuteronomy, that sacrifices may only be offered in the temple at Jerusalem, and only by the priests appointed by Yahweh. Again, they condemn as Canaanitish the practices of magic, human sacrifice (especially of children), and inhumanity in honor of the deity, while many other ancient usages no doubt received their death-blow from the silence of the Law.

¹ Compare vol. iii. pp. 444 ff.; chapter xxxi.

But, on the other hand, the priests adopted and confirmed many practices which were in no way connected with the principles of Mosaism, and in some cases were actually opposed to them. Sometimes they modified them, but generally they took them just as they found them. Thus they remained and for the most part still remain in honor, though their significance was completely lost. The rite of circumcision, for instance, was passed over in silence by the Deuteronomic legislation, though presupposed by it,¹ but is expressly enjoined in the Book of Origins.² Subsequent legislators only mention it incidentally.³ Again, without understanding the origin of the distinction between clean and unclean animals, the priests had adopted it from the people even as early as in Josiah's reign,⁴ nor did they relinquish it during the captivity, though they found themselves compelled to repeal one regulation and allow the locust and three other creatures to be eaten, though they were previously forbidden.⁵ It must also have been an old usage, which the priests who took it up into the Law would have been at a loss to explain, by which a woman who had given birth to a child was regarded as unclean for forty days if it were a boy, but eighty if it were a girl.⁶ Other similar instances might be cited.

A few examples may be given of old heathen usages which were taken up into the Law. One of them is the ordeal of the "water of jealousy,"⁷ which was applied as follows:—

When a man suspected his wife of infidelity, but could not prove it, he took her to the priest, at the same time bringing him a specified present for Yahweh. It consisted of two quarts of barley meal, without the usual addition of oil and incense. It was the gift of jealousy, and was intended to call Yahweh's attention to the suspected transgression. Then the priest led the woman to the altar, took some consecrated water in a new vessel, and put a little dust from the floor of the temple into it. Then he uncovered the woman's head by removing her veil, and told her to hold the offering of barley meal in her hands while he held the water of cursing. Then she must swear that she had not been untrue to her husband, upon which the priest uttered fearful imprecations upon her should her statement be false. The water would do her no harm if she were innocent; but if her oath were false it would undoubtedly destroy her, and she would fall a misshapen

¹ Deuteronomy x. 16, xxx. 6.

² Deuteronomy xiv. 3-20.

³ Leviticus xii.

⁴ Genesis xvii.

⁵ Leviticus xii. 3.

⁶ Leviticus xi.; see especially v. 22.

⁷ Numbers v. 11-31.

her assent by crying, "Halleluiah!" Then she had the courage to do this, the priest then took a tablet, wrote the curse upon it, and made the consecrated water flow over the letters that it might acquire the power of fulfilling the curse. All this time the woman had to stand with the meal before the altar, but the priest now took it from her, waved it to and fro before Yahweh to excite his attention, sprinkled a handful of it in the fire upon the altar, and then gave the woman the water to drink. "Without doubt," adds the lawgiver, "that draught shall be a curse to her if she has been faithless. Her thighs shall sink away and her body shall swell, and her name shall become a curse in Israel. But," he concludes, "if she is guiltless she will remain uninjured and will taste the joys of motherhood. This is the law concerning jealousy."

This draught of the "water of cursing," with its gross superstitiousness and its strong testimony to the power of the conscience, was certainly not the only form of ordeal current amongst the Israelites. In legalizing and regulating this mode of decision, the priests very likely did a great service by causing the disuse of many dangerous forms of ordeal.

When treating of the Feast of Passover¹ we remarked that the priest who regulated its ceremonies probably borrowed some of them from ancient usages which he saw no chance of abolishing, and invented some of them himself to bring the festival as nearly as possible into harmony with the explanation he had given of it. The same may be said of all the festivals, as regulated by the priests after the captivity. Chief amongst these festivals are the three already enjoined by the earlier legislation,² — namely, Passover, the Feast of Weeks (generally called Pentecost, or the Feast of the Fiftieth Day), and Tabernacles; then comes the celebration of every new moon,³ especially that of the seventh month,⁴ and then the great Day of Atonement.⁵ What had the celebration of the reappearance of the moon to do with the worship of Yahweh? Nothing in the world. The people were evidently too much attached to certain usages, which pointed back to their ancient worship of the moon-goddess, for the priests to see any possibility of abolishing them. Accordingly they included them amongst the feasts in honor of Yahweh, and

¹ Vol. i., pp. 277 ff.

² Exodus xxiii. 14-17; Deuteronomy xvi. 1-16.

³ Numbers xxviii. 11-15. ⁴ Leviticus xxiii. 23-25.

⁵ Leviticus xxiii. 26-32.

carefully defined the sacrifices that must be made upon them. In no instance were the gifts due to Yahweh at a feast left to the generosity of the faithful. They were always accurately defined.¹ Everything was arranged in a truly priestly spirit.

The usages of the great Day of Atonement, on the tenth day of the seventh month, deserve especial attention.² The business of this day, which is still regarded by the Jews as peculiarly holy, was a general purification from sin. It is true that definite sacrifices, ablutions, and separations were prescribed to meet every possible trespass and voluntary or involuntary pollution; but how easily might an Israelite become unclean by walking over a grave, for instance, or touching an unclean person, without ever so much as knowing it? Moreover, the sanctuary itself was in the midst of a sinful people, and both it and all the apparatus of sacrifice were constantly being polluted, and therefore stood in need of purification. Upon this day accordingly, the only fast prescribed by the Law, a general purification conducted by the high priest in person took place.

He began by purifying himself. First he bathed, and instead of his magnificent official robes put on the simple linen garments of an ordinary priest. Then he took a bullock for a sin-offering and a ram for a burnt-offering, in order that he and the whole priesthood might be worthy mediators with Yahweh. When these animals were ready, but before they were sacrificed, two goats for a sin-offering and a ram for a burnt-offering were brought to the high priest on behalf of the community. Lots were cast for the two goats, and the one that fell to Yahweh was set aside for a sin-offering, while the other was reserved for Azazel. Then the sacrificial ceremonies began. The priests' bullock was slaughtered, after which the high priest entered the holy of holies, with a pan of fire well supplied with incense, which he deposited before the sacred covering of the ark, that its fumes might prevent his seeing the place where Yahweh was enthroned, which would have cost him his life. Meanwhile no one was allowed to enter the sanctuary. Then the priest came out for the blood of the slaughtered ox, raised the curtain a second time, and, enveloped in the smoke of the incense, sprinkled the blood of his sacrifice upon the covering of the ark towards the east, and then sprinkled it seven times in front, or to the east, of the ark. After this he returned and slaughtered the people's goat

¹ Numbers xxviii., xxix., and elsewhere.

² Leviticus x.

that had been assigned to Yahweh, and performed the same ceremonies with its blood as he had already done with that of his own sacrifice. Then he went all round the sanctuary, and sprinkled it first with the blood of the bullock and then with that of the goat, and then in like manner sprinkled the horns of the altar. At last he turned to the living goat, assigned to Azazel, solemnly laid both his hands upon its head, uttered a general confession of guilt in a loud voice in the name of all Israel, laid all those iniquities upon the beast, and then handed it over to a man who stood ready to receive it. This man brought the "scapegoat" of Israel to the desert, and drove it away into it that it might carry away all the sins of Israel into the barren land. Meanwhile the high priest took off his clothes, bathed, put on his official robes, and so returned to the altar, where he offered the burnt-sacrifices: first his own, and afterwards that of the people. The flesh and hides of the sin-offerings, all except the fat which was laid on the altar, were carried away by a man who was not a priest, and were burned in a remote place. This man, as well as the one who had taken away the "scapegoat," had to change his clothes and bathe, and might not return to the camp till evening.

In this, as in other priestly ordinances, we find the compiler putting the description of his own ideal into the mouth of Moses, and he therefore speaks throughout of the tent of conference instead of the temple, of the camp and the desert, and of Aaron instead of the high priest. His ideal was incapable of being completely realized, for to begin with there was no ark of the covenant in Zerubbabel's temple; but it serves none the less to indicate the direction of his aspirations. What is the subject-matter, then, of his ordinances? How far does it naturally flow from the spirit of Yahweh-worship? Surely there is little in it to remind us of Yahweh's great representatives, the noblest of the prophets. It is true that the confession of guilt and sin may recall to our minds the preachers of repentance, but they would have felt small sympathy with such a formal and external conception of sin, or the notion that the sanctuary with all its apparatus was polluted by the involuntary transgressions of Israel. What was the origin of the anxiety to fill the holy of holies with the fumes of incense lest the high priest should die when he entered? It sprang from the child-like belief that whoever saw Yahweh would die, which had superseded the still older idea that he held familiar converse with men, but was in its turn foreign to the loftier and purer

conception of his being which had found its chief exponent in the Second Isaiah. The goat "for Azazel" has been a sore perplexity to the commentators, and we have not yet discovered the meaning of the word, which only occurs in this passage. But the connection in which we find it here is quite enough to put us on the right track. It is clear that the lawgiver is introducing no fresh name, nor issuing any new injunctions at all, but is simply legalizing a familiar ceremony. Azazel is a proper name, most likely of a god who was supposed to dwell in waste places — a sort of Pan or satyr. Many Jewish families, we may suppose, had worshipped him in former times, and still retained certain usages connected with the name of Azazel, though they themselves no longer knew the origin or the significance either of the name or the rites connected with it. Just in the same way as many of us still play with Easter eggs or at Christmas games without in the least suspecting that we are really perpetuating the usages of ancient heathen religions,¹ so these Judeans once a year drove a goat into the desert "to Azazel," with shouts and curses, though they did not know why. The lawgiver, who had no power and very likely no desire to abolish so inveterate a custom, incorporated it in the Law and made it a part of the great day of atonement.

Sometimes the lawgivers show an unmistakable shrewdness in their partial or complete legalization of ancient customs. When was there ever a priesthood without ambition and without the art of turning things to the best account? Much skill of this description is shown by the legislator who regulated the vow of the Nazarites. The ancient custom of taking the Nazarite vow for life² can hardly have been acceptable to the priests; for these men, who abstained from wine and bore on their heads "the crown of Yahweh" in their unshorn locks, formed a spiritual order independent of the priesthood and highly honored by the people; whereas any kind of sanctity which required no assistance from the priests, and was fostered upon other principles than theirs, would naturally excite their jealousy. What, then, was the course they adopted? They made regulations for a temporary vow which included not only abstinence from wine and letting the hair grow, but also the strictest precautions against ceremonial uncleanness and minute regulations as to the course to be pursued in the unfortunate case of the sudden death of a near relative necessitating the vow's being broken by contact with a corpse. Last, not

¹ See vol. i. p. 106.

² See vol. i. pp. 445, 446.

least, they expressly prescribed the sacrifices which the Nazarene must offer at the close of the period for which he had taken the vow, so that he could not be released from it without the help of the priests.¹

In many instances the laws give evidence of having been drawn up in priestly schools in accordance with abstract principles, though not without reference to existing usages. This is most obvious in the regulations concerning sacrifices and the Sabbath.

Sacrifice occupies a prominent place in all ancient religions. It was equally impossible to approach a prince or a deity for the purpose of making a request without bringing a present to him. The Israelite was as averse as others to "appear before the face of his gods empty-handed." We should therefore expect to find great prominence given to sacrifice in the legislation of the priests, for they did not stand much higher than the people themselves; and, moreover, the fact that they lived to some extent on the proceeds of the altar gave them a direct interest in encouraging sacrifices. The Mosaic law, accordingly, not only prescribes numerous sacrifices, but divides them into different classes, and defines the kind of animals and other offerings which the faithful must bring on each of the several occasions specified, and how the victims are to be dealt with in each case. It would be of little use to sum up all the priestly regulations on these subjects, and moreover the precepts given at different periods are sometimes contradictory. We may well be content with touching on some of the main points.²

The priests distinguished four kinds of sacrifices. First of all came the burnt-offerings, which were placed almost entire upon the altar and were consumed with fire. This was the most solemn kind of sacrifice. It served as a recognition of Yahweh's supreme power, and was performed every day. Night and morning, in the name of all the people, a lamb was offered as a burnt-sacrifice, with a specified quantity of meal, oil, and wine, all of which were doubled on the Sabbath.³ Next came the thank-offerings, only a small part of which was laid upon the altar, while the rest furnished a festive meal to the offerers, after a due portion had been set aside for the priest. Finally, there were the sin and guilt offerings. The priests evidently made some distinction between these two, though it is anything but clear in what it consisted. The

¹ Numbers vi. 1-21.

² Leviticus i.-v.

³ Numbers xxviii. 1-16

guilt-offering appears to have been prescribed in the case of grosser transgressions. It was often coupled with restitution, and it required a male victim, generally a ram; whereas the sin-offering, for which a female animal would do, was demanded by slighter trespasses. Of course no festive meal would follow these sacrifices. Only a part of the victim was burned, but all the rest was given to the priests, who were compelled to eat it in the sanctuary, and might not take it home.

The purpose of these atoning sacrifices, as well as of the burnt-sacrifices, was to obtain forgiveness, which, according to the doctrine of the priests, was secured by the blood of the victims. For in a certain passage in the Law we read: ¹ "The soul of a living creature is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make atonement for you, for the blood makes atonement by the soul that is in it." Volumes have been written upon this expression! It has been asked whether Yahweh accepted the soul of the victim instead of that of the offerer, and in that case whether the guilt of the sinner was transferred to the beast, with other questions of a like nature. But we must remember that such questions as these throw no light upon the origin of the guilt-offerings, which is no such great mystery after all. It is simply due to the childlike idea that when the deity was offended he must be propitiated by a present. The priest who indulged in this speculation as to "the soul in the blood," did so not by way of explaining the idea that underlay the sacrifices of atonement, but in order to impress upon the Israelites, and even the foreigners dwelling in the land, the necessity of abstaining from the use of flesh with blood in it. As to the question whether the Jews regarded the slaughtered victim as taking the place of the offender who offered it, we need only remark that the conception of vicarious suffering was quite familiar both to them and to the peoples of antiquity in general. Redemption by substitution or fine was frequently prescribed; and, just as Abram in the legend offered a ram "in place of" his son,² so the Israelite undoubtedly regarded the animal as taking his place when he had laid his hand upon it with a confession of guilt, and thus recognized it as his sacrifice and, as it were, offered it himself.

It was anything but a good deed which the priests had done in prescribing these several atoning sacrifices and enjoining all these purifications. Nothing could be better calculated to blunt the conscience. It is true that it was not every offence

¹ Leviticus xvii. 11.

² Genesis xxii. 13.

tional transgressions were threatened with death, but the line between intentional and unintentional offences is very hard to draw. Must a careless oath, for instance, be regarded as an intentional transgression? The lawgiver allows such "lip-deeds" to be expunged by a guilt-offering,¹ but to place them on a line with involuntary pollution is to impair the moral sense, and to remove us far from the position in which such men as Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah place their hearers. What a contrast between these minute subdivisions of the diverse sacrifices and the free spirit of the prophet who exclaimed:² "Treat your burnt-offerings like ordinary sacrifices and make a meal of them! For when you came out of Egypt I gave you no precepts about these things, says Yahweh, but commanded you to obey me."

Nehemiah's inexorable severity in enforcing the observance of the Sabbath was altogether in the spirit of the priestly legislators, who insisted with all their might upon the ancient precept, "Remember to hallow the day of rest." They regarded the Sabbath as the everlasting token of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel, constantly reminding the people of their call to holiness. The penalty assigned to the desecration of this sacred day was nothing short of death; for had not even Yahweh himself rested after six days' labor?³ There is a priestly story which enforces the fact that Sabbath-breaking was punishable with death by telling of a man who was discovered gathering sticks on the Sabbath, during the wanderings in the desert. At first he was simply kept in confinement, as no one knew what ought to be done to him; but after a time he was stoned to death at Yahweh's express command.⁴ Not content with prescribing rest in general terms, the lawgivers endeavored accurately to determine how far this abstinence from work must be carried, and what kinds of employment were forbidden. They declared it illegal to light a fire⁵ or to prepare food, and appealed to the experience of their forefathers in the desert, for whom a double portion of the miraculous food provided by Yahweh always fell upon the Friday, while there was none at all to be found on the Sabbath, and those who persisted in going to look for it were sharply reproved.⁶ All manner of work was strictly forbidden

¹ Leviticus v. 4.

² Jeremiah vii. 21-23.

³ Exodus xxxi. 12-17.

⁴ Numbers xv. 32-36.

⁵ Exodus xxxv. 1-3.

⁶ Exodus xvi. 22-30.

upon the great feast days also ; and any one who worked upon the day of atonement must be rooted out.¹

Just as the seventh day of the week was holy, so every seventh year was also consecrated to Yahweh as a Sabbatical year. In it the land must be left unsown and the vines unpruned. This precept is itself of ancient date ; but it is melancholy to notice that whereas its observance was formerly enjoined as a matter of humanity, all such motives are now lost sight of. According to the ancient law² the spontaneous produce of field and vineyard in the year of rest must be left to the poor, but now it is expressly assigned to the owner himself and his family.³

Going on still further in the same direction, the lawgiver now made every fiftieth year a Sabbatical year by pre-eninence.⁴ This sacred year was to begin on the great day of atonement, and was called the "year of jubilee," from the name of the trumpet (*jobel*) by which it was consecrated. It was to be a period of freedom ; the land was to lie fallow ; the poverty-stricken Israelite who had sold his heritage was to receive it back again ; the Jewish slave was to be restored to liberty.

This law about the year of jubilee remained a dead letter, like so many others, but is none the less indicative of the compiler's spirit. The soil of Canaan was Yahweh's possession, and they who had received it from him, and were as strangers in his inheritance, might not permanently relinquish it to others, inasmuch as it was not theirs. The lawgiver did his best to regulate the life of the people in general, and of each individual in particular, in accordance with such abstract principles as these, and whenever he had the power he would back his ordinances by force. "Whoever does otherwise shall be rooted out," he constantly declares. But by whom ? Had a man like Nehemiah been in command of the requisite power, there would have been no doubt upon that point ! The magistracy would have carried out the law. But fortunately for the people, the Jewish magistracy was rarely strong enough to enforce these regulations. The only course was to leave their maintenance to Yahweh.

Such are some of the principal injunctions of the Law ! There were a great many more that we have not given, and

¹ Leviticus xxiii. 3, 7, 8, 28, 29, 30.

² Exodus xxiii. 10, 11 ; compare vol. ii. p. 185.

³ Leviticus xxv. 1-7.

⁴ Leviticus xxv. 8-55.

their number was always on the increase. The priests issued regulations upon all conceivable subjects. The laws of inheritance,¹ the punishment of crime, and the customs of war² were as much within their sphere as vows,³ priestly revenues, or purifications. No line was drawn between secular and spiritual matters. The whole field of life was covered as far as possible by religious laws, which had a constant tendency to run into hair-splitting frivolity. The tendency is painfully manifest in a certain chapter of Leviticus,⁴ which is itself the herald of ever-increasing degeneration. It attempts to answer a difficult question by means of a fictitious narrative, which takes us back to the wanderings in the desert.

Probably the author's purpose was to explain how it came to pass that, though there were four branches of Aaronites, none but descendants of Eleazar and Ithamar were to be found amongst the priestly families. Accordingly he tells us how Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, came by their end. They had put unconsecrated fire in their censers, and were therefore struck by lightning; upon which Moses declared that Yahweh was enforcing his demand for especial reverence from those who drew near him; namely, the priests. Aaron smothered his grief in reverence for Yahweh's retributive justice, and Moses ordered certain Levites to remove the bodies.

Aaron had done quite right in abstaining from loud demonstrations of grief, and his surviving sons were not allowed to bewail their brothers. Wailing did not become a priest, and whatever blows might fall upon him he must not quit the sanctuary, for he was anointed with Yahweh's oil. Then if a priest suffered a heavy loss, must he behave just as if nothing had happened? That was too much for even Moses to require, as appeared from the following circumstance: Aaron and his sons burned a part of a sin-offering which they ought by law to have eaten inside the sanctuary; and at first Moses was very angry with them for this irregularity, but when they pleaded in excuse their natural depression at the death of Nadab and Abihu, he forgave them.

The conclusion reached by the lawgiver accords with our own feelings. A priest, even a high priest, need not altogether forget that he was a husband and a father. Though it would violate his consecration were he to give free play to his grief, yet when sudden deaths occurred in the bosom of his

¹ Numbers xxvii. 1-11, xxxvi.

² Leviticus xxvii.

³ Numbers xxxi.

⁴ Leviticus x

family he need not behave in all respects as if nothing had happened, and might be pardoned for violating some of the sacrificial laws. But how deadening must be the effect of a law which tells a priest how far his grief may go!

The same triviality — inevitably leading to straining out gnats and swallowing camels — may be perceived in a considerable number of laws, and becomes gradually more and more characteristic of the activity of the priests. Alas for the man who yielded implicitly to their guidance, and attempted to comply with the Law in all things! The meshes were drawn tighter and tighter until at last he could not take a single step without the Law claiming the right of dictating how he was to take it, while the constant terror of pollution embittered all his days, and the very thought of freedom had died from his heart!

CHAPTER XIX.

THE UNSUCCESSFUL OPPOSITION.

NUMBERS XVI., XVII.; ISAIAH LVI. 1-8, LXVI. 1-4, 20, 21; JONAH;
PSALM L.

THE very thought of freedom had died! Then did all the Israelites allow themselves to be bound hand and foot without a struggle? Was there no one left to stand where the prophets had stood, to look down with them upon all this pomp of worship, upon all these regulations of the Law, and comprehend that Yahweh could be served by no outward shows and only required integrity and mercy from his worshippers? Or if this position was too lofty for the mass of Jews, were there no hearts and minds still sound enough to hate this sharp distinction between Jews and Gentiles, or proud enough to reject the slavery of the Law? Was every Jew already steeped in the sacerdotal spirit? Far from it! Ezra and Nehemiah had to carry their reforms in the teeth of a violent opposition; and we have already observed¹ that however strongly calculations of policy and self-seeking may have entered into the game, many of those who took part in it were actuated by nobler motives. It is well worth while to pass in review the various elements of the opposition.

We are struck to begin with by the fact that Tobiah and

¹ See p. 485.

the rest of Nehemiah's opponents were supported by a prophetess, Noadiah, and by certain prophets also.¹ Sanballat, indeed, assumes that there are other members of the order prepared to proclaim the governor king, and therefore of one mind with him;² but then again it is a prophet, Shemaiah, who endeavors to entrap him.³ And what is it that this Shemaiah tries to make him do? To accompany him into the temple for refuge. He could not have made such a proposition to Nehemiah with any hope of success if the law that no layman might enter the temple had already been universally recognized. The prophet evidently belonged to the laxer party, which was known to advocate the opening of the sanctuary to the laity. Had it been otherwise the trick would have been too gross.

There are other indications of a freedom which scandalized the priests. In the Second Isaiah, for instance, we read: "The heathens of distant lands shall come and shall bring your brethren, who dwell amongst them in exile, as an offering to Yahweh; luxuriously upon beasts of burden shall they bring them to Yahweh's holy mountain, as the sons of Israel bring their gifts in a clean vessel to Yahweh's house. And from them that are brought back, also, will I choose Levitical priests, says Yahweh."

This is not the only indication that there were advocates amongst the Jews of the universal priesthood of the faithful. We see it also from a story in the Pentateuch, that probably dates from Ezra's time or later.⁴ It has been repeatedly retouched, and it is not always certain how much belongs to the original story and how much to the subsequent additions. The earliest portion probably contained a story of certain Renbenites — Dathan and Abiram — who refused to obey the summons of Moses, and were therefore swallowed up alive by the earth. But one of the subsequent interpolators gave them two hundred and fifty distinguished men of all the tribes of Israel, as associates, who complained of the pretensions of the Levites to the exclusive exercise of sacred functions. "Are not all these holy also? Is not the whole community of Israel consecrated to Yahweh?" Upon this Moses gave them a challenge. They were all to come, each provided with a censer, to the tent of conference; Aaron was to do the same, and Yahweh would then show which of them he accepted as his priest. Hardly had the smoke of their incense

¹ Nehemiah vi. 14.

² Nehemiah vi. 7.

³ Nehemiah vi. 10-14. ⁴ Isaiah lxvi. 20, 21. ⁵ Numbers xvi.

begun to rise when lightning darted from the sanctuary, and the two hundred and fifty usurpers were consumed. Thereupon the priest, Eleazar, collected their golden censers, threw the unholy fire out of them, and made a covering for Yahweh's altar of them. Thus whenever the Israelites looked upon the altar, they might reflect that Yahweh would not accept the service of any priests but those he had chosen. And again, when the congregation murmured at the death of their companions, and blamed Moses and Aaron for it, they had to thank the very men they reproached for not being utterly destroyed themselves by the wrath of Yahweh, for a pestilence broke out amongst them and soon laid thousands of them low, nor did it cease to rage until Aaron had appeased Yahweh by swinging his censer before him. Who could doubt, after this, that he was the chosen priest of God?

This story marks the triumph of the Levites in their attempt to assert their exclusive right to all the functions of the temple. The universal priesthood of the people had for some time many theoretical advocates, but practically it was not easy to infringe upon the exclusive privileges of those who had been in actual possession of most of the posts about the temple from the return onwards. Certain families whom the Levites could not expel, especially amongst the singers and porters, they adopted into their own tribe by means of fictitious genealogies;¹ other families they forced to surrender their functions whether they would or not; and at last the triumphant priestly tribe, successfully maintaining its pretensions and forgetting to how many shifts it had been reduced in securing them, saw its privileges generally recognized; and in this picture of the two hundred and fifty rebels who dared to dispute them, it could depict the fate that awaited every layman who should venture to claim the right of mediating with Yahweh.

But when the rights of Levi as against all the other tribes were firmly established, there still remained certain questions as to the respective rights of the priests and other Levites, one of which has left its mark in a second revision of the story we are now discussing.

According to this second revision the rebels who joined Dathan and Abiram were not Israelites of every tribe, but a certain section of the Levites, namely the Korahites, who were not content with their subordinate position in the sanctuary, and aimed at the priesthood. To punish them the

¹ 1 Chronicles vi. 31-47, xxvi.

earth opened at the command of Moses and swallowed them up alive.

This story points to what must have been a great question of the day when it was written. Had the powerful Levitical family of the Korahites never aimed at the priesthood, then Korah would not have been immortalized as the man who went down alive with his followers to the under-world. A later priest, who accepted the story as historical, was sadly perplexed by the fact that Korah's family not only still existed, but was held in high honor. He therefore took the liberty of making a note to the effect that Korah's children did not perish with him,¹ thereby contradicting the story itself, which expressly says that both he and his were destroyed.² Possibly the story is founded on the reminiscence of a conflict for the right to the priesthood waged in the century after Ezra between the Korahites and Aaronites, and not settled without bloodshed at last. In that case we may suppose that the Korahites had many supporters amongst the people, and that the writer of this legend thought it very necessary to put forward some telling defence of the privileges of the Aaronites.

The wider and deeper question of the relation of the whole tribe of Levi to the rest of Israel is further illustrated by another legend,³ which tells us how the Israelites murmured at the exclusive assumption of the priesthood by the Levites, whereupon Moses commanded the heads of the tribes to write the names of their respective tribes upon their staves, which he then deposited in the tent of conference. And behold! next day Levi's staff, upon which Aaron's name was written, was found in blossom, and even bearing fruit. So when Moses showed this wonder to the sons of Israel, and gave orders that Aaron's staff should be preserved as a perpetual monument to prevent their ever murmuring again, all the non-Levites cried with one voice: "We are undone! Which of us would ever dare to draw near to Yahweh as a priest?" Such stories, like that of Uzziah's leprosy,⁴ no doubt made a deep impression upon the devout public when the contest was already nearly decided in favor of the Aaronites and the tribe of Levi, and thus contributed largely towards securing to the priesthood the privileges it had once gained, and towards making the chasm between the priesthood and the laity more and more impassable. But we learn from these very stories and their denunciations of the opposing party

¹ Numbers xxvi. 11.

² Numbers xvi. 32.

³ Numbers xvii.

⁴ 2 Chronicles xxvi. 16-21; compare vol. ii. pp. 304 ff.

how hard a task the priests had had in smothering the voice of freedom.

We have seen what stern measures Ezra and Nehemiah found necessary to prevent the mingling of Israel with the heathens. In this case, also, an exalted principle stood opposed to their policy. Many of the nobles especially may have contracted marriages with heathens from political motives, but there were many Jews who genuinely disliked the national pride of which the reformers were but too full, and who wished at any rate to smooth the way for the heathens to come over to Judaism. Such is the spirit of the following prophetic utterance: ¹ "Thus says Yahweh, Maintain justice and do right, for my salvation is near and my righteousness shall be soon revealed. Blessed is the man who steadfastly does these things, who preserves himself from desecrating the Sabbath and from all evil deeds. Let not even the stranger who joins the people of Yahweh say, 'Yahweh has shut me out; I can never belong to his people.' Let not even the eunuch say, 'I am but a dry tree!' for even they, if they keep my Sabbaths and observe my covenant, shall receive a heritage in my house and within my walls better than a heritage of children — shall receive an eternal name. And as for the strangers who join my people out of love for me and observe the Sabbath, I will bring them to my holy mountain and will make them glad in my house of prayer, and their offerings upon my altar shall be acceptable to me; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations. Thus says Yahweh, who gathered Israel's scattered ones, 'I will gather far more to them yet.'"

Though this prophecy was probably written during the captivity or shortly after it, such sentiments do not soon perish; and those who held them must have had an open eye for the virtues of heathens, must have allowed intrinsic excellence to counterbalance the stain of heathen birth. And this was really the case with many Jews. Was not Caleb the Kennizzite, whose trust in Yahweh's support had gained him an inheritance in Israel, praised for his faith? ² Was not the Canaanitish woman Rahab held up to admiration and her posterity included amongst the Israelites, because she had helped the people of Yahweh to conquer Canaan? ³ And what is the purpose of the whole book of Ruth if not to show how the gentle Moabitess, who had come over to the people

¹ Isaiah lvi. 1-8.

² See vol. i. pp. 356 ff.

³ See vol. i. pp. 343, 344.

of Yahweh, was thought worthy to become the ancestress of the great king David?¹

We may learn from the book of Jonah how completely some of the Israelites had risen to the conception that Yahweh's love extended to all mankind, heathen as well as Jew. The story runs thus:—

Jonah the son of Amittai—who is known to history as a contemporary of Jeroboam II.²—was commanded by Yahweh to go to the great city of Nineveh and announce its fall as a punishment for its wickedness. But the prophet was very loath to obey the commandment, for he saw beforehand what would happen. Yahweh was far too merciful to carry out his threat; and he, the messenger of God, would be put to shame by the result. So he resolved upon flight, and took his passage in a ship for Tarshish, hoping thus to elude the vigilance of Yahweh. But he soon perceived the folly of this thought, for Yahweh raised a mighty storm, and the ship was in the greatest peril. In vain did the seamen pray to their several gods; in vain did they ease the ship by throwing out her freight: the fury of the storm was still increasing. As the steersman looked anxiously round, his eye lighted upon Jonah, who was lying near the helm in deep sleep. Upon this he roused his careless fellow-voyager, not without indignation, and urged him to invoke his god. Now, when the fury of the storm still rose, the seamen determined at last to draw lots and find out who it was that had so offended his god as to make him pursue the vessel thus. The lot fell to Jonah, and he had to tell them who he was, whence he came, what he had done, and so forth. When he said that he was a Hebrew, that he worshipped Yahweh, creator of land and sea, and had endeavored to evade the commandment of his mighty god, the sailors were filled with deadly terror. Now they understood the reason of this storm. Thinking that Jonah himself would be best able to direct them, they asked him what sacrifice would appease the offended god, and he answered gloomily, "Throw me into the sea! Then the storm will subside; for I know that it has risen because of me." But his companions were not so cruel as to take him at his word immediately. They did their very utmost to reach the land. All in vain! How could they hope to resist Yahweh? They did not doubt that it was he who had sent the storm; and when they perceived at last that there was nothing for it but to sacrifice Jonah, they besought Yahweh not to hold

¹ See vol. i. pp. 424 ff.

² 2 Kings xiv. 25.

them guilty of shedding innocent blood, and then they flung the prophet into the sea. The storm subsided instantly, and the sailors, overcome by such a proof of Yahweh's might, made sacrifices and offered vows to him.

Meanwhile, however, Jonah did not perish. A great fish had swallowed him by the ordinance of Yahweh, and in its belly he sang a song of thanksgiving for his rescue, and promised to offer up his prayers and sacrifices in the temple. Three days afterwards the fish came to the shore by Yahweh's command, and threw Jonah out uninjured.

Then Yahweh once again commanded Jonah to go to Nineveh and announce its destruction; and the prophet, having now learned wisdom, did not resist again. Now Nineveh was an enormous city, three days' journey across. As soon as Jonah entered he began to declare that in forty days the city would be destroyed, and hardly had he preached a single day before it was evident that his words were not in vain. The Ninevites, from the oldest to the youngest, received his word as a word of God, proclaimed a fast, and put on mourning garments; and no sooner did the king hear of it than he rose from his throne, set aside his crown, his sceptre, and all his splendor, went and sat in the ashes, clad in deep mourning, and issued a proclamation commanding a general humiliation: "Let man and beast fast and be clad in sackcloth, and cry mightily to God; let every one turn from his evil ways and cease from violence." Perhaps if they all repented thus, God might pity them and spare them. And so it was. When God saw all their doings he pitied them, and determined not to execute his threat.

But when Jonah learned this he was full of indignation, and did not hesitate to tell Yahweh why he was displeased at the city's being forgiven. Was it not just what he had said when first he tried to escape from Yahweh's command? He knew that nothing would come of it. Yahweh was far too merciful to destroy a great heathen city like Nineveh. And now how utterly he, the prophet, was put to shame! He only wished he could die! To bring him to his better senses, Yahweh only asked him to consider whether he did well to be angry. But Jonah did not repent. Full of bitterness, and still half hoping that his word would be made good by the result, he went to the east of the city and sat down in a meadow to see what would happen. Here, however, his god found means of bringing home to him more clearly how far astray his passion had led him. A miraculous tree shot

up close to him, and grew so marvellously in a single day that the prophet already rejoiced in its shadow; but in the night a worm came and gnawed at the root of the tree so that it withered, and Jonah was once more exposed to the blazing sun, while Yahweh raised a hot east wind to make it more intolerable yet. Tortured in mind and body the unhappy seer longed again to die, and mourned over the beautiful tree that had perished in a single night. Then Yahweh spoke to him once more, and showed him the perverseness of his heart. His pity had been stirred by a tree, for the growth of which he had not toiled, which had shot up in a single night, and perished again in a single night; and should not Yahweh take pity upon the great city of Nineveh, in which there were a hundred and twenty thousand little children who could not tell their right hand, from their left, and great herds of unoffending cattle?

This story is rich in meaning if taken as a poem, though senseless enough if taken as history. It shows us what was going on in many a Jewish heart and mind in the time of Ezra. What had come, people asked, of all those threats of judgment which Yahweh had made by his prophets against so many heathen places, including Babylon the chief city of his people's oppressors? The Persian kings had spared it, and it still shone forth in all its glory. Were all these preachers, who had foretold its ruin, false prophets? Far from it! What then? The writer of the book of Jonah answers: "Yahweh is merciful. When the heathens repent he is no longer wroth with them;" and at the same time he shows us, in the character of the sailors, how merciful the heathens sometimes are, and how ready to worship Yahweh.

This is a most touching and beautiful solution of the problem by which the prophets felt more and more perplexed as time went on. As long as the belief was held that people really might receive direct revelations from the deity concerning the future, as long as every prediction must be classed either as an inspiration from Yahweh or as a lie, so long this answer was the best that could be given to the question why heathen cities, the fall of which had been proclaimed, did not really perish. But those who gave this answer, or accepted it, were no allies of Ezra.

Ezra and those who felt with him attached the utmost importance to the service in the temple, and Malachi considered that the neglect into which it had fallen was one of the chief

causes of Yahweh's wrath. But in his day also there were some who proclaimed the insufficiency and even the superfluousness of temple services and sacrifices, and they had probably made their influence more or less distinctly felt on occasion of the rebuilding of the sanctuary on Mount Zion. It was probably at this period that a prophet uttered the following words:¹ "Thus says Yahweh, Heaven is my throne and the earth my footstool. What manner of house, then, will ye build for me, and what manner of resting-place will ye prepare me? It is I myself who made all these and caused them to exist, says Yahweh. But I look upon him who is humble and contrite in heart and fears my word. Who slays an ox slays a man; who sacrifices a sheep breaks a dog's neck; who brings a meat-offering to the altar makes an oblation of swine's blood; who burns incense praises in vain. If they choose their own way and delight in abominations, I too shall choose to mock them and terrify them, because they have not answered to my voice nor hearkened to my words, but have done what is evil in my eyes, and delighted in that which I hate."

It certainly appears as if this prophet rejected the whole system of sacrifice, in the mass, and even pronounced it an abomination; but we shall probably be nearer the truth if we simply understand him as expressing disgust at the sacrifices offered by those who did not attend to Yahweh's word. In this feeling, at any rate, he did not stand alone. We find it expressed, for instance, in the following poem, which may very well date from the time of Ezra²:—

Yahweh, the god of gods, is speaking;

He calls the whole earth together from the rising of the sun to its setting.

Yahweh³ arises from Zion, the perfection of beauty.

Let our God come nigh and keep not silence!

A consuming fire goes forth before him,

And round him rages the storm.

He cries to the heaven above,

To the earth below, to judge his people.

"Collect my loved ones before me

Who have taken my covenant, confirmed by victims!"

And the heaven proclaimed his sentence;

For Yahweh, he is judge.

"Hearken, my people, that I may speak,

And Israel, that I may tell thee, I Yahweh, who am thy god

Not for the fewness of thy offerings shall I chastise thee;

Thy burnt sacrifices are ever in my mind.

I will take no ox from thy house,

Nor goat from thy folds;

¹ Isaiah lxvi. 1-4.

² Psalm l. 1-15.

³ Compare p. 190.

For all the birds of the mountains are mine,
 All that moves in the fields my possession!
 Were I hungry I should not need to tell thee,
 For the earth with all that is on it is mine.
 Should I eat the flesh of oxen,
 And drink the blood of goats?
 Offer praise unto Yahweh,
 And pay the Most High your vows.
 Call upon me in the day of trouble!
 I will deliver you and you shall honor me."

The rest of the psalm contains Yahweh's sentence on the godless, who are threatened with destruction for their theft, adultery, lying, and deceit. In this latter portion of the poem the reformers of Ezra's century could very heartily have joined, but they would have been quite out of sympathy with the slighting manner in which the external service is spoken of in the earlier portion. It is true that in their better moments they would have admitted with the psalmist that God takes no delight in sacrifices, and that the only offering truly acceptable to him is a broken and a contrite heart;¹ but they would never have said so spontaneously, and in practice their path and that of the authors of these psalms were often widely severed.

To sum up our results, Ezra and Nehemiah were opposed not only by those who felt no interest in their people and their religion, but also by men who were guided by such noble principles that we cannot but lament the defeat of their pure and true conceptions. But this defeat was at the time inevitable. In the first place, the position which these heirs of the great prophets took was far too lofty for the mass of the people to be able to rise to it; and in the second place, they were neither at one with each other nor consistent with themselves. Look again, for instance, at the beginning of the psalm just quoted, where Yahweh comes in thunder out of Zion, and where he speaks of his covenant as confirmed by the sacrifice of victims. How strangely out of keeping it is with the sequel in which he declares that he desires no sacrifices, and looks with pleasure upon the contrite heart. This internal contradiction, the result of a union of old and new conceptions, which we have noted elsewhere also,² is quite enough to account for the weakness of the advocates of these views as a party. If a party is to be strong, it must be clearly conscious of its aim; it must, if possible, embody it in visible forms, distinct doctrines, and definite enactments; in a word, it must adopt

¹ Psalm li. 16, 17; compare p. 60.

² See pp. 245 ff.

what we call a "programme." Ezra's party did this, but that of his opponents could not.

Observe, moreover, that the cry of freedom is always liable to be taken up by those who have no real earnestness of character; and it generally has appearances against it. Ezra's programme,—the separation of Yahweh's people from the heathen; the service of the temple flourishing under the well-ordered superintendence of the priesthood; Yahweh's people a holy people,—this had the ring of an earnest purpose, and the men who supported it were sternly strict and upright. But it requires a rare amount of genuine piety permanently to maintain in all their strength such beautiful principles as that Yahweh's love extends to all men, that every believer may be a priest, that Yahweh demands nothing but a virtuous life. Freedom is apt to degenerate into license. Moreover, a shrewd sense of self-interest often dictated alliances with the heathen; some of the priestly offices had good incomes attached to them; it was cheap to neglect the temple service,—and it is fatal to the party of progress when the profession of liberal principles becomes "advantageous."

Finally, we must remember that the prophets found ever-increasing difficulty in gaining recognition as messengers of Yahweh, and even in the closely connected task of genuinely believing themselves to be such. The book of Jonah shows us the difficulties with which they had to wrestle. "Yahweh was too merciful to destroy a great city, even of heathens." This solution was a very beautiful—evasion. The fact was that most of the prophecies launched against the heathens had simply remained unfulfilled. The discovery that Yahweh's mercy was the cause of this does credit to the writer who made it, but its natural result must inevitably be that prophets would not care to announce a judgment upon any heathen city, or if they did they would gain no credence. Nor was this the only kind of unfulfilled prophecy. The truth of the predictions of Israel's greatness was likewise still without proof. No wonder that the prophets lost their self-reliance, and therefore received no revelations. The consequence was that their inspiration and enthusiasm and the respect they had previously enjoyed were no longer available to strengthen their party.

Thus everything concurred to give the victory to Ezra. The opposition long maintained the contest, but had to yield at last when the bold scribe received the support of the temporal power. Those of his opponents who were wealthy in many

cases left the country. The rest held their peace, or at any rate were powerless to prevent the principles upheld by Ezra from gradually sinking into the hearts of the people.

CHAPTER XX.

REJOICING IN THE LAW OF YAHWEH.

2 CHRONICLES XXIX. 25-30, XXX. 18-20; PSALMS LXXXIV.,
CXX.-CXXXIV., CXIX., XIX. 7-14.

WHEN we remember what difficulty Ezra and Nehemiah had in introducing the priestly Law, and how they smothered freedom and quenched the spirit of prophecy in the task, we might well suppose that the Jews had yielded to a stern necessity in bending under the yoke of their institutions, and that the triumph of the Law marked the commencement of a spiritual slavery which choked the religious life. But this would be a gross mistake. It is true that the supremacy of the Law was in the long run fatal to that true piety which cannot live without liberty; but the way along which mankind was led by the Law resembled many other ways that lead to destruction in being broad and smooth at first. The Law during the first centuries after its introduction was no burden to the pious, but a joy. It was a yoke, indeed, but one which they delighted in bearing.

In the first place they enjoyed the privilege of regular religious instruction, which had probably been rendered accessible even during the captivity by the so-called synagogues or gathering places, where the teachers expounded Yahweh's commandments to all who wished to hear. Now when Ezra had begun his reformation, and had afterwards continued it by holding public meetings for the reading of the Law, under Nehemiah's protection, the custom appears to have gradually established itself, — first in Jerusalem and afterwards in every place where Jews resided, — of constantly meeting to offer up prayers and listen to the explanation of the Law.¹ At first the men who devoted themselves to this exposition were generally Levites or priests, but gradually laymen also came forward. These interpreters were called Scribes, and gradually became

¹ Compare vol. iii. pp. 178, 179.

a distinct order. Jerusalem was naturally the centre of their activity, but by degrees they made their light shine everywhere. What the Chronicler represents as taking place under Jehoshaphat¹ did really happen after the time of Ezra: Levites and priests travelled through the land with Yahweh's book of Law to teach the people. The synagogue could never become the scene of the regular Jewish worship, and could therefore never rival the temple, to which the religious service in the stricter sense was still confined; but it provided to some extent for the religious wants of the Jews who were prevented by the length and difficulty of the journey from visiting Jerusalem more than once or so in the year, and gave to all something that they could not find in the temple service, namely, instruction. The Scribes, moreover, provided for the administration of justice. Here, again, the Chronicler makes Jehoshaphat² establish regular judges, and exhort them to remember that their sentence is an utterance of Yahweh, and that they must therefore act with integrity, while the supreme court at Jerusalem is to decide all doubtful points boldly and uprightly; but in attributing all this to Jehoshaphat he is really describing the state of things that was gradually realized in Judæa after the time of Ezra. The people had good cause to bless the Scribes. The whole tribe of Levi, to which at first these men of the Law for the most belonged, rose higher and higher in popular estimation, and was more and more exalted.

As a matter of course, the priests were profoundly attached to the Law. It is true that it placed them, as well as others, under many restrictions, by prescribing forms with which they had to comply on all manner of occasions; but this compliance was quite easy, and was well calculated to secure them the confidence of the masses. In proportion as the people not only strictly complied with the regulations as to cleanness and uncleanness and other matters to which every Israelite had to attend, but enhanced the splendor of the temple service by the strictness with which they offered the sacrifices prescribed, in that proportion did all who were connected with the temple become devoted to every external adjunct of the service.

The extent to which this devotion sometimes went may be seen from the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which not only resemble each other in spirit, but were probably all written by the same man, as late as the third century B.C.

We have already noticed more than once that this writer is

¹ 2 Chronicles xvii. 7-9.

² 2 Chronicles xix. 5-11.

far from a trustworthy guide for the history of the period before the captivity; and that even in dealing with Ezra's century, he sometimes confuses different periods in such an extraordinary manner that we can only make use of his work with confidence when it is evident that he is incorporating older documents into his narrative. His work is therefore of little value, as far as ancient times are concerned; but it furnishes a precious contribution to our knowledge of his own times, inasmuch as his views of history indicate the character of his own ideals.

He was unquestionably one of the servants of the temple, and we may gather from the delight he takes in dwelling upon the arrangements of the temple music that he was probably one of the singers. Now this writer's ideal was of a truly sacerdotal type; and just as the author of the Book of Origins had described the times of Moses and Joshua as the period when Yahweh's will was perfectly obeyed, so he depicted the days of the kings who were known as pious, — David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, — as the golden age of his ideal Yahweh worship, with its splendid service, its numerous priesthood, and its carefully-regulated choir supported by a suitable orchestra. In dealing with the history of David and his successors we have frequently glanced by anticipation at what the Chronicler says about them.¹ We may therefore be brief in our sketch of his work and the spirit which it breathes.

The opening chapters² are taken up by certain genealogies, especially of Judæan and Benjamite families and of the Levites. Amongst them is a list of the high priests from Aaron to the time of the captivity,³ subsequently continued to the time of Alexander the Great,⁴ and also a genealogy which sets forth how David's contemporary, the great singer Heman, was descended from Levi through Samuel (whom we know to have been an Ephraimite, and not a Levite at all⁵), and also how Heman's celebrated brother artists, Asaph and Ethan (the latter probably identical with Jeduthun), belonged by descent to the priestly tribe.⁶ After devoting a few verses to Saul⁷ the writer goes on to David, the king after his own heart, to whom he devotes no fewer than nineteen chapters.⁸ These chapters contain a few short notices of David's heroes, evidently taken from trustworthy sources, very short accounts of

¹ See pp. 10 f., 166 f., 169 ff., 279 f.

² 1 Chronicles vi. 3-15.

⁴ Nehemiah xii. 10, 11.

³ 1 Chronicles i.-ix.

⁵ 1 Samuel i. 1.

⁶ 1 Chronicles vi. 22-28, 31-47, xvi. 41, 42, xxv.; ² Chronicles v. 12, xxix 12, 14, xxxv. 15

⁷ 1 Chronicles x.

⁸ 1 Chronicles xi.-xxix

some of the events of his reign, taken from the same authorities as those used by the books of Kings, but excluding all mention of David's conduct towards Uriah and Bathsheba, and an elaborate description of how he conveyed the ark to Jerusalem, in accordance with the prescriptions of the Law, with the assistance of the priests and Levites and a full orchestra, led by Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun; how he consecrated a tent for it, and then regulated the details of the temple service by anticipation. In describing Solomon's temple the Chronicler is less detailed, but he enlarges upon some of the sacred utensils, and does not forget the choir of Levites in describing the dedication of the temple.¹ In other respects his notice of the wise and wealthy king is brief.² After mentioning the revolt of the Ten Tribes³ he almost entirely loses sight of the northern kingdom, and confines his attention to Judah and Benjamin, the tribes over whom the house of David ruled, and amongst whom — a matter of far more consequence in his eyes — Aaronites of the tribe of Levi officiated as priests.

The writer's special tendencies become most manifest when he finds a story in his authorities with a decidedly unorthodox look about it, and feels compelled to give it a more or less violent twist in order to escape the appearance of throwing a slur upon the pious men of a former period. From this point of view it is interesting to find him stating that David only sacrificed upon Araunah's threshing-floor because he was too much terrified to go to the Tent of Conference;⁴ that Solomon worshipped Yahweh at the *bamah* of Gibeon because the old Mosaic tabernacle was there,⁵ and that the priest, Jehoiadah, had brought about the revolution which placed Joash upon the throne⁶ with the aid of the Levites, not that of the body-guard.

He cannot be acquitted of narrowness in these cases; but when he tells us, for example, how Hezekiah purified the temple, caused the Passover to be celebrated throughout Israel, and regulated the temple worship,⁷ he throws his whole heart into the narrative. In passing judgment upon him we must never forget that he really loved the temple service, and loved the sacred music. The necessity of being constantly on our guard against accepting his statements does not give us a pleasant impression of this man; and it is therefore all the

¹ 2 Chronicles v. 11-13, vii. 6; compare p. 86.

² 2 Chronicles viii., ix.

³ 2 Chronicles x.

⁴ 1 Chronicles xxi. 28-30; compare p. 31.

⁵ 2 Chronicles i. 3; compare p. 475.

⁶ 2 Chronicles xxiii.; compare p. 174.

⁷ 2 Chronicles xx:xx-xxxi.; compare pp. 279, 280.

more necessary to the formation of a fair estimate that we should remember how important an element of religion the sacred music really supplied not only to him, but to many of his countrymen also. It made a profound impression upon him and delighted his very heart to see the multitudes bowing down upon solemn occasions as soon as the orchestra began to sound the drums, the pipes, and the harps, and then when the whole choir or a soloist sang the psalms of David or Asaph, reverently bending to the earth again in sacred, festal joy.¹

His heart was in his work, and for that very reason his religious life could not be altogether choked by forms. This is evident from what he tells us of the great numbers of Israelites who joined in celebrating the Passover, to which Hezekiah had invited all the faithful, though they were not Levitically clean. He makes Hezekiah bless them with the words, "May Yahweh, who is good, accept every one whose heart urges him to worship the god of his fathers, even if he cannot do so according to the purity of the sanctuary." "And," the writer adds, "Yahweh heard him and healed the people."² This is a remarkable story, and, just because it is an invention, it bears strong witness to the soundness of the writer's heart. It was not every Jew who would have allowed that Yahweh looks to the good intention rather than to external purity. Such a sentiment, indeed, is really against the spirit of the Law, and our writer's entertaining it shows that the deadening principles of formalism had not yet smothered his better feelings.

This trait, however, stands almost alone, and in reading Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, we are deeply impressed with the danger incurred by any one whose affections are so completely wrapped up in the outward splendor of worship; the danger, namely, of never getting beyond the outside, and of losing the religious life in forms.

Of course this danger threatened those who were in the temple every day more than those who only visited it occasionally. Custom generally goes far to blunt the feelings. But, on the other hand, we may see from a number of the psalms how profoundly the magnificent service of the temple impressed the ordinary Israelite; how strongly he sometimes felt that God was near when he trod the courts of the temple. Take this song, for instance³:—

¹ See 2 Chronicles xxix. 25-30.

² 2 Chronicles xxx. 18-20.

³ Psalm lxxxiv.

How lovely are thy dwelling-places, O Yahweh of war-hosts!
 My soul pants and faints for desire of Yahweh's courts,
 When body and soul cry out to the living God!
 Even the bird finds a house,
 The swallow a nest for her young to lie in!
 And I have found¹ thine altars, O Yahweh of war-hosts,
 My king and my God!
 A blessing on the dwellers in thy house,
 Who never cease to praise thee!
 A blessing on him whose strength is in thee,
 In whose heart is trust!¹
 Passing through the valley of tears¹ they make it a place of springs;
 And the autumn rains cover them with blessings.
 They go on from strength to strength
 Who appear before God in Zion.
 O Yahweh of war-hosts, hear my prayer,
 Hearken, thou god of Jacob!
 Look down upon him who is our shield,
 Be gracious to thine anointed!
 For one day in thy courts is better than a thousand others.
 I would rather lie at the threshold of the house of God than
 dwell in the tents of the wicked.
 For Yahweh, God, is a sun and shield;
 Yahweh gives glory and honor;
 He withholds not good from them that live uprightly.
 Blessed, O Yahweh, is he whose trust is in thee!

Unfortunately there are several points of great obscurity in this psalm. It is not clear, for instance, whom the writer means by "Yahweh's anointed." The expression is usually applied to the king of Israel, but there is no reason why it should not be used of the high priest also, who is called the "anointed priest."² This is probably the meaning here. The poem shows us how its author envied the priests. He would rather be a Levite of the lowest rank, and watch at the threshold of the temple, than enjoy the utmost luxury elsewhere! Such sentiments may have been uttered in a moment of enthusiasm, but they reflect more or less faithfully the genuine feelings of many a heart. The pious Jew found in the temple the goal of his aspirations, the sacred spot where pure and elevated feelings streamed through his soul, where the blessing of his god came down upon him, and he was thrilled with sacred joy. A Passover or feast of Tabernacles was in truth a day of joy to him, in which he rose into a higher and purer atmosphere, to which he looked forward with longing, and upon which he looked gratefully back.

This song would have been well suited for singing by the Jews on their yearly pilgrimage to the temple, both on the

¹ Translation uncertain.

² Leviticus iv. 3, 5, 16; vi. 22, and elsewhere.

journey, and still more on their entry into the city; and we find other songs in the book of Psalms which are not only highly appropriate to such occasions, but were probably distinctly set aside, if not composed, for them. We still possess a collection of fifteen poems,¹ most of them short, each of which bears the inscription, "a song of *Hammaïloth*," that is, a song of "the goings up," or pilgrimages. A few of these we have already given,² and will now add a few more.

And first let us take the following cry of thankfulness:³

If there had not been Yahweh upon our side,—
 So let Israel declare,—
 If there had not been Yahweh upon our side
 When men rose up against us,
 Then they had swallowed us up alive,
 When their wrath was hot against us;
 Then had the waters flowed over us,
 The torrent had overwhelmed us;
 Yes! then had we been overwhelmed
 By the dire floods of water.
 Blessed be Yahweh who gave us not up
 As a prey to their teeth!
 Our life is like a bird escaped from the fowler's snare,
 The snare is broken and we have escaped.
 Our help is in the name of Yahweh,
 The creator of heaven and earth.

The following poem⁴ likewise celebrates the redeeming love of Yahweh, and is as simple in its poetical conception, but as warm in its religious feeling as the other:—

They who trust in Yahweh are like Mount Zion,
 Which trembles not, but abides for ever.
 As mountains surround Jerusalem,
 So Yahweh encamps around his people,
 Henceforth to eternity.
 For the rule of the godless shall not endure over the heritage of
 the righteous,
 Lest the righteous put out his hands to iniquity.
 Do good, O Yahweh, to the pious ones,
 And to the upright in heart!
 But as for them who pervert their ways,
 May Yahweh lead them on the path of ill-doers!
 A blessing upon Israel!

Very varied feelings are reflected in these songs. While one gives utterance to high-wrought joy, another is inspired by deep grief; and though a grateful recollection of the return from Babylonia rings through them all, it is but too evident

¹ Psalms cxx.—cxxxiv.

² Psalm cxxiv.

³ See pp. 491, 492, and vol. i. p. 52.

⁴ Psalm cxxv.

that Israel's present is far from bright in all respects. Read the following psalm, for instance¹ : —

When Yahweh restored the fortunes of Zion,
 We were like them that dream.
 For our mouth was filled with laughter
 And our lips with joy,
 As they said amongst the heathen :
 " Yahweh has done great things for them ! "
 Yes ! Yahweh has done great things for us !
 And we rejoiced.

O Yahweh, restore our fortunes once more,
 Like streams in the south !
 They that sow in tears
 Shall reap in joy.
 He that goes forth weeping with his handful of seed-corn,
 Shall come back rejoicing, bearing his sheaves !

The reference to the streams in the south country depends upon the suddenness with which dry river-beds are filled with water when the rainy season comes in southern Judah.

In the next psalm which we shall give² the poet cries in one breath for deliverance and forgiveness ; and properly to understand this prayer we must remember that every kind of misery was regarded as the punishment of sin ; and therefore on the one hand confession of guilt and repentance appeared the surest way to deliverance from temporal suffering, and on the other hand every respite from trouble was hailed as a sign of Yahweh's forgiveness : —

From the depths do I cry unto thee, O Yahweh !
 O Lord, hearken to my voice !
 Let thine ears attend to my wailing !
 Yahweh ! if thou didst remember transgressions,
 O Lord, who then could exist ?
 But with thee is forgiveness,
 That thou mayest be honored.
 I have waited upon Yahweh ;
 My soul has waited, I have hoped in his promise.
 My soul waits on the Lord more than they that wait for the morning.
 Ay ! more than they that wait for the morning.
 Let Israel hope in Yahweh, for mercy is with him ;
 Many are his ways of deliverance.
 He shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities.

The leading thought of psalm cxxxiii. has made it one of the best known and most loved in the whole book : —

¹ Psalm cxvi.

² Psalm cxxx.

Behold how beautiful and good
 Is the dwelling together of brothers!
 Like the precious ointment on the head,
 That drops down upon the beard,
 The beard of Aaron, and flows down to the fringe of his garment.
 Like the dew of Hermon
 Is the dew that falls on the mountains of Zion;¹
 For there does Yahweh send the blessing
 Of life for evermore.

What Aaron has to do with the matter is not obvious, though the metaphor of the oil, that joins the hair of the head in brotherly union with that of the beard, is clear enough. Perhaps the opening lines are an elaboration — more pious than poetical — of the proverb, "The dwelling together of brothers is good, like oil poured out on the head and dropping upon the beard."

The little collection is closed by the following exhortation to the servants of the temple²: —

Praise Yahweh, all ye who honor Yahweh,
 And serve in the temple of Yahweh by night!
 Lift up your hands to the sanctuary,
 And praise ye Yahweh!
 May Yahweh bless you from Zion,
 Even he who made heaven and earth!

We need not multiply proofs that the public service in the temple at Jerusalem was dear to the heart of the pious Jew. And it follows, from the nature of the case, that the more faithfully the people joined the pilgrimages to the sanctuary, the more strictly they paid their tithes and other prescribed contributions, and the more liberally they brought their free-will offerings to Yahweh, the more magnificent would the service become, and the higher would their delight in it rise in consequence. But precepts concerning the temple service only formed a portion of the contents of the Law, and we might well believe that Israelites who were transported with delight at the festivals and sacrifices, nevertheless groaned under the yoke of the prescriptions as to the Sabbath and as to cleanness. And this was doubtless not unfrequently the case, for many of these ordinances were vexatious in the extreme; but, on the whole, the devout Jews were deeply attached to the whole Law.

This is obvious from the glowing panegyrics passed upon it in many of the psalms, amongst which the hundred and

¹ Translation uncertain.

² Psalm cxxxiv.

nineteenth leserves to be mentioned first on account of its great length. It is divided into twenty-two stanzas of eight verses or sixteen lines each, and is occupied chiefly with blessings upon those who observe the commands of Yahweh, and prayers for the better knowledge of his Law. It is an alphabetical poem, of monotonous style and quite deficient in poetic fire, but instinct throughout with devotion to the Law. The following stanza may serve as a specimen. In the original every line of it begins with the letter *B*:¹—

Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his way,
And abide in it, after thy word?
With my whole heart have I sought after thee;
Let me not wander from thy commandments!
I have searched thy word with my heart,
That I might not sin against thee.
Blessed be thou, O Yahweh!
Teach me to honor thy precepts.
With my lips will I declare
Every utterance of thy mouth.
In the way of thy testimony I rejoice,
More than in greatest wealth.
Let me ponder on thy commandments,
And regard the path which thou hast prescribed.
In thy statutes I will take delight,
And never forget thy paths.

The glory of the Law is celebrated in a far more poetic strain in some lines² which have been added to an older poem, of which we have already given the opening³:—

The law of Yahweh is perfect, restoring the soul;
The testimony of Yahweh is sure, making the simple wise;
The statutes of Yahweh are right, rejoicing the heart;
The law of Yahweh is pure, enlightening the eyes;
The fear of Yahweh is clean, enduring for ever;
The commands of Yahweh are true, and righteous altogether
More desirable are they than gold, and much precious metal;
Sweeter than honey or honey-comb.
And by them is thy servant enlightened;
In keeping them there is great reward.
But as for errors, who can mark them?
Cleanse me from sins that I myself know not,
And preserve thy servant from the presumptuous,
That they may not have power over me!
Then shall I be found innocent,
And free from gross transgressions.
May the words of my mouth be acceptable to thee,
And ever remember the thoughts of my heart,
O Yahweh, my rock and redeemer!

¹ Ps. 9-16.² Psalm xix. 7-14.³ See p. 314.

There is something strange in the sudden transition from the praises of the Law and the poet's thankfulness that he is privileged to know it, to this prayer for deliverance from the power of the presumptuous; but it is explained by the melancholy circumstances of the Jews and the current explanation of their sufferings. Israel's fall was attributed to the sins of the fathers, but the delay of the promised glory was due to the uncleanness which still polluted Yahweh's people. They were indeed doing their best to walk in holiness now, but they were constantly made unclean without intending it. Alas for all these sins which they did not so much as know!

This cry already foreshadows the constant terror of pollution by which the Jews of later ages were haunted and tortured, which drove the Essenes into the wilderness,¹ and made the very "plagues of the Pharisees" endurable! But as yet this terror only casts its shadow now and then over the joy of the pious Jew in his possession of the Law. To the question what privilege the Jew had over the heathen Paul answered,² "Especially this, that to him were the words of God entrusted;" and in so saying he expressed a universal sentiment. In former times the Israelites had traced the special manifestation of God's goodness in his revealing his will by means of the prophets; but now the written word had completely taken the place of the living revelation.

No wonder that the Jews exalted the supremacy of the Law; for under it their religion was, for a time, richer and deeper than ever. The book of Psalms is the unanswerable proof of it. We have already made many extracts from this collection, but will now glance at it as a whole. It is well worthy of our attention, for there is not another book in the Old Testament that has so rich a history. No other collection of religious poetry in the world has ever exercised so deep an influence, consoled so many sufferers, given strength for so many in conflicts, and given words to the inmost thoughts of so many pious hearts. The psalms owe their popularity more especially to the fact that they generally give utterance to purely personal feelings, which is seldom the case with the prophets. However devout the latter may have been in their own personal lives, their recorded thoughts refer for the most part to their people. They were conscious above everything of being members of Israel. They were oppressed by Israel's sins; they rejoiced in Israel's conversion; saw a vision of

¹ See vol. iii. p. 127.

² Romans iii. 1, 2.

terror in Israel's fall; and found their ideal in Israel's glory in the Messianic age. This was very noble; for to live for others is an important element of true religion. But it is not the whole of it. The sense of a personal relationship to God, with all that it involves, — sorrow for personal sins, joy in the victory over personal temptation, the hope of triumph in the inner contest and of eternal life, — all this must supplement the love of others if man is to be all he should be; and in all this the psalmists on the whole excel the prophets.

Before touching upon a few details, let us glance at the general composition of the book of Psalms. It is called in Hebrew the "book of the songs of praise," and consists of a hundred and fifty poems, though in some cases what was originally one is split up into two;¹ and, in others, two originally distinct ones are joined together;² and, again, there are instances of the same psalm occurring twice with slight variations.³ These songs are divided into five books or collections, the first four of which are closed with cries of praise to God.⁴ We must not suppose that these divisions were made after the whole collection was completed, for some of the books, and especially the first, existed separately at first, and they were only united together gradually. The object of the collector was evidently to furnish the choir of Levites at the temple with a hymn-book. With this object he provided many of the poems with musical notes which are, unfortunately, almost wholly unintelligible to us. Probably the word *selah*, which constantly recurs,⁵ means that the full orchestra was to join in at the point indicated, and the choir to change; while the note rendered in our Authorized Version "for the chief singer," which frequently appears at the beginning of psalms,⁶ indicates that the song is to be performed by a soloist. Other expressions, such as "to the *neginoth*," "to the *gittith*,"⁷ perhaps refer to well known tunes to which the psalms in question might be sung.

Numbers of questions as to the origin of the book of Psalms are still unanswered; but one thing is certain, namely,

¹ For instance, Psalms xlii. and xliii.; compare p. 370. So also Psalms ix. and x.

² For instance, Psalm xix.; compare p. 314, with p. 540. So also Psalm xiv.

³ Psalms xiv. and liii.; compare p. 404. So also Psalms lx. and cviii.

⁴ See Psalms xli. 13, lxxii. 18, 19, lxxxix. 52, cvi. 48.

⁵ For instance, in Psalm iii. 2, 4, 8.

⁶ For instance, in Psalms iv., v., vi., viii.

⁷ For instance, in Psalms iv., vi., viii.

that it was the hymn-book of the second temple. Most if not all of the superscriptions which profess to give the authors of the psalms are spurious. They attribute no fewer than seventy-three to David, but we cannot place the smallest value on the testimony; and, indeed, most of the poems in question are of decidedly late origin. No doubt there are psalms which date at all events from before the captivity, but the composition of the greater number, and certainly the collection of the whole and the introduction of them into the temple service, are subsequent to Ezra. Even those psalms which the Jews did not compose under the supremacy of the Law they adopted under its influence, and they are therefore such as could wake a responsive echo in the hearts of the servants of the Law. In these songs they recognized their own emotions, and found that they could sympathize with the poets in their prayers and lamentations, their joy and gratitude, and, alas! the curses they launched against the enemies of God, and their self-exalting pride in their own good deeds and purity.

We must not overlook this darker side of the religious life of the Jews. In their very hymns and prayers they could utter the bitterest curses,¹ and often couple with them offensive self-laudation, as we saw in the case of Nehemiah.²

Utter sentence upon me, O Yahweh, for my ways are perfect,
 And my trust is unshaken in Yahweh.
 Test me, O Yahweh, put me to the proof,
 Examine my heart and soul.
 For I never forget thy favor,
 And walk in thy faithfulness without ceasing.³

A hymn composed in such a strain — and it is sustained throughout — can give us no satisfaction. And this is not the only one of its kind. This self-righteousness, however, and the closely connected bitterness against sinners and heathens, are in many instances no more than dark spots on a beautiful whole. Deep veneration for the majesty of God, intensest gratitude for all his benefits, a mighty trust in his redeeming power, a firm faith in his fidelity unshaken by the sharpest suffering, a deep sense of guilt leading to the confession that God's chastisements are justified, and a living hope in his forgiveness, — such are the emotions with which many of the psalms are filled; and side by side with the praises of the Law stand those other songs pervaded by anything but

¹ See pp. 311, 312, 404.

² Psalm xxvi. 1-3.

³ See pp. 495, 496.

the spirit of externality, breathing of God's pleasure in a contrite heart, and loudly proclaiming the insufficiency of the whole system of sacrificial worship. The pious Jews did not perceive the intimate contradiction between the two, for the Law had not yet choked their religious life. On the contrary, it flourished under it more richly than ever.

The two centuries that succeed the introduction of the Law transcend all others in warmth and genuineness of piety. Before them the principles of the religion of Israel had not yet been sufficiently grasped by the masses of the people, and afterwards they were gradually petrified until men no longer rejoiced in the law of Yahweh, but groaned beneath the weight of its yoke.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE JEWS UNDER GREEK SUPREMACY.

DANIEL VIII.; ESTHER; ECCLESIASTES; PSALM XLIV.

I WAS once in a vision on the banks of the Ulai; and there I saw a ram with two horns of unequal length, the longest of which had grown up last. Now, this ram butted violently to the west and the north and the south, so that none of the beasts could stand before him, and he followed his own will and grasped at power. But, as I was looking, there came a goat with one great, terrific horn, storming from the west, and he fell upon the ram and vanquished him, and broke both his horns and trampled him under foot. Then this goat grew exceeding strong; but when he was mighty beyond measure his great horn was broken off and there came up four strong horns instead, pointing to the four quarters of heaven. Then there came up a horn out of one of these four, which was small at first, but afterwards grew mightily and turned towards the south and the east and towards the holy land. This horn grew up as high as heaven, and hurled down some of the stars from heaven and trampled them under foot; and even exalted himself against the Prince of the stars, put a stop to his daily sacrifice, and devastated his sanctuary. He poured contempt upon the true religion, and his

work of sacrilege succeeded but too well."¹ So we read in the book of Daniel, which we shall examine in the next chapter. The author himself explains the meaning of the vision:² The ram with the two unequal horns is the kingdom of the Medes and Persians. The hairy goat is Greece, or rather Macedonia; the great horn is Alexander the Great; the shooting up of the four horns in the place of the one is the division of Alexander's kingdom into four: but all this is simply touched upon, and the horn that was small at first and then became great and defied the God of heaven, finally occupies the whole scene. This horn is a king, bold and crafty, powerful and impious, who practises unheard-of atrocities with unparalleled success, conquers princes, oppresses the holy people, waxes still prouder and prouder, rebels against God himself,—until at last he is crushed by the Supreme Power. This king can only be Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes, the king of Syria.

Such is a bare outline of the history of the Jews, and with the exception of a few allusions in another part of the book of Daniel,³ it is all that the Bible has to tell us of the people's fortunes from the time of Nehemiah to the middle of the second century B.C. Judæa fell, with the rest of the Persian kingdom, into the hands of Alexander the Great (332 B.C.). After his death it was passed backwards and forwards between the Egyptian and Syrian princes, and was fiercely torn by wars and dissensions, until at last it was definitely incorporated with the Syrian kingdom, and enjoyed a season of repose (203 B.C.). The whole period in which Judæa was a Grecian province furnished an unfavorable contrast to that in which the Persians had ruled it; for whereas the religious usages of the Persians had had a great attraction for the pious Jews, the customs of the Greeks were strange and hateful to them. But their actual martyrdom only began (167 B.C.) when Antiochus IV. laid waste the synagogues, erected the "abominable sin" of an altar to Jupiter in the court of the temple, compelled the Jews to work on the Sabbath and to eat pork; in a word, attempted to abolish their religion by force. To this period of martyrdom an end was only put by the heroic insurrection of the Maccabees, followed by a desperate war.

But we must pass over all the events of this period in silence, since they are not touched on in the Bible, and confine our attention to what we know of the religion of the Jews

¹ Daniel viii. 2-12.

² Vv. 13-25.

³ Daniel xl.-

during these centuries, and to a few remarkable products of their literary activity.

The main features of this survey have already been presented in the last chapter. For what we have said of the activity of the priests and scribes, and the deep religious life of the Jews, applies especially to the period we are now discussing; for it was after the fall of the Persian monarchy, and not before it, that the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah were written, and many of the psalms composed. All we have now to do is to fill in the sketch.

In the first place we must note that with all their reverence for the written word, the priests and scribes were by no means slaves to the precise form in which they had received it. Indeed, this was hardly possible as long as there was no official list of the books to be regarded as sacred writings, and each one had to make his own selection, rejecting one and accepting another. In fact the scribes still took considerable liberties with the written law, and continued to incorporate many fresh regulations in it as to public worship and other matters. There is one rather long section of the Pentateuch which was not written till after Alexander the Great.¹ And again, both now and at a still later period, alterations were made in the text here and there to avoid scandal.² Nor did the religion of the people remain stationary; for the simple reason that it was not dead. Opinions changed and developed; one conception came to the front while another sank into the background; new customs came into fashion and old ones fell into disuse.

A profound influence was exercised upon the religion of the Jews by that of the Persians. Yahweh had always been thought of as surrounded by angels; but it was under Persian influences that an elaborate system of angelology arose, in which the angels were divided into orders; their princes, the archangels, had names given them, Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, and so on; and special tasks were assigned them as guardians of peoples or individuals. Again, according to the ancient doctrine, Yahweh made everything, both good and evil; but now the Persian doctrine of two gods made its influence powerfully felt. The Second Isaiah evidently saw the growing influence of the conception that Yahweh, like the Persian Ahuramazda, created only what was good, and he opposed it in the words,³ "I form the light and create darkness; I

¹ Exodus xxxv.-xl.

² Compare vol. i. pp. 391 f.

³ Isaiah xlv. 7.

make peace and create evil; I, Yahweh, and no other." But his opposition was in vain. Gradually Satan, as the author of all evil, was established by the side of the Lord of war-hosts. Thus when the Chronicler read in his old authorities that Yahweh urged David to number his people, in order that he might have a reason for chastising them,¹ he substituted the statement that it was Satan who rose up against Israel and urged David to take the census.² In the third place, though the Jews did not borrow the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead from the Persians, yet it was under the influence of their beliefs that it made its way amongst them.³

It cannot surprise us, however, that the Scribes themselves always imagined that they were clinging exclusively to the doctrine of the fathers, and that, like the prophets and priests of a former age, they would sanction no fresh usages unless they had previously received the stamp of orthodoxy. Just as Ezra and his contemporaries incorporated many heathen usages into the Law, as though they were direct precepts of Yahweh and in perfect harmony with his worship, so now heathen usages could easily make their way in the Jewish system, if only they could furnish themselves with orthodox explanations.

A striking example of this process is furnished by the introduction, or rather the legalization of the feast of Purim, by means of the book of Esther. The contents of this book are something as follows:—

There was a great feast at the court of Ahasuerus, the mighty king of the Persians, who ruled over a hundred and twenty-seven provinces. The splendor of the palace was dazzling, and the luxury of the feast ravished the senses. After seven days, the intoxicated monarch thought he should like to display his queen Vashti amongst his other glories, for she was transcendently beautiful. But she refused to come at his command, upon which he degraded her from the throne at the advice of his nobles, who were afraid of their own wives imitating the queen and refusing to obey them. Some time afterwards Vashti's place was taken by Esther, a Jewish orphan brought up in the house of her uncle, Mordicai, who came into the court of the palace every day from the time of his niece's exaltation onwards. Esther fully deserved the high honor she had received by her extreme docility, for she

¹ 2 Samuel xxiv. 1. ² 1 Chronicles xxi. 1; compare p. 31.

³ Compare pp. 395, 396; vol. iii. chapter xxx.

not only won the heart of the chief ruler of the harem by allowing herself to be absolutely guided by him in the selection of her adornments, but even when she wore the queenly crown was just as submissive to her uncle as she had been when an inmate of his house. At his command she concealed her nationality.

After Esther's promotion, Mordicai did the king a great service, for he discovered that two of the chamberlains were plotting against his life, and told him their names, through Esther. Their guilt was evident, and they were put to death; but the king forgot to reward Mordicai, though Esther had not neglected to tell him the name of the man to whom he owed his life.

Mordicai, therefore, remained without any special distinction; but another of the king's subjects rose from one step of honor to another. This was a certain Haman; and since he was such a favorite of the king, everybody cringed before him, except Mordicai, who was so proud that in spite of repeated warnings he refused to fall down upon the earth before Haman as he entered or quitted the palace. When Haman's attention was called to this he was excessively angry, and, not satisfied with simply planning the death of so insignificant an offender, he determined to compass the destruction of all his countrymen, the Jews. To do this he would need the king's consent; but he had no difficulty in obtaining it when he promised to pay ten thousand talents into the royal treasury out of the confiscated goods of these Jews. The only question left to decide was the date for the massacre. Haman decided the question by lot, and was thus led to fix the thirteenth day of the twelfth month. Accordingly, the order to massacre and plunder the Jews in the king's name was openly promulgated just eleven months in advance!

No sooner was it published than a cry of terror rose from the Jews in every portion of the kingdom, as they fasted in sackcloth and ashes. Mordicai also appeared in mourning at some distance from the palace; and when Esther sent a messenger to ask the cause of his sorrow he told her of the king's decree, and at the same time commanded her to entreat her husband's grace on behalf of her own and her uncle's people. Obedient as she had always been before, Esther now pleaded that it was death to approach the king uninvited; but Mordicai still insisted, and reminded her that she herself, as a Jewess, was involved in the common danger. Besides, he said, it was perhaps a dispensation that she had been made

queen just in time to save her people. On receiving this answer she sent to beg him to fast with her three days, and promised to make the venture.

She was successful. The king graciously extended her the golden sceptre as a sign of favor, and asked her what she desired, whereupon she invited him to come with his favorite Haman to feast with her. What an honor for Haman! As they sat at wine, the king asked Esther to declare her request, and promised to grant it though it should be half his kingdom. But apparently she could not bring herself to make it, and begged the king to come and feast with her again next day,—and to bring Haman with him. The extraordinary honor shown to his favorite may have begun to surprise the king, but Haman himself was intoxicated with vanity as he went out. Picture his rage at seeing that detestable Jew at the gate of the palace again, refusing to bow to him! He went home and expatiated to his wife, his relatives, and his retainers upon all the wealth and honor he enjoyed, culminating in the renewed invitation to feast with the king and queen. “But yet,” he added, “it is all nothing as long as that Jew Mordicai sits at the gate of the palace!” “Then build a gallows fifty cubits high, and hang him on it!” cried his friends. Haman thought it a capital suggestion, and the gallows soon reared its threatening form!

But mark what now took place! That night the king could not sleep, and he ordered some one to read the royal archives to him. When they came to the conspiracy that Mordicai had discovered, the king asked whether any reward had been given him, and his servants answered, No. Meanwhile the morning had come, and Haman was already in the palace to ask the king's permission to hang Mordicai. The monarch sent for him, and asked him what ought to be done to the man whom the king desired to honor above all others. Thinking that this could only mean himself, Haman declared that the man should be clad in the royal garments and seated on the king's favorite horse, with his crown upon his head, and that he should then ride through the city, preceded by one of the grandees of the kingdom crying out, “This is the man whom the king delights to honor!” Then the king, to Haman's utter dismay, replied, “Go instantly and do all this to Mordicai, the Jew!” There was no resisting the command, and Haman at once obeyed. When all was over he returned in grief and shame to his house, and told his wife and friends what had happened, to their great consternation. Full of gloomy forebodings they gave him but cold comfort

as to the future,—but at that very moment a messenger came to conduct him to the queen's feast!

Again king Ahasuerus asked the queen, as they sat at wine, what it was she desired, and she cried in deep emotion, "It is my own life, O king, and the lives of my people! There is a man who is bent on slaying us all." "Who is he?" asked the half intoxicated king; and when she said it was Haman, he started up in a fury, and went out and paced up and down in the garden. Then Haman saw that his life was in danger, and fell upon the queen's divan to implore for grace. But this only served to hasten his fate, for the king was offended at his coming so near the person of the queen. The keepers of the harem, too, who cringed before the mighty favorite a moment before, were now anxious to curry favor with the king in his fall, and one of them ventured to suggest that a gallows erected for Mordicai's benefit was standing in front of Haman's house! The hint was quite enough. In a few moments Haman was hanging on his own gallows at the king's command.

Mordicai was soon installed in the fallen noble's place, and the relations of the Jews to their persecutors were now completely reversed. Since every law of the Persians and Medes was irrevocable, the royal decree already issued remained in force, but a second was now universally promulgated, giving the Jews permission to defend themselves and even to attack and plunder their enemies on the day appointed for their massacre. What rejoicings there were amongst the Jews! Feast succeeded feast, and when the day they had formerly dreaded so much at last arrived, they took ample advantage of the permission granted by the king. In Susa alone they slew five hundred of their foes, including the ten sons of Haman, but they took no plunder. Not yet satisfied with their revenge, Mordicai and Esther begged that the bodies of Haman's sons might be hung upon the gallows, and that one more day might be granted to the Jews for the slaughter of their enemies. The king consented; and again three hundred victims fell in Susa alone, and seventy-five thousand in the whole kingdom. But no plunder was taken anywhere.

In memory of this deliverance Mordicai instituted a yearly feast on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of Adar, the twelfth month, and called these days *Purim* after the Persian word *pur*, or "lot," because Haman had fixed the day for the massacre of the Jews by lot. Mordicai continued to be the first minister of king Ahasuerus.

The story is a tissue of glaring impossibilities from first to last; nor can the derivation of the name of the Purim feast, upon which it all turns, be accepted as correct. Imagine a king consenting, at his minister's instigation, to put thousands of his peaceable subjects to death, and the minister determining by lot the day upon which this colossal massacre is to take place, and then giving eleven months' public notice of his intention to every one, including his intended victims; who are nevertheless so powerful that, when permitted to do so by the king, they are able to slaughter seventy-five thousand Persians in two days. If the king had withheld his permission, would they have allowed themselves to be slaughtered like so many sheep? And, not to multiply instances, would the Jews have named the feast of their deliverance after the incidental use of the lot? The whole book is probably a fiction from beginning to end, and we should not even be justified in inferring from it that king Ahasuerus (that is Xerxes) was hostile to the Jews. What the name of Purim really signifies, and what was the true origin of the feast, we cannot tell with certainty. Possibly it was a Persian feast at which festivities were held and presents interchanged. In that case the Jews who lived amongst the Persians adopted it from their neighbors, and the writer of the book of Esther desired to find a place for it in the Jewish religion by the explanation he gave of its origin. He was completely successful. The days of Purim or of Mordicai have been observed as a festival down to the present day.

The book of Esther is inspired by a thoroughly bad spirit of intolerance, national pride, and vengeance. In the whole work there is but one touch of a more generous feeling, but one little point of light in the darkness of the great picture; and that is the statement that the exasperated and murderous Jews never laid their hands upon any plunder, and thereby showed that it was not the base lust of wealth, but the rather less base lust of vengeance which urged them on. The heart of the man who could write such a story must have been filled with ugly passions, and it is far from creditable to the Jews that they should have accepted the book and finally recognized it as a sacred writing. But we cannot be surprised at their doing so, since they considered hatred of the foes of Israel and his god a merit rather than a fault.

The evil spirits of vengeance and arrogance possessed the most zealous Jews far more strongly under Greek than under Persian supremacy. And this is why we have dealt with the book of Esther in this connection. Though it professes to

place us under the Persian king Xerxes, it really dates from the time when zealous Jews sighed under the Greek princes who succeeded Alexander the Great. After the incorporation of Judæa in that monarch's kingdom, circumstances stimulated a violent opposition to heathen influences, and consequently to the heathens themselves, on the part of the more zealous Jews. As foreign manners began to exercise a growing fascination on the Jews, and the special Jewish character incurred ever greater danger of being lost, the champions of Jewish nationality, amongst whom the author of Esther must be reckoned, redoubled their efforts to preserve it.

There was certainly good cause for alarm, since the Greek spirit was making itself powerfully felt in Judæa. Many of the Jews were dissatisfied with the path their people were taking in matters of religion; and while many rejoiced in the Law and the service of the temple, others were tortured with doubts as to the truth of the religious philosophy of life which still prevailed around them.

Profound and serious doubts, as to the truth of the doctrine handed down from the fathers, are generally to be found in but few hearts. Most men are too superficial to entertain them.¹ But the book of Ecclesiastes shows that there were at any rate some Jews in the Grecian period who not only felt these doubts, but were almost rent asunder by them. We will now examine this work.

It begins as follows: "Words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem." But the writer has not the least intention of really passing himself off as Solomon. He says expressly:² "I, the preacher, *was* king of Israel," as if he were bringing the shade of Solomon upon the stage. He simply puts his own thoughts into the mouth of Solomon, whom he presents under the name of the Preacher, or rather "the Preacheress;" that is to say, Wisdom.

The book has often given offence both in ancient and modern times. And no wonder. Like the book of Job, it is the fruit of deep-rooted doubts as to the government of God, but it lacks the solemn though highly unsatisfactory solution of the problem which we find in Job.

"Vanity of vanities! everything is vanity!" Such are the words in which the preacher begins to unbosom himself. Man, he goes on to say, gains nothing from all his toil; Nature repeats the old round with wearisome monotony, and there is nothing new under the sun! The preacher took delight in

¹ Compare p. 468.

² Ecclesiastes i. 12.

seeking wisdom, but even that is a bootless endeavor. Indulgence of the senses — is vanity. The rich man's life — is vanity. The pursuit of knowledge — well, wisdom is better than folly; but when all is said and done, the wise man and the fool both die, and there is the end of it! Life is misery. One thing succeeds another, and people choose to call this succession "good," but who knows why? Enjoy what you can get, and trouble yourself about nothing else! For injustice is triumphant, and the end of a man is like that of a beast. Death is better than life, for life is full of misery, — and yet after all a living dog is better than a dead lion; for the living do know that they will die, but the dead know nothing at all! We must submit to God. What else can we do? It is best to be prudent and to fear God, and if a man can enjoy his wealth with an easy heart so much the better. There are strange things to be seen under the sun — for instance, a righteous man destroyed by his goodness, and a scoundrel made prosperous by his villany. You should not aim at being too good and wise, or you will only undo yourself. Yet take care also not to be too stupid and wicked, for that is generally no less fatal. But, in fact, there are not many people of understanding, not one man in a thousand — and no women at all. Everything in the world is vanity, for what is the end of it? Death! And the dead know nothing and are forgotten, with all their love and hate. So there is nothing better to do than to enjoy life. Time and chance rule all things. If we do any good we get no thanks for it. Live with as little care as you may. After all, things often turn out better than one would think. Young man! enjoy your life, and forget not that God will judge you by your deeds. Remember this: old age with all its plagues is before you, and then death. Vanity of vanities! In conclusion: Do not be for ever writing books, for it is weariness of the spirit; and keep God's commandments!

These specimens will suffice to characterize the spirit and tendency of the book. Not only is it full of doubt, but it offers no solution whatever of the riddles of life — not even the sublime though comfortless dictum of the book of Job, "God is great and we comprehend him not!" Here, too, God is great, but he is so great and so far off that man can feel no affection towards him; and the outcome of the whole work is simply this: "On the whole it is best to enjoy life, but to do so in moderation."

Such men as the writer of Ecclesiastes and those who agreed with him could hardly feel much enthusiasm for the Law and

public worship. No doubt they duly made their sacrifices, observed the ordinary laws of purity, complied — though not very scrupulously — with the dietary laws, and kept the Sabbath decently; but at the same time they could see what was good in the heathens, like the sages of old, and did not exalt Jewish peculiarities above everything else. Thus their sceptical spirit and gloomy views of life strengthened the free thinking party that asked for theatres and Greek works of art, and longed to study foreign languages and read the books of the heathens.

Who knows what might have become of Judaism had not Antiochus Epiphanes, by persecuting the zealots for the Law, compelled them to concentrate all their strength in the attempt to rescue their religion?

Some of the psalms which were composed at this period reflect the sufferings of the devout Jews when their enemies raged in the gathering places of God (that is to say the synagogues), broke everything in them to pieces, and then set them on fire; when, above all, the great sanctuary, the place where the Lord's name was established, was desecrated by idolatrous practices,¹ and when the Syrians blasphemed the name of Yahweh and oppressed his servants.² Alas! they thought with longing of the times when their god had rescued their forefathers and expelled the heathens.³ Ah! he had done mighty deeds in those days, for it was not the sword of the warriors but the arm of God that had made them the heirs of Canaan. And he would surely help them now again! They would not trust in sword and bow, but in Him alone. In Him they still would boast. . . . But alas! they cried, they were put to shame; their god did not support them; they were scattered abroad and sold into the hand of the enemy. There they stood in confusion of face, although they had not forgotten their god, but had remained true to Him!

If we had forgotten the name of our God
Or stretched out our hands to a strange god —
Would not God search it out?
Does he not know the secrets of the heart? —
Nay, but for thy sake are we slain,
And counted as sheep for the slaughter.
Awake! why sleepest thou, O Lord!
Arise! and cast us not off for ever!
Why hidest thou thy face,
And forgettest our misery and oppression?
For our soul is bowed down to the dust;
Our body cleaves to the ground.
Stand up and help us!
Redeem us for thy mercy's sake!

¹ Psalm lxxiv. 4-8.

² Vt. 10, 18-23.

³ Psalm xlv.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE HOPE OF THE OPPRESSED BELIEVERS.

DANIEL I.-VII.; PSALM CXVIII.

“ALL that could make us think of thee has vanished out of our sight, and there is no prophet left amongst us, nor any one who can foretell how long it yet shall last.” So cried a psalmist in the period of humiliation,¹ and we may well believe that many a devout sufferer, as he compared this season of oppression with the days of the Assyrians and Chaldeans, was painfully impressed by the great change that had taken place. In those days there were so many prophets to exhort and comfort the people; now there was not one. No prophets had arisen for a long time back, and though no one could explain the reason, yet an instinctive fear was felt that none would come in future. And so it was. The days of prophecy were over in Israel. Where the written word is supreme the men of the spirit cannot live. And yet encouragement and consoling predictions were so sorely needed that some means must be found of meeting the want; and if it was impossible for a pious Jew of the second century B.C. to imagine, as men had done in former times, that God had chosen him as the vehicle of his direct revelations and announced to him beforehand all that he was about to do, yet at least he might partially supply the place of the living revelation, and partially perform its functions by dint of studying, in faith, the words of the ancient men of God.

We can now understand the origin of the book of Daniel. A punctilious, rigidly orthodox, and firmly believing Jew had been pondering prayerfully over the sufferings of his age, and had opened the prophecies of Jeremiah.² There he read that Israel and many other peoples should serve the king of Babylon for seventy years. Had the prediction been fulfilled? The writer of Chronicles had boldly declared that it had, and had noted Zerubbabel's return as the end of these ten sabbatical years.³ But every one did not agree with him, at any rate in regarding this event as the complete fulfilment of the prophecy. Three centuries ago the prophet Zechariah, years after the re-

¹ Psalm lxxiv. 9.² Jeremiah xxv. 11, 12, xxix. 10.³ 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 21; compare Ezra i. 1.

turn, had imagined when he saw the misery of his people that Yahweh's wrath was still heavy upon Israel, and that the seventy years were not yet over.¹ Were they over even now? If so, where was the Messianic age that was to have dawned directly after the seventy years? Israel was still in suffering and almost in exile. The faithful were still waiting for Yahweh as one waits for the morning, for it was still night—darker night than ever, since Antiochus had come. Then it followed either that the prophet's word was false or that the seventy years were not yet over; and inasmuch as it was impossible that the word of God should not be fulfilled, the other alternative must be adopted. But several centuries had already elapsed since the prophecy of the seventy years was uttered; it followed therefore of necessity that it could not have been intended literally. It was evident from the result. Jeremiah meant seventy periods of seven years each, and they were now nearly over. The arrogance of Antiochus was the last convulsion of heathenism; full soon would he fall, and the kingdom of God begin. Such was the comfort which our author offered to his fellow-believers under their oppression.

As the vehicle of his predictions he brings upon the stage an Israelite of the captivity named Daniel, who was celebrated for his gifts as a seer.² He depicts him as a rigid Jew, after the type of a believer of the second century B.C., and makes him foretell the future in a variety of ways.

The first chapters of the book contain stories which may have been partially taken from popular traditions concerning Daniel; but in that case the author gave them the coloring he desired, and made them vehicles of the lesson that God delivers his pious servants and brings tyrants to their fall.

We are transplanted then to Babylon, where Nebuchadrezzar, we are told, after taking Jerusalem and carrying away Jehoiakim a captive, determined to train certain Jewish boys of noble blood as his pages. This involved, amongst other things, feeding them upon rich dainties, in order to improve their appearance. But Daniel and his three friends—Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah—who were amongst those chosen, refused to touch these dainties, because they were not prepared according to the Jewish law. The ruler of the harem, who had charge of them, was afraid of their growing thin if they lived upon pot-herbs and water, as they desired; but a trial of ten days convinced him of his mistake, for they looked far better than their companions. God had blessed their simple food,

¹ Zechariah i. 19.

² Ezekiel xiv. 14, 20: xxviii. 3.

and had given all of them great knowledge, and Daniel wonderful gifts as a seer; so that these four knew ten times as much as all the astrologers and sages of the kingdom together.

Nebuchadrezzar was soon to have a proof of Daniel's gifts. For one night he started from his sleep disturbed by a dreadful dream, but he had quite forgotten what it was. Accordingly he asked his astrologers to tell him what it was he had seen in his dream; and when they told him that was impossible, he ordered them all to be put to death. Daniel and his companions were taken with the rest to undergo the sentence; but Daniel, trusting in the help of his god, begged for a little delay, and promised the king to tell him all he desired to know. And that night God did indeed reveal it to him in a vision; so he begged that the execution of the sages might not be proceeded with, since he could satisfy the king. He was ushered into the royal presence, and declared that God had revealed the secrets of the future to Nebuchadrezzar in his dream, and had now once more revealed to him, his servant, what the king had forgotten. He had seen a great statue of terrible form. The head was of fine gold, the breast and arms of silver, the body and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet of iron mixed with clay. Then a stone came down, which was not thrown by a human hand, and it crushed all the image till it was swept away by the wind, while the stone itself became a mountain that filled the whole earth. Such was the dream, and this was its meaning: The golden head was Nebuchadrezzar himself. After him another kingdom would rise, weaker than his, represented by the silver part. Then would come another, represented by the brass, that would extend over all the earth. Finally, there would be a fourth, hard and grinding like iron, and yet partly brittle, which was typified in the mingled metal and clay. The stone was the kingdom of God, which would destroy all other kingdoms, and would endure for ever itself. When Nebuchadrezzar heard this he bowed down and acknowledged Daniel's insight, for he had faithfully described his dream. He now desired to make him governor of the district of Babylon and chief of the seers, but Daniel begged that these high positions might be given to his friends; and he himself continued to reside in the palace.

Now Nebuchadrezzar was a tyrant. He showed it more particularly on the occasion of his setting up a golden statue, sixty cubits high and six cubits broad, in the vale of Dura,

in the district of Ba^hylonia. He had a great feast for the consecration of this statue, and invited all the governors of the provinces and all the grandees of the kingdom to the ceremony. As soon as his guests were assembled, he proclaimed that, when the music gave the signal, they were all to fall down and worship the image, on pain of being hurled into a burning furnace. Now, when Daniel's three friends—Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, as they were called in Chaldee—refused to obey the decree, they were sentenced to the punishment; and, when they persisted in their refusal, the furnace was made seven times as hot as usual, so that the strongest men in the army were killed by the heat as they threw the prisoners in, bound hand and foot. But behold! Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego remained unhurt. The fire simply burned the ropes that bound them, so that they could walk about freely in the furnace, where an angel was seen with them. When they came out they did not even smell of fire! Upon this the king was inspired with terror for their mighty god, and forbade any of his subjects, on pain of death, to speak injuriously of him.

Once again, the king had a proof of Daniel's skill as a seer, which served at the same time as a warning against his own boundless arrogance. He saw in a dream a tree, as high as heaven, standing in the middle of the earth, with beautiful foliage and rich fruits. The beasts of the field found shelter under it, and the birds nestled in its branches. But lo! a holy angel came down from heaven and ordered this tree to be stripped of its branches and foliage and fruit, so that nothing but the naked stem was left, held to the ground by bands of metal. Then it had to share the fate of the beasts; "its human heart must become the heart of a beast" for seven years. In vain did the magicians rack their brains to explain this dream. At last it was submitted to Daniel with a request that he would expound it; but he was so utterly dismayed that, for a whole hour, he could not utter a word. When forced to speak at last, he began with a formula for averting a curse: "My lord! may this dream be fulfilled on your enemies, and its explanation on them that oppose you!" And in truth there was a fearful meaning in the vision! This tree was the king himself, and what he saw happening to it was a foreshadowing of the fact that he would be cast out and treated like a beast. What Daniel thus predicted afterwards took place. A year thence, as Nebuchadrezzar was looking down from the battlements of his palace upon his capital, he

boastfully exclaimed, "This is the great Babylon, that I have built by my power and to my glory!" and then there came a voice from heaven that pronounced his sentence. His dominion was to be taken from him, and seven years long he was to eat grass like an ox! His fate came upon him instantly; but in seven years his understanding returned and his royal splendor with it. He was at once restored to the throne; and now he gave the glory to God, who is able to humble the proud. He communicated all this to his subjects by solemn edict.

Nebuchadrezzar's son, Belshazzar, was still worse than his father, and under him the kingdom fell. This was foretold him in the following manner, on the very night on which he lost his crown. He was holding a feast with the thousand nobles of his kingdom, and in a drunken freak he ordered the gold and silver cups and bowls, goblets and chargers, which his father had taken from the temple at Jerusalem, to be brought for himself and his courtiers, his wives and his mistresses to drink from. As they were drinking, and oh, horror! were praising their idols with the sacred vessels in their hands, human fingers suddenly appeared out of the wall, and wrote certain letters upon it. The king, in consternation, summoned all the astrologers, and promised to promote the man who could read and explain the writing to the third position in the whole kingdom. All the seers hurried to the place, but not one of them could decipher the writing. The whole assembly was filled with dismay, and Belshazzar and his nobles had sat down pale with terror, when the queen entered the festive hall and told the king that there was a certain Daniel amongst his subjects, whom his father had made the head of the seers. The king immediately sent for him, and besought him urgently to decipher the writing, promising to make him the third in the kingdom. "Keep your gifts, O king," he answered, "I ask no reward for telling you what you desire. Remember what befell your father, and how his pride was humbled! And yet you have not humbled yourself, but have desecrated the holy vessels of God's temple. And this is why that portion of his hand came out against you. Do you ask what is written there? It is *Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*; which means, 'Numbered, numbered, weighed, divided.' God has numbered the days of your kingdom, and they are over; has weighed it, and found it too light; has divided it, and given it to the Medes and Persians." Then Daniel was clad in a purple robe and adorned with a golden

necklace, and proclaimed the third in the kingdom. But that very night Belshazzar was slain.

Under his successor, Darius the Mede, Daniel was at first high in honor. He was the chief of the three viceroys to whom the governors of the hundred and twenty provinces were responsible, and the king was even thinking of making him viceroy of the whole kingdom. The nobles and governors, who were all hostile to him, endeavored in vain to compass his ruin; for they could not accuse him of the least impropriety. Then they saw that there was but one way to trip him up. They must manage to make his fidelity to his own religion appear an offence. So they all advised the king to make a proclamation that for thirty days no one should ask anything of god or man, except of him, the king. Accordingly the king issued the decree; and, like all the laws of the Persians and Medes, it was irrevocable. But Daniel defied the edict, and went as usual to pray, three times a day, at the open window, with his face towards Jerusalem. Of course his enemies observed him, and immediately informed the king that Daniel had disobeyed his precept. Darius was deeply grieved, and did all he could to rescue his favorite; but Daniel's enemies held him to his word, and at last he was obliged to have him thrown into the lions' den, as he had said in the proclamation. "May your god, whom you worship, rescue you!" he cried to the prisoner, as he was led off to the place of punishment. Then Daniel was let down into the den, the mouth of which was closed with a stone, sealed with the king's signet-ring and those of his nobles. But Darius was so depressed that he ate nothing at his evening meal, sent away the music, and could not sleep. Early in the morning, at dawn of day, he went to the lions' den, and called to Daniel in a mournful voice, "Daniel! servant of the living God! has God indeed saved you from the mouths of the lions?" Picture his joy when he heard the answer, "He has, O king! Live for ever! My God sent an angel to deliver me, for I have committed no offence against you." Then the king ordered him to be drawn up out of the den, and all those who had accused him, together with their wives and children, to be thrown in. Of course, they no sooner touched the ground than the lions fell upon them and devoured them. Then the king issued orders to all his subjects to worship the god of Daniel, for he was the living and only God; and, as long as Darius lived, Daniel prospered.

Let us pause for a moment at this point to consider what we have read. We have had our fill of wonders, and of scenes which are impossibility itself. Moreover, we have had a most erroneous representation of the course of history. It is true that a prince of the name of Belshazzar did perish at the taking of Babylon; but he was a son of Nabonedus, the last Chaldean monarch, and not of Nebuchadrezzar. And again, it was not Darius the Mede, but Cyrus that took Babylon; nor did any kingdom of the Medes at all intervene between that of the Chaldees and that of the Persians. The writer appears to have confounded the taking of Babylon by Cyrus with its subsequent capture by Darius Hystaspis, one of his successors. But he really did believe a kingdom of the Medes to have succeeded that of Nebuchadrezzar, for he represents it by the silver breast and arms, under the golden head of the statue seen by the king in his dream, while the brass signifies the kingdom of the Persians, the iron that of Alexander, the stern ruler who crushed everything beneath him, and the mixture of iron and clay in the feet of the image indicates the weak points in the divided kingdom of this mighty conqueror.

All hesitation in believing that the writer's knowledge of history was so exceedingly defective as this vanishes when we find him elsewhere¹ distinctly implying that there were only four Persian kings, whereas we know of no less than twelve. And again, he made a grave mistake as to the length of the period he was reviewing. He calculates that there were seventy times seven years between Jeremiah's prophecy and the fall of Antiochus, which he expected within a few years. But the period between the date of Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years (605 B.C.) and the year when our book was written (165 B.C.) falls short of the required time by fifty years. But if the writer himself had no means of gaining a more accurate knowledge of history, none of his readers were any better off. Besides, he was doubtless too full of his own purpose to trouble himself much as to these matters. His sole object in telling these stories was to fire his dejected fellow believers with courage to persevere. They must not let themselves be driven to eat forbidden food, to worship idols, or to neglect their daily prayers and all that the Law prescribed. Their God was the God of heaven, mightier than all gods and kings, fully able to rescue his worshippers from the most threatening dangers. He humbled the proud.

¹ Daniel xi. 2-4.

Did this overweening Antiochus dare to persecute the faithful? He himself should be compelled by the visible help which God would bring to his servants to acknowledge his folly in resisting Him. And if he would not yield, if he thought it was his own might that had made him so great, he might see his lot foreshadowed in that of Nebuchadrezzar, whom God as good as made into a beast for a time on purpose to humble him; or he might read in Belshazzar's fate what was coming upon him too, for that *Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin* was equally applicable to his own dominion!

Meanwhile our author was not content with this general announcement that the end was near, and that the kingdom of God, the stone thrown without human hand, would supersede the kingdoms of the world. He desired to indicate the course of events from Daniel's time to his own more in detail, and also to describe the future more exactly. To this object the remainder of the book, which records certain visions of Daniel's, is devoted.

One of these visions, that of the ram beaten by the goat, we have already considered,¹ with the exception of a single detail; namely, the prediction that the daily sacrifice, to which Antiochus had put a stop, would be suspended for exactly two thousand three hundred mornings and evenings, or three and a half years;² for the writer establishes certain resting points in the period of the seventy weeks of years. In the first place, when seven of them were gone, the anointed, the prince, should cause Jerusalem to be rebuilt. This must be a reference either to Cyrus or to the high priest Joshua, under whom the first band of exiles returned. After sixty-two more weeks of years another anointed should be slain. This may be an allusion to the high priest Onias III., who was overtaken by this fate. Half a week of years after that, the daily sacrifice should be suspended, and in three and a half years more Antiochus should fall and the kingdom of God should come.³ The author further describes the history of Syria and Egypt, after the partition of Alexander's kingdom, in some detail.⁴

There is little to attract us in all the allusions and obscure indications of recent events which our author lays on the lips of the ancient seer. He always selects an enigmatical form of utterance suitable to oracular deliverances; but there is

¹ See p. 514.

² Daniel ix. 24-27; compare xii. 7, 11.

³ Daniel viii. 12, 14.

⁴ Daniel xi.

one section of his book in particular which has always made a profound impression upon its readers, and has given rise to much deep speculation and to much idle waste of words. It is the vision of the four beasts.¹

I saw storms, says our author, in his character of Daniel, bursting from every quarter of heaven, as four monsters came up out of the sea. The first was like a lion, with eagle's wings; and behold! it was robbed of its feathers, and stood up on its hind legs and received a human heart. Then there came up a second, like a bear, leaning towards one side, with three ribs in its mouth; and a voice said, "Rise up and eat much flesh!" Then a third came into view, like a leopard, with four wings; and it had four heads, and was very mighty. But terrible as these three were, the fourth was monstrous above them all. A terrific creature! With great iron teeth it crunched and devoured all it could lay hold of, and trod the rest under foot. It had ten horns upon its head; and behold! there came up a little horn among the rest, three of which were plucked out to make room for it, and this little horn had human eyes, and a mouth with which it spoke boastfully. And lo! there were thrones made ready, and the Ancient of Days, even God, sat down in a shining garment with snow-white hair on his head. The throne glittered, and its wheels were all aglow. A river of fire streamed out from Him, and millions of angels stood before Him. Then the judgment began and the books were opened. Upon this the fourth beast was sentenced, slain, and burned, because of all the blasphemous language of the little horn. Meanwhile the other beasts were also bereft of their power, for it was but given them for a time. And when all this was accomplished, there came one upon the clouds like a son of man, and he was taken before the throne of God, where honor and dominion were given him to all eternity.

Then, continues Daniel, I was filled with consternation at this vision, and I asked one of the angels to explain it, especially the meaning of the little horn. And he answered that it was a king who would rise up against God, persecute the holy people, abolish the Law, and rule for a time, two times, and half a time (three and a half years), but would then perish, and give place to the kingdom of the saints, which should endure for ever.

It is as clear as daylight to every impartial investigator that this little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes, and that the fourth

¹ Daniel vii

beast must therefore be the Greek empire. But it is easy to see why ancient and modern interpreters have been unwilling to recognize the fact; for Daniel very definitely predicts that on the fall of the fourth beast the kingdom of God will come. Moreover this "son of man" was supposed to be Jesus. And therefore, as long as the book of Daniel was regarded as a genuine unveiling of the future for the benefit of posterity, people had to explain the fourth beast as the Roman empire, or some still later power. But the truth is that our author knew very little of the period in which he supposed Daniel to live; that his information, very naturally, became more adequate as he approached his own day (165 B.C.), and that he could no more foresee what would take place afterwards than any one of us can foretell the future. As for the vision of the son of man, it doubtless exercised great influence upon the expectations entertained both by Jesus himself and by his Apostles;¹ but it is equally certain that the writer himself did not intend the "son of man" to represent the Messiah. He symbolized the kingdom of the saints, the redeemed and purified Israel, under this type, just as he had represented the heathen kingdoms under the forms of beasts.²

If we are content not to ascribe to the writer a knowledge of the future which he never possessed, but to take his vision for what it really was, that is to say, for his individual conception of the course of history, then we find in it the fruits of a strong faith and of truly ennobling ideas. One kingdom had succeeded another in Asia, and had counted the holy land amongst its provinces. There was first the dominion of the great Nebuchadrezzar; then the tottering power of the Medes; then, again, the mighty and swift-spreading Persian monarchy. To this lion with a human heart, to this bear that stood askew, to this winged panther, power had been given for a time, and they had ruled successively even over the saints. But the kingdom of the Greeks, with all its monarchs great and small, was beyond comparison the most abominable; while Antiochus, the persecutor of the Jews, was great and terrible beyond all others. But let not Israel fear! There is One who rules over all things, from whom the former kingdoms drew all the strength they had, and that is God. Soon will He call the reckless monarch to his bar and pronounce his sentence, at the same time humbling all the heathen powers. Then will come another kingdom — not out of the sea, but from heaven; not in the form of a monster, but in the noble form of man — the

¹ Compare vol. iii. pp. 402, 403.

² Daniel vii. 18, 27.

kingdom of God's people, which will abide for ever. Then shall the dead also — this is the first distinct indication of the belief among the Jews — then shall the dead awake, these to everlasting life, and those to shame; and the teachers, who have shown the way of righteousness to so many, shall shine forth like the sun. Blessed is he who endures to the end!¹

With regard to the source from which he drew his conceptions of the future, the writer of the book of Daniel stands in sharp contrast to the ancient prophets. It is no inspiration, no direct revelation from the deity, that urges him to speak. He simply records what he has learned from studying and unravelling the written word. But the essence of his faith is identical with theirs. His soul, like theirs, is filled with the sublime conviction that every event on earth depends upon the God of heaven, who has chosen Israel as the people of his grace.

We may well believe that such a book as this helped to encourage the faithful, and to fire them with zeal to persevere under their sufferings and in their conflict. When it was written, Mattathias and his sons had probably raised the banner of revolt already, for we read of "a little help which shall support the teachers."² Full soon the war of liberty would spread, and Antiochus would learn what a small people can do when it fights for its hearths and its altar. His rule over Judæa would come to an end, not by a stone thrown without human hand, but by the heroism of Jewish faith. It was not long before Judas the Maccabee took Jerusalem; and then, though the citadel was still in the hands of the Syrians, the sanctuary was once more cleansed, and a new altar reared in place of the one polluted by idolatry. In December, 164 B.C., just three years after the introduction of the worship of Jupiter, the temple was restored to Israel's god.

Then might have been sung a song which was possibly composed for this very occasion³: —

Give thanks unto Yahweh, for he is good;
His mercy endures for ever!
In my distress I called upon Yahweh,
And he heard my prayer and enlarged my place.
Yahweh is with me, I will not fear;
For what can man do against me?
It is better to trust in Yahweh than men,
Better in Yahweh than princes.
All the heathens had surrounded me,
But in Yahweh's name have I shattered them all.

¹ Daniel xii² Daniel xi. 33, 34.³ Psalm cxviii.

Shouts of rejoicing are in the tents of the righteous;
 Yahweh's right hand puts forth its might.
 Open me the gates of salvation,
 That I may go in and sing praises to Yahweh.
 This is the gate of Yahweh
 By which the righteous enter.
 A stone rejected by the builders
 Has become the great corner stone.
 Behold! it is Yahweh's doing;
 It is marvellous in our eyes.
 This is the day that Yahweh has made,
 Let us rejoice and exult!
 O Yahweh, help us!
 O Yahweh, deliver us!
 Blessed is he who comes in the name of Yahweh!
 We greet thee from Yahweh's house.
 God Yahweh gives us light;
 Bind the festive offering with cords to the altar.
 Thou art my God, I will praise thee!
 My God, I will sing thy glory!
 Praise Yahweh, for he is good,
 For his grace endures for ever.

Thus did Israel rejoice when his deliverance began, regarding himself as the corner stone of the kingdom of God. And, in truth, he had been too much despised by the builders of the kingdoms of the world! Now he had made his power felt, and could henceforth celebrate his deliverance from year to year in the "feast of the renewing of the temple," or "feast of lights." But the kingdom of God was not to come with outward splendor; and when he came who laid, by moral force, the foundations of a spiritual religion, Israel shut himself out. Even the political independence secured for a time would soon pass away, and Israel would sink into slavery once more; and at last, after a hopeless struggle, would be broken up and scattered amongst the nations.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONCLUSION.

HERE the expounder of the Old Testament lays down his pen, but only to take it up again presently. He owes his readers a word of explanation on both these points! We promised to examine the Bible, and with regard to the Old Testament we have now redeemed our pledge. We have

dealt with all the Biblical narratives and the most important sections of the prophecies, the proverbs, and the other poetical books. But we have from the first kept another object equally clearly in view; and that has been to describe the development of the religion of Israel as accurately as possible, in connection with the several portions of the Bible. Down to the time of Nehemiah we have not neglected this second object, but have drawn together all the materials which we thought would throw light upon the history of Israel's religion. For the period between Nehemiah and the Maccabees we have not done so. We have indeed taken a rapid survey of the history, and set the various books which were written in this period in their historical framework, but we have omitted much that might have filled in and thrown light upon the picture. For instance, we have not mentioned the founding of the temple on Mount Gerizim; the first steps made by the Scribes towards the formation of the canon or collection of the sacred books; the important work of Jesus ben Sirach, which was composed before the book of Daniel; the chasm that gradually opened between the priests and the Scribes; the contests for the office of high priest, or the rise of the schools of Pharisees and Sadducees.

The reason is that the books of the Bible are not the main sources of our information on these subjects, and we should exceed the limits we have assigned ourselves far too much were we to examine with the requisite care all that we can collect from other sources to throw light upon this period.

Moreover, if we had done all that lay in our power accurately to describe the period between Nehemiah and the Maccabees, we should still have left both ourselves and our readers quite unsatisfied; for when we reach the Maccabæan revolt, we are still separated by nearly two centuries from the date of the ministry of Jesus, so that the connection between the Old and New Testaments is not yet by any means established. It is not only that we are interested in the external history of the Jews during this interval, and that we should like to know, for instance, how Palestine fell into the hands of the Romans, and how the Herods came to the throne, but these two centuries are exceedingly important with reference to the internal history of the people. This is no more than we should expect, for at the beginning of the period in question the Jewish religion was anything but petrified. There was religious life, and strong life, too, in the country; and wherever there is life, there is movement, there is conflict,

there is alternate progress and retrogression, and all that gives interest to history. And accordingly the religious history of these two centuries is full of interest. Numbers of books were written, for instance. The writer of Daniel had many followers who produced *apocalypses* or "revelations," as they are commonly called, like his. The "Proverbs of Jesus ben Sirach" did not close the series of worthy successors of the ancient sages, amongst whom the author of the Book of Wisdom deserves our special attention. Such an historian as the author of the first book of Maccabees surely does not deserve to be neglected; and songs such as the psalms of Solomon were still composed, which, though excluded from the canon, interpret the sufferings and the faith of the believers just as truly as the psalms in the Bible. The composition of fictitious stories for purposes of edification did not stop with Esther and Daniel, as is shown by the second and still more by the third book of Maccabees, by Judith and Tobit. Some of these works are accepted by a great portion of the Christian Church as sacred writings of the second rank under the name of apocryphal books; others have been almost completely overlooked, and some few, such as the book of Enoch, have only recently been discovered and explained.

All this well deserves our attention, both on its own account and as a help to the comprehension of the time of Jesus. But we must not stop even here, for Judaism retained its independent existence after the time of Jesus. It was not till the year 70 A.D. that Jerusalem was taken and laid waste by Titus, and even that did not quench the Jewish spirit of independence or annihilate the Jewish people as such. This consummation was still deferred for full sixty years. And again, in and after the time of Jesus the great rabbis rose who laid the foundations of the Talmud, that colossal monument of Jewish hair-splitting in the interpretation and application of the Law! All this and much more besides falls largely within the New Testament period, but it lies so completely beyond the horizon of the Evangelists and Apostles, that it can hardly be touched upon in connection with their work, though it fully deserves our careful consideration.

For these reasons we have determined to deal with the first six centuries of Judaism from the time of Nehemiah to the last revolt against the Romans, under Barcochba, in a separate work. We shall there content ourselves in the period before the Maccabees with simply supplementing what has been said in the present volume, and shall then go on with the history

of the following centuries in the same style we have adopted in this first part of "The Bible for Learners." We hope that the work on the "Old Testament" we have now concluded, together with the sequel, will furnish an adequate picture of ancient Israel,—that remarkable people to whom mankind owes greater treasures than to any other nation, ancient or modern.

NOTE.—*Dr. Oort has already partially redeemed this promise by the issue of the first of two small volumes on "The Last Centuries of Jewish National Existence." The English translator and publishers are not in a position at present to give any pledge with regard to this supplementary work.* T.L.



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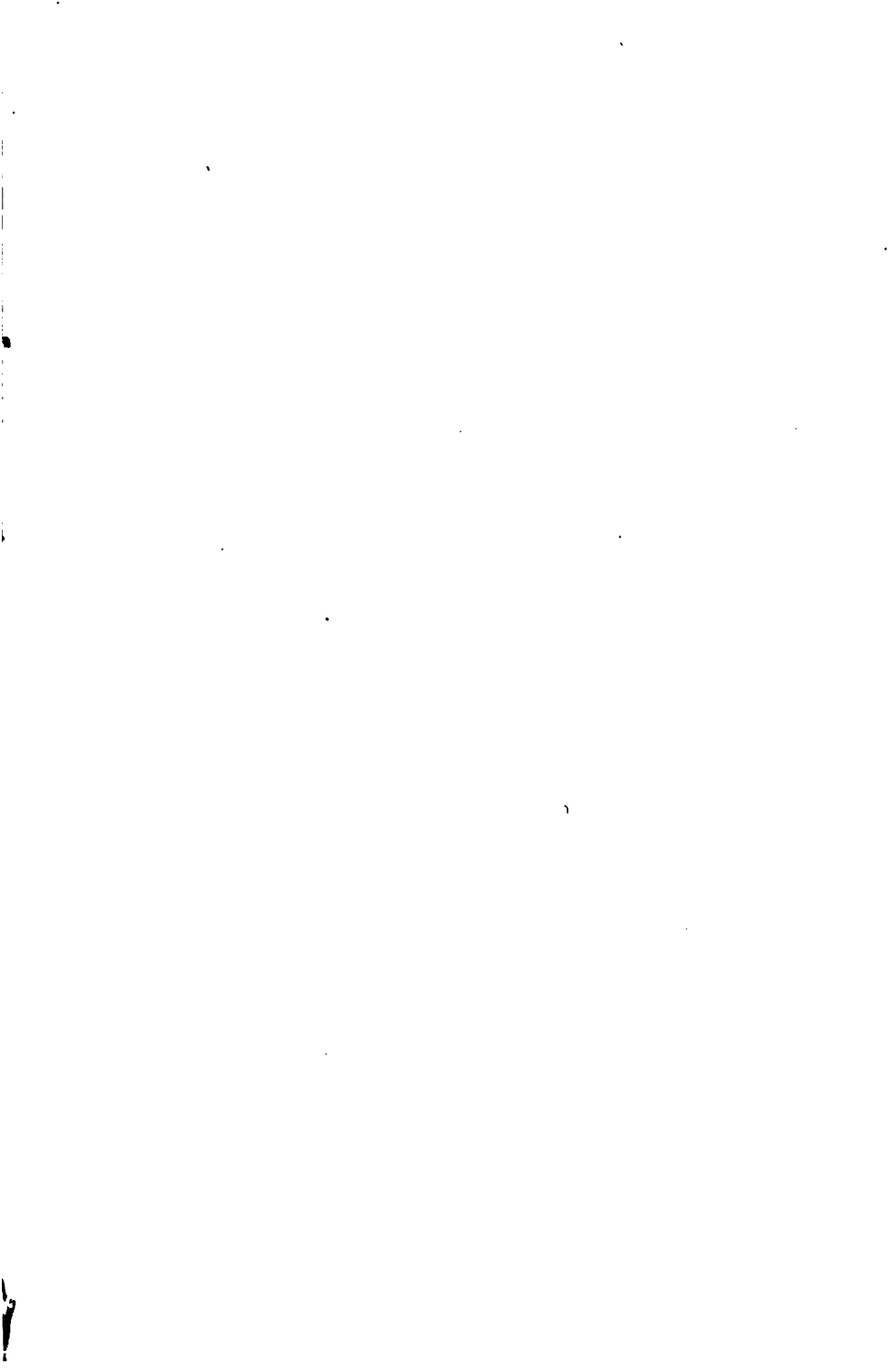
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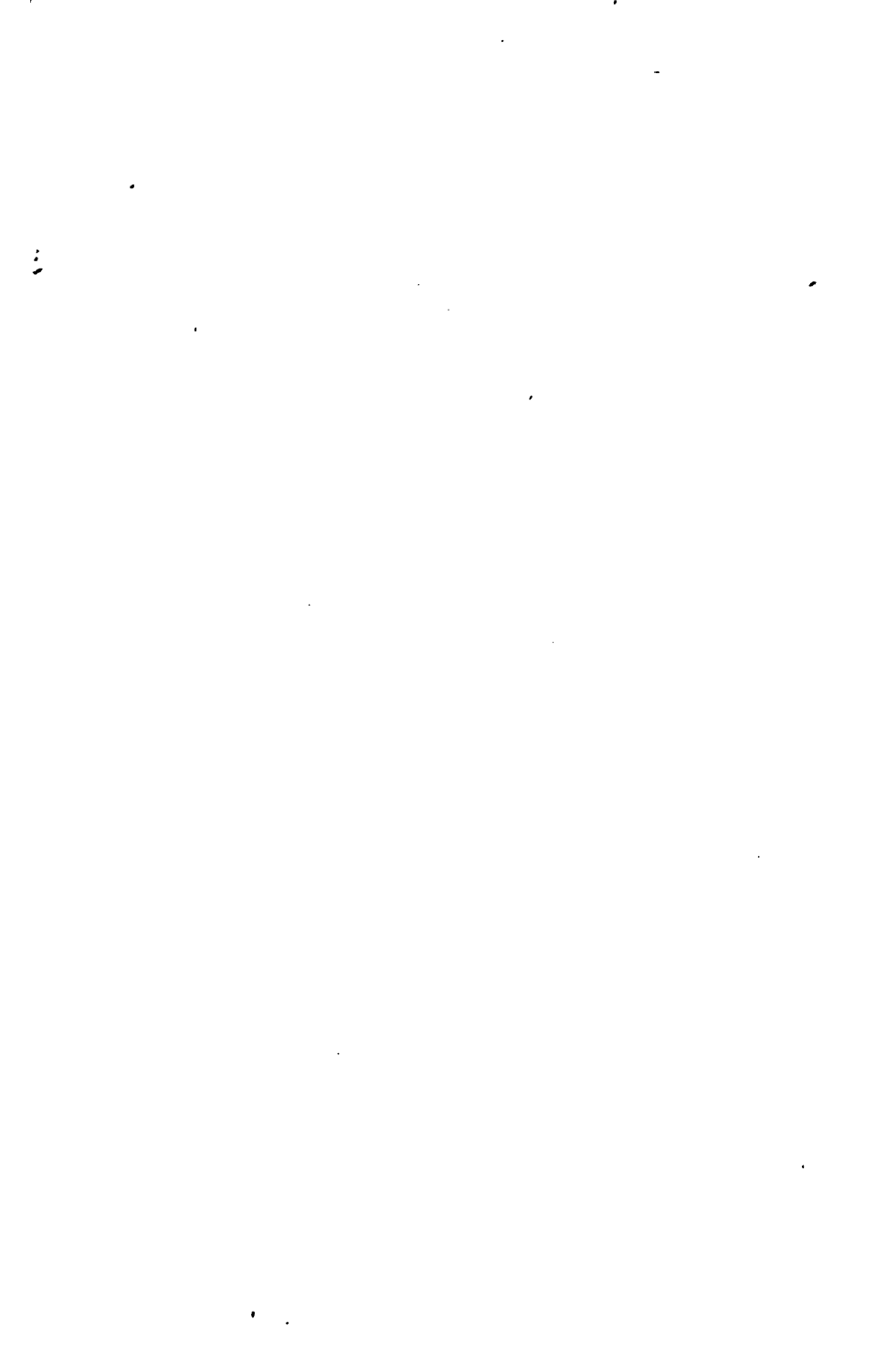
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